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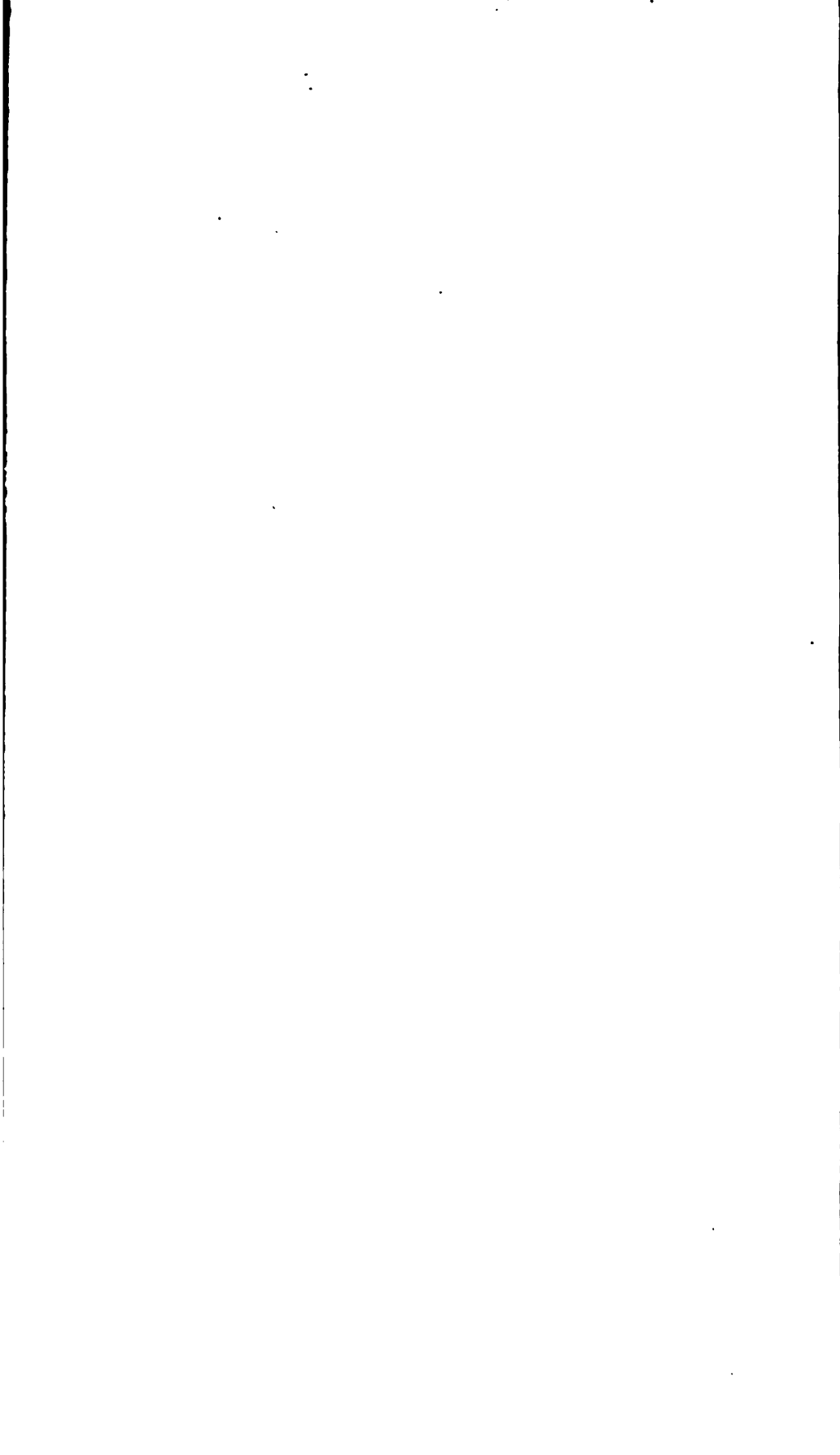
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**THE JOURNAL**  
**OF THE**  
**KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND**  
**ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.**

**VOL. III.**  
**NEW SERIES.**

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**1860-61.**

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**1861.**



483

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

NEW YORK  
1875

## P R E F A C E .

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**THIS**, the Sixth Volume issued by the Society (forming the Third of the New Series), will, it is hoped, be found, in the value of its component parts, equal to any of those that have preceded it.

The Editor would particularly direct attention to a paper on the history of the family of the lamented John O'Donovan. A mournful interest attaches to it as being one of the latest published products of his pen, and as supplying information of great value to the biographer, when the time comes to write the life of one of Ireland's truest patriots, and her greatest Celtic scholar—now, alas! in the midst of his labours, prematurely taken from among us for ever.

For aid towards the illustration of this Volume the thanks of the Society are due to Captain Edward Hoare; the Council of the Cambrian Archæological Association; the Rev. Samuel Hayman; and the Council of the Royal Irish Academy.

**JAMES GRAVES, A.B., M.R.I.A.**

**KILKENNY, December 31, 1861.**



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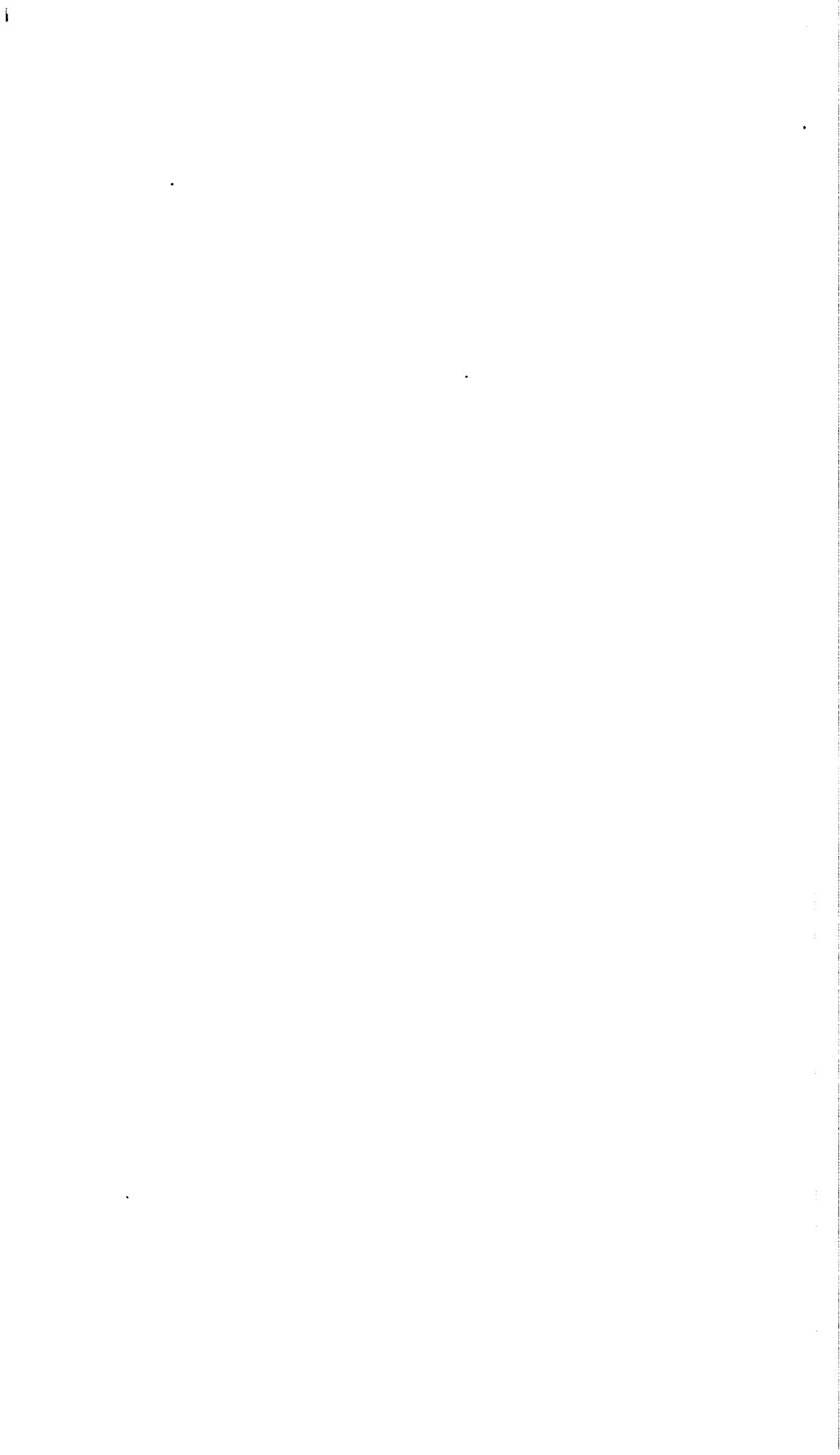
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# PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

OF

## THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND

### ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1860.

---

**ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING**, held in the Society's Apartments,  
William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 4th, 1860,

**THE REV. WILLIAM MEASE**, M. A., and subsequently **PATRICK DUFFY**, Esq., F. C. S., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

**Mrs. M. E. Mackesy**, The Rectory, Castletown-kilpatrick,  
Navan : proposed by Edward Fitzgerald, Esq.

**Mrs. Lenigan**, Castle Fogarty, Thurles : proposed by Miss  
Archer Butler.

**Samuel Davis**, Esq., Swerford Park, Ustone, Oxfordshire : pro-  
posed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory.

**The Rev. Richard H. Low**, Kiltoon Glebe, Athlone : proposed  
by the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles.

**Maurice Lenihan**, Esq., 2, Patrick-street, Limerick : proposed  
by the Rev. J. Graves.

**The Very Rev. Robert Cussen**, P. P., V. G., Bruff : proposed  
by **Maurice Lenihan**, Esq.

**Edward Smyth**, Esq., Knock House, Gerah, Clonakilty : pro-  
posed by the Rev. Stephen O'Halloran.

**William Sylvester**, Esq., Parsonstown : proposed by **T. L. Cooke**, Esq.

The Report of the Committee, for the year 1859, was brought  
up, as follows :—

The *Eleventh* year of the Society's career having now closed, your  
Committee feel that they have little need to dwell on the merits of an

Association which is now so widely and so long known, and which can point to such a goodly rank of published volumes devoted to the elucidation of Ireland's history and antiquities. With the year 1859 the fifth of the general series, and second volume of the new series, has been completed and its index and title-page will be issued, with the November Part, to those members who are not in arrear. The first volume of the "Annuary" will be completed shortly, the concluding fasciculus, embracing the presentments of Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, and Kildare, relating to the social grievances of the community during the sixteenth century, being now in the press.

The Society has received an accession of forty-six new members during the year 1859, but, in consequence of the stringency of the rules now adopted as to the payment of subscriptions (all names in arrear on the 31st of December being temporarily removed from the list), its roll presents a slight diminution as compared with previous years, when greater laxity was allowed. It may, however, be reasonably expected that many of the defaulters will cause their names to be restored by the payment of all arrears, as soon as their attention has been directed to the subject.

Since the last annual meeting the important step of taking and fitting up permanent apartments has been adopted, and the Museum, as well as the Library, has been arranged in its new locality. The Society, therefore, holds this, its Twelfth Annual General Meeting, in its own rooms, and has thrown open the Museum to the members and their friends on Wednesday every week.

The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. James G. Robertson, who has undertaken the duties of Honorary Curator of the Museum and Library.

Your Committee wish to call the attention of all who have the interest of the Association at heart to the following tabular statement of the stock of the Society's publications still on hands, viz.—

#### FIRST SERIES.

		Copies.
Vol. I.,	Part 1 (out of print) . . . . .	0
"	Part 2 (1850) . . . . .	2
"	Part 3 (1851) . . . . .	6
Vol. II.,	Part 1 (1852) . . . . .	198
"	Part 2 (1853) . . . . .	239
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"	Part 2 (1855) . . . . .	42

#### NEW SERIES.

Vol. I.,	Part 1 (1856) . . . . .	105
"	Part 2 (1857) . . . . .	73
Vol. II.,	Part 1 (1858) . . . . .	100
"	Part 2 (1859) . . . . .	93

#### ANNUARY.

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It is evident that the publications of the Society, still remaining in stock, and long since paid for, represent so much inert capital, and that the usefulness of the Society would be greatly enhanced were the books converted into ready cash. The first volume of the original series being now out of print, many persons have been deterred from purchasing the three remaining volumes, by an unwillingness to place an imperfect work on their shelves; but whilst your Committee allow the full force of this objection, they would observe that the volume in question merely contained a selection of the papers read before the Society, whilst the second volume, for 1852-3, contains a full report of the proceedings of all the meetings from the commencement in 1849, thus supplying a connected view of the progress of the Association.

Let, then, all members, who have not already supplied themselves with the earlier portion of the Society's publications, do so at once, and, whilst they obtain full value for their money, they will, at the same time, have the satisfaction of feeling that they are contributing most materially towards the objects for which the Society was established.

On the motion of Captain Humfrey, seconded by Mr. Douglas, the Report of the Committee was adopted, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. J. G. Robertson and Mr. P. Aylward consented to act as Auditors of the accounts of the year 1859.

On the motion of Mr. Duffy, seconded by John James, Esq., M. D., the Committee and Officers for the year 1860 were elected, as follows:—

**PRESIDENT :**

**THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY.**

**VICE-PRESIDENTS :**

**THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY.**

**THE HIGH SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.**

**THE HIGH SHERIFF OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY.**

**TREASURER :**

**REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.**

**HONORARY SECRETARIES :**

**REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.**

**JOHN GEORGE AUGUSTUS PRIM.**

**HONORARY CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM AND LIBRARY :**

**JAMES G. ROBERTSON, Esq., Architect.**

## COMMITTEE :

JAMES S. BLAKE, Esq., J. P., Barrister-at-Law.  
 REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL. D.  
 SAMSON CARTER, Esq., C. E., M. R. I. A.  
 BARRY DELANY, Esq., M. D.  
 REV. LUKE FOWLER, A. M.  
 JOHN JAMES, Esq., L. R. C. S. I.  
 THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LEIGHLIN.  
 REV. PHILIP MOORE, R. C. C.  
 JAMES G. ROBERTSON, Esq., Architect.  
 REV. JOHN O'HANLON, R. C. C.  
 MATTHEW O'DONNELL, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.  
 JOHN WINDELE, Esq.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Royal Dublin Society: their "Journal," No. 15.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for December, 1859.

By the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society: their "Proceedings," Vol. VIII.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: their "Proceedings," Vol. II., part 3.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal" for September, 1859.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 28.

By Albert Way, Esq.: the "Catalogue of the Archæological Museum, formed at Carlisle," during the meeting of the Archæological Institute there, in August, 1859.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, No. 20.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 872-81, inclusive.

By the Author: "A Supplement to the Coinage of Scotland," Cork, 1859, by John Lindsay, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. Lindsay's donation was accompanied by the following letter:—

*"Maryville, Blackrock, Cork, Dec. 3, 1859.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—My Scotch Supplement being at length published, I beg to present you with a copy, which I now forward to you by post as a book parcel, together with another copy for our Kilkenny Archæological Society, which I would feel greatly obliged by your delivering or forwarding, when perfectly convenient, to the Secretary or Librarian. I am delighted at the success which has attended our Society, which now numbers in its ranks all the most literary men in Ireland. I only regret that our subscriptions are not something higher, so as to enable us to make the most of the splendid field which Ireland affords to the archæologist. The An-

nuary is a step in the right direction, and we ought to endeavour to increase the number of subscribers to it.

“ I remain, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

“ JOHN LINDSAY.”

*James G. Robertson, Esq.*

By Dr. James: a curious manuscript, which he had found amongst the papers of his father, the late C. James, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. It was a treatise on dogmatic theology, in Latin, and had the following date—“ ANNO DOMINI MDCXLVIII. . . . . KILKENNIENSIS:” the name of the writer was completely obliterated.

By Mr. Richard Clifford: “ a plan and section of the River Nore from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Ennesteague, with drafts of all the works erected thereon,” from a parliamentary paper published by the Irish House of Commons about a century since. The plan was curious and interesting, as giving views of all the locks and lock-houses on the old Kilkenny Canal, at that time in progress.

By the Rev. James Mease: a curious sculptured stone from the old Church of Ballylarkin, near Freshford, of the class usually known amongst archæologists as “ Sheelanagigs;” also a silver penny of Edward I., and a Waterford penny token.

By Mr. Byrne, Webbsboro’: a London silver penny of Edward I., dug up on his land.

By the Rev. James Graves: an encaustic tile, turned up in digging a grave by the sexton of St. Mary’s, Kilkenny. It differed from the usual ecclesiastical encaustic tiles, as being coloured like delph on the surface, and was probably of Dutch manufacture, and of the fifteenth century. A similar fragment had been found some years since in St. Canice’s Cathedral.

Mr. Howard St. George, Kilrush House, sent for exhibition a silver penny of Edward I., of the Waterford mint, which had been found by a reaper in a field at Kilrush, in August, 1858.

Mr. Robertson exhibited a Byzantine coin, of the Emperor Justinus II. and his Empress Sophia, coined at Nicomedia. Mr. Robertson also exhibited the original copper-plate of a map of Ireland, temp. Elizabeth, some time since discovered in an old iron shop in the North of Ireland, and impressions of which have since been published.

Mr. W. R. Blackett communicated the discovery of a new Ogham inscription, as follows:—

“ It is about eight years since I brought under the Society’s notice the remains of an ancient church at Templeanoach, in the county of Waterford; but at that time I had no idea that the site, uninteresting in itself, was made interesting by the possession of an Ogham stone.

“ The church, as I mentioned, I think, in my former notice, is situ-

ated just behind the rocky peak called Carriganoch, which stands over the River Suir, and commands a beautiful view of its lovely valley. Indeed, Fenogh, like many of the saints of old, seems to have had a decided taste for scenery, for though he built his church in the comparatively barren county of Waterford, he took care to choose its position where he could have a glimpse, and a very lovely one, of the fertile vale on the other side of the river. Having been built of earth only, the church has crumbled away, till nothing is left of it but a somewhat indistinct bank of clay. But the graveyard remains, surrounded by a nearly circular fence of stones and earth, which is very strong, and in excellent preservation. The entrance is a gap looking to the eastward.

"Visiting the spot one afternoon last September, I was just coming out at this gap, and thinking, for lack of interest here, of the Ogham stone at Ballyquin, which I had seen a few minutes before, suddenly my eyes rested on a stone; there were marks on its edge, and I saw at once that it was an Ogham. Only an antiquarian can sympathize with the delight of one who discovers an Ogham which he believes to have been hitherto unnoticed!

"The evening shades were then too deep to allow me to take a copy of the inscription, and I have been unable to revisit the place until within the last week. I now hasten to give the Society some account of the monument.

"The stone is now lying just outside the before-mentioned eastern entrance of the graveyard, but, from its shape, it must have originally stood upright, like the monumental pillar stones so common in the country. Its length is about four feet and a half, its thickness one foot, and its breadth about one foot eight inches. It is of sandstone, not so rough as that at Ballyquin, but still far too rough to allow of a rubbing being taken of the inscription. This, as usual, extends along one angle, and goes over a part of what was originally the top of the stone. About two feet of the other end is unmarked, and probably was once plunged in the ground.

"The marks, which seem never to have been very deep, are unfortunately very much worn, and in some places almost obliterated. They are of various lengths and divers depths; on the whole they give the impression that the inscriber used very imperfect tools. In two places two of the lines run together, which I believe is not usual in these monuments. There seems to be on the upper face a line of harder stone, on which the cutting tool failed to make any impression; beyond it the marks reappear more deep than before. Perhaps the inscription is too much worn to be ever copied with any certainty, but I venture to express my idea of the manner in which it ought, probably, to be restored. It is, at least, unbiassed by any theory, for I have not the least idea of how to read it, or how it may be interpreted. But, perhaps, it may be found to contain the name of Fenogh, to whom tradition assigns the building of the church. Yet, possibly, its position *outside* the graveyard would indicate a still older origin. At all events, it is interesting to find another Ogham so near the well-known one at Ballyquin; they are not half a mile apart.



"I may as well mention, that I believe the copy of the latter inscription, given on the authority of Mr. Windele, in Mr. E. Fitzgerald's Paper



in the Transactions for May, 1857, to be slightly incorrect. I have not actually compared the drawing there given with the stone itself, but I think my own little sketches drawn on the spot, at an interval of seven years, could hardly "agree to differ" from Mr. Windele without some reason. It appears to me that the long lines, represented as wholly oblique, are in the original compound—oblique at one side, horizontal at the other. And I fancy there are two or three more of the short marks at the top. I should like to see this fine relic more accurately examined, for any incorrectness in representing its inscription cannot but affect the interpretation of its legend."

The Rev. James Graves laid before the Meeting a document preserved, amongst a large number of papers chiefly relating to the army in Ireland, in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle. The Thomas Earl of Limerick, whose hard "Case" it stated for the consideration of Queen Anne, was Colonel Thomas Dongan, who succeeded to, or, at least, claimed the Earldom of Limerick on the death of his brother William Dongan without issue. William Dongan had been raised to that Earldom by James II., and, having forfeited his property, and lost his only son Walter in that monarch's service, died in 1690. William III. conferred the estates on De Ginkle, Earl of Athlone. The Petition now before the meeting proved that the property was recovered by Thomas Dongan, though (in consequence of the adverse conditions imposed on him by the Act of Parliament which empowered him to prosecute the suit) very little to his advantage. O'Callaghan, in his "History of the Irish Brigades," vol. i. pp. 331-33, whilst he gives from the Dongan Papers many particulars mentioned in the following "Case," seems to have been unaware of the recovery of the property. He says the title ceased to be connected with the name of Dongan in December, 1715:—

*"The Case of the Pet' Thomas Earle of Lymerick.*

"He was Bred a Soldier, and arrived to the post of Col of the Irish Regim' in France, worth to him five thousand pounds p ann.

"1676-7.—In Obedience to the Command of King Charles the Second pursuant to a vote of Parliam' he left that advantageous Employment, and rejected a greater then Offered to him, for which reason he was immediately banished France, and lost Sixty five thousand Livers, then due to him for Recruits and arrears of pay.

"1677.—At his Returne into England King Charles the Second in consideracon of his Loyalty and those losses he suffered for it, gave the Pet' a Pension of five hundred pounds p ann, for his life, and a considerable Command in the Army then designed for Flanders but the Peace of Nimeguen ensuing soon after, he was appointed Deputy Govern' of Tangier.

"1682.—He was first Govern' of New York in America, where he soon brought the five Nations of Warlike Indians (who used frequently to burn and destroy the Plantations in Virginia and Maryland) to make a

peace with and Submitt themselves Subjects to the Crowne of England, by which meanes those Colonys are delivered from a Charge of 1000li p ann. they were before putt to, in Guarding themselves; are Secured from the Insults of any other Indians, and restored to a great part of the Peltry and Beaver Trade which they had lost.

" 1687.—The french of Canada, makeing Warr upon those five Nations of Indians then Subjects of England, the Pet' took them under his Protection to prevent their revolting to the french as they must have otherwise done, and our Plantacons been again Exposed to their Depredations.

" In this Warr he took five hundred Prisoners, forced the rest into their Garrisons, destroyed all their Provisions and reduced them to such streights, that they had no other Bread but what came from Ffrance, and must have quitted Canada If the Pet' had not been dismissed from his Governm' in 1688.

" In this Expedition the Pet' disbursed above Ten thousands pounds of his own money, which was then his whole fortune.

" 1691.—He returned into England and found his elder Brother William then Earle of Lymerick attainted of Treason for the late Rebellion in Ireland, and the antient Estate of his ffamily granted to the Earle of Athlone, who being Jealous that the peticoners Brother was only Tennant for life (as in Truth he was) sold it to others.

" The Peticoner was legally Intituled to the Estate after the death of his said Brother (which happened in Novemb<sup>r</sup> 1690) but the Settlement, under which the Pet' derived his Title, being mislaid in the late warr of Ireland, and then not to be found he could not recover his right.

" 1700.—The Parliam' passed an Act of Resumption of all Grants of the Irish forfeitures, and vested them in Trustees for the uses in that Act, allowing all persons to make their Claims before the Tenth day of August 1700.

" The Peticon<sup>r</sup> could not find the ffamily Settlement till after that time was expired, and was therefore excluded the benefitt of claiming his Estate by that Act.

" But in Decemb<sup>r</sup> 1700 he found the Settlement and in 1701 Petitioned the Parliam' for Reseif, who in 1702 passed a Bill for giving him liberty to claim his Estate but under the following conditions.

" 1<sup>a</sup>.—That he should not be Intituled to any arreares of Rent.

" 2<sup>a</sup>.—That he should not be restored to the Rectorays and Tythes part of his Estate.

" 3<sup>a</sup>.—That he should pay to the Purchasers under the Earle of Athlone two Thirds of their Purchase money.

" 4<sup>a</sup>.—That he should neither lett, nor sell his Estate to any but Protestants.

" The Pet' proved his right beyond all Excepcons, and had he been so fortunate as to have found the Settlement he claimed under, before August 1700, he had recovered his Estate from all those Provisoos as all others did who were capable of Claiming before that time.

" By the First Clause the Pet' lost Six thousand pounds arreares of Rent and upwards.

" By the Second Clause he lost Seaven hundred pounds per ann. which the Rectoryes and Tythes part of the Estate amounted to.

“By the Third Clause he was to pay Eight thousand and four hundred pounds to the Purchasers under the Earle of Athlone.

“And such ill use was made of the fourth Clause that the Protestant Tennants would not give the same Rents for the Lands they paid before, nor any Purchasers give the same price they formerly Offered.

“It appears from the Effects of those Clauses that the Pet' lost above Twenty thousand pounds for the bare misfortune of not finding the family Settlement in due time.

“The Pet' has not received any part of his Pension since August 1688.

“He never received any part of his Disbursements in the Warr against the french which amounted to 10000<sup>li</sup>.

“Through these Disappointments and the difficultyes brought on him by the Protestant Purchasers and Credittors, he was forced to sell the Estate in Ireland at so great an under vallue that after paym' of those Purchasers, his Brothers Debts and his owne, he has little left for his Support.

“In Consideraçon of the p'misses he humbly begs that her Maj<sup>ty</sup> will be graciously pleased to recomend his Circumstances to the hon<sup>ble</sup> house of Commons that such Compensation for his disbursem<sup>ts</sup> may be granted him as to their great wisdom and Justice shall seem meet.”

The following Papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

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#### MONEY OF NECESSITY ISSUED IN IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

BY AQUILLA SMITH, M. D., M. R. I. A.

THE troubles which followed in consequence of the rebellion that broke out in Ireland on the 23rd of October, 1641,<sup>1</sup> compelled the government to raise funds for the relief of the army, to effect which the Lords Justices and Council, in an act or order dated the 5th of January, 1642—

“Declared, that we find it of absolute necessity for the reliefe of the officers of the army, that (in the case of extremity wherein we now stand) all manner of persons of what condition or qualitie soever, dwelling in the city or suburbs of Dublin, as well within the liberties as without, within ten daies next after publication of the said order, doe deliver or cause to be delivered half or more of his, her, or their plate to William Bladen, of Dublin, alderman, and John Pue, one of the sheriffes of the same citty, taking their hand for receipt thereof, to the end use may be made thereof for the present reliefe of the said officers.”

<sup>1</sup> Borlase, Reduction of Ireland. 8vo. 1675. P. 229.

And assurance was given—

“That as soone as the treasure shall arrive forth of England, due satisfaction shall be made after the rate of five shillings the ounce, for such plate as is true tuch,<sup>1</sup> and the true value of such as is not of such tuch to the owner thereof, together with consideration for forbearance for the same, after the rate of eight pound *per cent. per annum*; or otherwise, that the Parliament in England in that behalf, shall and will see the same accordingly paid.”

On the 14th of January, by a proclamation “given at his majesties Castle of Dublin,” this order was extended to his Majesty’s—

“Good subjects in the countie of Dublin, and every of them, that shall bring in halfe or more of his, her, and their plate, for the necessarie service aforesaid, shall be received and admitted so to doe, with the same favour and respect, and on the same securitie that those dwelling in the cittie and suburbs of Dublin are or shall be.”

As the coins issued in Ireland during the reign of Charles I. are numerous, it will be convenient to divide them into sections, each distinguished by its peculiar type, under the common title of “Money of Necessity,” a name in accordance with the words of the order of Council of the 5th of January, 1642.

#### SECTION I.

No official record has yet been discovered of the type of the money coined from the silver which was given up to the Commissioners, in compliance with the proclamation issued by the Lords Justices and Council. Borlase gives a rude woodcut of one side of a groat, stamped with 1 dwt. 6 grs., within a beaded circle, and says: “At first the stamp was in this form, merely with the value of the silver upon it.”

The simplicity of this type is such as would be adopted under an emergency, and would admit of being made with the least delay.

The coins in this section are flatted polygonal pieces of silver, cut down to the regulated weight, and impressed on each side with a stamp or die, which expresses the current value of each piece in pennyweights and grains. They are commonly known by the name of “Inchiquin money.” The earliest instance I know of this designation is “Lot 48.—An *Inchequin* crown, on it 19 *pwt.* 8 *gr.*,” in the catalogue of Lord Oxford’s collection, which was dispersed by auction in London, in March, 1741–2.

<sup>1</sup> The standard of fineness determined by touch-needles.

No. XLVI.

<sup>2</sup> See Simon on Irish Coins. Appendix,

<sup>3</sup> Borlase, Reduction of Ireland. 8vo. P 235.

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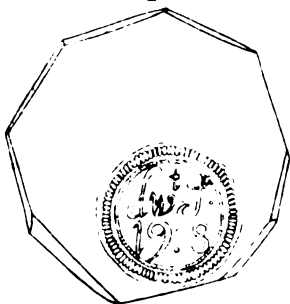
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MONEY OF NECESSITY.

PL I

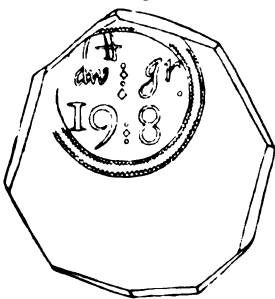
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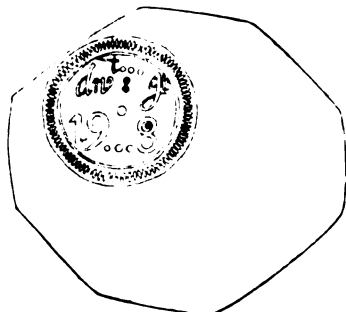
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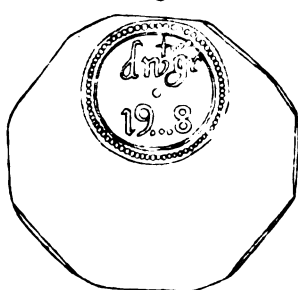
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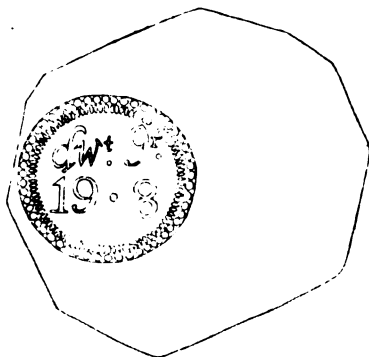
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Simon, in his *Essay*, first published in 1749, does not give them any particular designation, nor was Lord Inchiquin in any way concerned with the coinage of this money, for his Lordship was constituted Vice-President of Munster on the 2nd of April, 1640, and was actively engaged in military service against the rebels in the south of Ireland up to the 17th of July, 1644.<sup>1</sup>

**Crown.**—19 dwt. 8 gr. is stamped on each side with the same die; this weight corresponds with the standard of the English crown, 19 dwts.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  grs., as fixed by the Act 43 Elizabeth, which continued unaltered until the year 1816.

There are, at least, four varieties which are distinguished by the form of the figures and letters, and the shape and disposition of the points. Fig. 1, Plate I., weighs 19 dwts. 7 grs.; Fig. 2, 19 dwts. 6·9 grs.; Fig. 3, 19 dwts. 4·6 grs.; and Fig. 4, 19 dwts. 3·5 grs.; the latter coin seems to be from the same die as the one engraved in Folkes's Tables, and republished by Ruding, Plate XXVII. Fig. 1.

The crown published by Simon, Plate VI., Fig. 132, bears some resemblance to Fig. 3 in the disposition of the points, but the form of the letters *du*, and the regular octagonal outline of the piece, as well as the oval border round the figures, lead me to believe that the engraving was made from an inaccurate sketch contributed by some friend to Simon.

Fig. 5, Plate I., weighs 20 dwts. 2·5 grs., which is 18·5 grains more than the standard weight; it resembles Fig. 4, but the workmanship is coarse, and the outer circle is formed of *round* pellets. This coin was in the collection of the late Rev. J. W. Martin<sup>2</sup> (sale catalogue, No. 536). I do not hesitate to pronounce it to be a forgery, probably executed about the middle of the last century by the person who forged the Dublin half-groat of Edward IV.; Fig. 25 in Snelling's first additional plate to Simon.

Forgeries of the crown, half-crown, shilling, six-pence, and four-pence, were manufactured some years ago by a silversmith in Dublin, under the direction of an obscure collector, who usually disposed of his rare coins in England. When the remnant of his collection was sold by auction after his death, I purchased a complete set of those forgeries, and, at the same time, a few small blank pieces of silver, cut into a polygonal form, and filed preparatory to stamping them. They are all very black, and were exposed to the fumes of burning sulphur, for the purpose of giving them an antique appearance.

The spurious crown, Pl. I., Fig. 6, weighs only 16 dwts. 5·5 grs.;

<sup>1</sup> Archdall's *Peerage of Ireland*. 8vo. 1789. Vol. ii., pp. 49-51.

<sup>2</sup> Great as my late friend's judgment was on English coins, the Irish series never engaged his attention beyond the acquisition of a few rare or fine coins. The crown was

in his cabinet for many years; it was in good condition, and as he had not such opportunities of comparison, as I have had, it cannot be held an imputation on his judgment to have retained the coin in his cabinet.

the outer circle, which is much larger than that of any genuine coin, is composed of distinct *round* pellets; the figures are exactly such as are used by printers, and there is only a single point between the figures 19 and 8; the "g" over the figure 8 is more like a script figure of 9 than a letter.

**HALF-CROWN.**—9 dwts. 16 grs. on each side within a double circle. Fig. 1, Plate II., weighs 9 dwts. 14.5 grs.; it has the inner circle of minute beads, and square points between the figures, like the crown, Fig. 2, Plate I. Fig. 2, Plate II., weighs 9 dwts. 8.5 grs.; the inner circle is linear, and in other particulars it corresponds with the crown, Fig. 4, Plate I. The coin in Snelling's first additional plate to Simon, Fig. 35, and Fig. 2, Plate XXVII., in Ruding, seems to be from the same die as Fig. 1.

The spurious half-crown weighs 14 dwts. 15 grs., which is 4 dwts. 23 grs. more than the value expressed by the figures; the diameter of the stamp is exactly the same size as the one used for making the crown, and the style of workmanship is identical on both pieces.

**SHILLING.**—Has 3 dwts. 21 grs. on each side, within *three* concentric beaded circles. Fig. 3, Plate II., weighs only 2 dwts. 22 grs.; this piece is in fair condition, and it may be that the shilling stamp was impressed on a blank, which was intended for a nine-penny piece; another shilling weighs 3 dwt. 9.4 grs.

A similar coin is published in Folkes and Ruding, Plate XXVII., Fig. 3, and also in Snelling's first additional plate to Simon, Fig. 34.

Fig. 4, Plate II., is spurious; it weighs 3 dwts. 11.8 grs.; the double linear circle, with the small dots between the lines, distinguishes it readily from the genuine piece.

In Folkes and Ruding, Supplement, Plate VI., Fig. 6, a coin is engraved, which Ruding describes as "EIGHTPENCK, obv. stamped with 21, Rev. with 1," and adds the following note from the edition of Folkes by the Society of Antiquaries: "Perhaps designed originally for 2 dwts. 10 grs., as that is its weight."<sup>1</sup>

The coin alluded to is No. 539 in the sale catalogue of the coins of the late Rev. J. W. Martin. I had an opportunity of examining the coin some years ago, and it is only a shilling much defaced, as is evident from the position of the figures 21, which are not applicable to any other denomination of the same type. An eightpenny piece, the equivalent of two-thirds of the shilling, would be stamped 2 dwts. 14 grs.

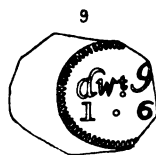
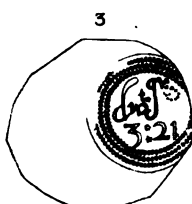
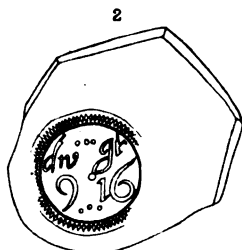
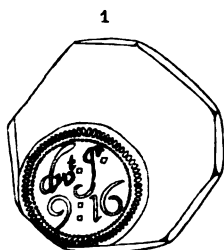
**NINE-PENCE**—Has 2 dwts. 20 grs. on each side within three concentric circles, the outer one beaded, the others linear. Fig. 5, Plate II., weighs 2 dwts. 16.7 grs. In Folkes and Ruding, Plate XXVII., Fig. 4, one is published; it weighs 2 dwts. 20 grs., and is now in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v., p. 294. 8vo edit.



MONEY OF NECESSITY.

Pl. II.



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**SIX-PENCE**—Has 1 dwt. 22 grs. on each side within two beaded circles; the obverse and reverse are from different dies; the surface of the coin is entirely covered by the impression, and, therefore, two dies were necessary, for, if the coin was struck first on one side, and then on the other, the former impression would be more or less obliterated, as is the case with the spurious shilling, sixpence, and fourpence, for making which only one die was used; on the genuine crown, half-crown, shilling, and nine-pence, the surface is only partially occupied by the impression, which is always near the edge, so as to leave sufficient space on the opposite side for an impression from the same die.

Fig. 6, Plate II., weighs 1 dwt. 21 grs.; it is the same coin which Snelling published in his first additional plate to Simon, Fig. 33, and was subsequently in the cabinet of the late Rev. J. W. Martin. See his sale catalogue, No. 540.

Another specimen, with a hole through it, is published in Folkes and Ruding, Supplement, Plate VI., Fig. 3. This was in the cabinet of the late James D. Cuff, Esq., at the sale of whose coins it was purchased by Alfred Wigan, Esq.; it weighs 1 dwt. 20·8 grs.

The spurious six-pence, Fig. 7, Plate II., weighs 1 dwt. 20·3 grs.; the large figures and the single beaded circle distinguish it at once from the genuine coin.

**FOUR-PENCE**—Has 1 dwt. 6 grs. on each side, within two beaded circles, the inner one consisting of small beads; the obverse and reverse are from different dies. Fig. 8, Plate II., weighs 1 dwt. 10 grs., which is four grains more than the standard.

A rude woodcut of one side of the four-pence was published in 1675 by Borlase, as already noticed, and the piece engraved in Harris's edition of Ware, vol. ii., pp. 203. Plate III., Fig. 25, of which one side is represented, is very inaccurately figured.

Simon's engraving, Fig. 130, Plate VI., is represented as being perfectly circular, and in Folkes and Ruding, Supplement, Plate VI., Fig. 5, a very rude outline of only one side of the coin is given.

The spurious four-pence, Fig. 9, Plate II., weighs 1 dwt. 5·7 grs.; the difference between it and the genuine coin is evident at a glance.

**THREE-PENCE**.—No coin of this denomination and type has been discovered, but it is probable, as will presently appear, that a three-pence was struck.

The weight of the smaller coins is not an exact submultiple of the crown or half-crown; the shilling, being the fifth part of the crown, should weigh 3 dwts. 20·8 grs.; the nine-pence should weigh 2 dwts. 21·6 grs.; the sixpence, 1 dwt. 22·4 grs.; the four-pence, 1 dwt. 6·93 grs., and the three-pence 23·2 grs.; but, omitting the fractions, they are all of the standard weight, except the ninepence.

Some of the coins described in this section are so rare, and bring such high prices, I have published the spurious pieces, that the accurate representation of them may enable the most inexperienced collector to protect himself from imposition. It is evident, from a comparison of the spurious with the genuine pieces, that the dies for the forgeries were not copied from genuine coins, but from engravings, few of which are accurate in detail.

These forgeries were executed previous to the publication of the first edition of Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage* in 1817, in which there is an engraving of the nine-pence, Plate XXVII., Fig. 4. The same coin was previously published in Folkes' *Table of English Coins*, but as this work is not often to be met with in Ireland, it is probable that the person who caused the forgeries to be made was not aware of the existence of the nine-pence.

The fact of a coinage of gold having been issued in Ireland has not been noticed by any writer on Irish coins, and has only been established within the last few years by the discovery of two or three pieces.

These coins are stamped on each side, 4 dwts. 7 grs., within a double circle, which extends to the margin; the inner circle is linear, the outer one beaded; the figures and letters are not arranged like those on the silver coins. Fig. 10, Plate II., weighs 4 dwts. 6 grs. Another of the same type, but struck from different dies, was in the cabinet of Mr. Carruthers, of Belfast; its weight is 4 dwts. 5 grs.; the double "tt" over the letters "dw," and the letter "g," bear a striking resemblance to the letters on the crown, Fig. 3, Plate I.

## SECTION II.

The crown, half-crown, and shilling of the first coinage could be readily distinguished by the difference in their size and weight, but it is probable that some inconvenience arose, particularly among the lower classes, from the difficulty of distinguishing the lesser denominations, not only on account of the small difference in their size and weight, but also from the necessity of keeping in mind the relative value of the coins as expressed by figures, to obviate which a new type was adopted.

This second coinage, like the first, consists of flatted polygonal pieces, which have the weight stamped on one side only, and on the other side a number of annulets equal to the value in pence of each piece, a device which enables the most illiterate persons to recognise the value of the coins, because individuals who may be unable to read are competent to reckon.

**NINE-PENCE**—Has on the obverse 2 dwts. 20 grs. within two beaded circles; the die is much larger than the one used for the

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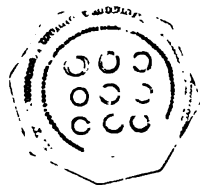
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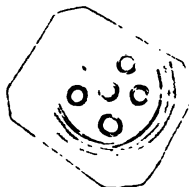
MONEY OF NECESSITY.



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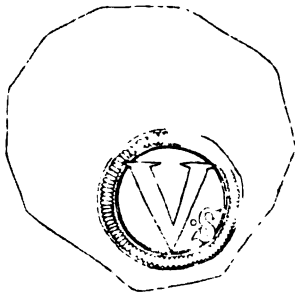
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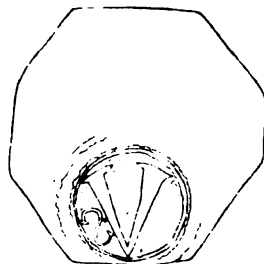
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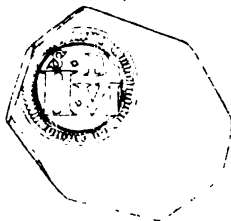
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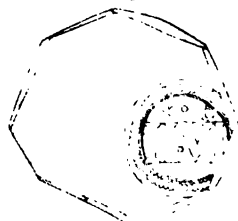
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nine-pence of the first coinage, and occupies the whole surface of the coin; the reverse has nine annulets within two beaded circles. Fig. 1, Plate III., weighs 2 dwts. 18 grs. This piece has not been published before. Another, which belonged to the late Mr. Cuff, is now in the British Museum.

**SIX-PENCE**—Has 1 dwt. 22 grs. on the obverse, within two beaded circles; the die appears to be the same that was used for one side of the six-pence of the first coinage; reverse, six annulets within a double circle, the inner one linear, the outer one beaded. Fig. 2, Plate III., weighs 1 dwt. 20 grs. Another, which was in the cabinet of the late Rev. J. W. Martin, sale catalogue, No. 541, weighed 2 dwts. 0·5 grs.; it presents a duplicate impression of the letters "gr" on the obverse, and the annulets on the reverse are also in duplicate, in consequence of the coin having slipped under the die while being struck. The late Mr. Cuff also possessed a six-pence, which at present is in the British Museum.

This piece has not been previously published.

**FOUR-PENCE**—Has 1 dwt. 6 grs. on the obverse, within two beaded circles, struck from the same die as one side of the four-pence of the first coinage; reverse, four annulets within two circles, the outer one beaded, the inner one linear. Fig. 3, Plate III., weighs 1 dwt. 10·5 grs.; this piece is the coin engraved in Folkes and Ruding, Plate XXVII., Fig. 5, and is now in the British Museum. Another from a different die weighs 1 dwt. 4 grs. In Simon's engraving, Fig. 131, Plate VI., the four-pence is represented as being circular, and having four large pellets or bezants on the reverse.

**THREE-PENCE**.—The only specimen of this coin known is in the British Museum; it has on the obverse the figure 2 under the letters "gr," within a single beaded circle; reverse, three annulets within a beaded circle; it has a hole through it, and weighs twenty-two grains. See Fig. 4, Plate III.

This coin was first published by Folkes, and republished by Ruding, Supplement, Plate VI., Fig. 4, who observes, in a note to the description of the coin: "They are pellets in the engraving, though called annulets in the Antiquaries' explanation" of Folkes' Tables of English coins, published in 1763.

The figures 23 (one-half of the weight of the six-pence), which should be on the obverse of this coin, are partially defaced, but the three annulets on the reverse indicate its current value, and the existence of this piece suggests the belief that a three-penny piece of the first coinage, with the weight stamped on both sides, was issued.

### SECTION III.

The coins comprised in this section have their value expressed in Roman numerals on each side, struck from one die, and, like the coins described in the preceding sections, they are of a polygonal

form, usually an irregular octagon. The only denominations known are the crown and half-crown.

**CROWN**—Has on each side “v. s” within a double circle, the outer one beaded, the inner one linear. Fig. 5, Plate III., weighs 18 dwts. 20·2 grs. The coin published in Folkes and Ruding, Plate XXVII., Fig. 6, weighs 18 dwts. 10 grs. Simon’s Fig. 133, Plate VI., is represented as being perfectly circular, the numeral within a single beaded circle, the diameter of which is much larger than any specimen I have seen.

Fig. 6, Plate III., has a reversed “s” on the left side of the “v;” it weighs only 16 dwts. 6 grs.; another specimen, with the “s” in like manner, weighs only 15 dwts. 19 grs. Both pieces are in the British Museum; they were struck from different dies, not engraved, but made with a punch, as is evident from the burr round the numeral on Fig. 6. The rudeness of execution and deficiency of weight lead me to believe that they were issued with a fraudulent design to pass as crowns.

**HALF-CROWN**—Has “II<sup>o</sup> VI<sup>o</sup>” on each side, within a double circle, like the crown-piece. Fig. 7, Plate III., weighs 9 dwts. 17·1 grs.; the numerals which represent the pence are smaller than those which denote the shillings. Fig. 8 weighs 9 dwts. 13 grs.; the numerals are all of the same size.

The coin published in Folkes and Ruding, Plate XXVII., Fig. 7, weighs only 8 dwts. 20 grs.; it is similar to Fig. 7, Plate III. Snelling, in his first additional plate to Simon, Fig. 32, has published one of the same variety of type.

As no record has been discovered respecting these coins, the period at which they were struck can only be inferred from their type and form.

The fact of only one small die being used for both sides of each coin, the simplicity of the type, and the polygonal form, seem to prove that they were issued between the 5th of January, 1642, when the citizens of Dublin were first called on to send in their plate; and the 25th of May, 1643, when the Ormonde money was ordered to be made.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION IV.

Simon’s opinion, that money was coined by order of the Confederate Catholics, was founded on one of the Acts of the General Assembly, dated Oct. 29, 1642:—

“It is this day ordered by this Assembly, that coin and plate shall be raised and established in this kingdom, according to the rates and values hereafter mentioned, and that there shall be forthwith coined the sume of four thousand pound, to pass currant in and through this kingdom, ac-

<sup>1</sup> “Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Society,” vol. iii., p. 17.



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MONEY OF NECESSITY.

PL. IV.



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ording to a proclamation, or act, published by direction of this Assembly in the city of Kilkenny, and not otherwise, &c.”<sup>1</sup>

No mention is made in this order of the type of the money, or of the metal of which it was to be made, but more particular information is contained in the proclamation which speedily followed the order quoted from Rymer.

By this proclamation, which was first published in the “Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society,” vol. i., first series, p. 451, “all money, plate, and coyne, as well silver as gold, English and forraine,” was raised and enhanced in value one third, e. g. “The 20<sup>s</sup> of James and Charles to 26<sup>s</sup> and 8<sup>d</sup>—and half a crown peece doe pass henceforth for 10 groates. And wee doe furthur order, publish, and declare, that the plate of this kingdome be coined with the ordinarie stampe used in the moneys now currant.”

“Wee doe likewise publish and declare that there shall be 4000 l. of red copper coyned to farthings and  $\frac{1}{2}$  pence, with the harp and crowne on the one side, and to [two] septers on the other, and that everie pound of copper be made to the value of 2<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup>.—All which wee do publish and declare, to have been urged unto by necessite for his majesties service, and naturall defence, not otherwise presuming the power or might thereof, the same as we humbly confesse and acknowledge being properlie and solelie belonging unto his sacred majestie; unto whome wee are through the malignancie of our enemies debarred of all accesse.—Dated att Kilkenny, the 15<sup>th</sup> of 9<sup>th</sup>, 1642.”

The red copper of which the farthings and half-pence were to be coyned, means nothing more than pure copper, to distinguish it from “the white groate of coper,” which in the proclamation was ordered to pass for two pence. The coins alluded to were the base metal groats of Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth, which were then in circulation.

HALF-PENNY.—Obverse, two sceptres in saltire, within a crown; legend, CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRI · between two beaded circles. Reverse, a harp surmounted by a crown, between the initial letters C · R · ; legend, FRAN · BT · HIBER · REX · Fig. 1, Plate IV., has a harp mint mark on the obverse, between the handles of the sceptres; it weighs 53·3 grs. Fig. 2 has the legend CARO · D · G · MAG · BRI · ; it weighs 80·4 grs. Fig. 3 has FRA instead of FRAN; it weighs 58·6 grs.

Fig. 4 weighs 57·4 grs.; it has the harp mint mark between the handles of the sceptres, and it is countermarked with a stamp of the form of a shield, which bears a castle, the arms of Kilkenny, and the letter “K;” the object of this countermark was to distinguish the genuine coinage of the Confederates from the many spurious pieces which were put into circulation; the reverse of one variety is engraved, Fig. 5; it weighs 51·5 grs.

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, v. xx., p. 537, quoted by Simon, Appendix, xlviii.

the county of Wicklow, about twenty miles from Dublin. It was during Lord Baltinglass's rebellion (the only rebellion of the Pale), which, though grounded on the grievances of the Lords of the Pale, of course found ready sympathizers among that nobleman's neighbours, the mountaineers of Wicklow. Fay, son of Hugh O'Byrne, called by Sir John Perrott "the firebrand of the mountains between Dublin and Wexford," was head of the clan of the O'Byrnes.<sup>1</sup> Secure from attack in his inaccessible house of Ballinacorr, adjoining the Vale of Glenmalur, "he hung" like a sword "over the neck of Dublin."

He was now aided by one of the Fitzgeralds with a company of revolted soldiers and "the remnants (as the scribe in the Four Masters calls them) of the O'Mores and O'Connors who were not extirpated by Sir Henry Sidney."

Lord Grey de Wilton, within six days after his arrival in Dublin, anxious to signalize his office of Lord Deputy, marched from the Castle of Dublin with a considerable force, including both Peter and George Carew, for an attack on Fay's stronghold, which was a deep wooded glen.

Lord Grey, inexperienced in Irish warfare, ordered Peter Carew (though warned of the danger by Francis Cosby) to dismount and lead his men down through the wood, while he himself on horseback, with Jaques Wingfield, George Carew, and others, watched the operation from the higher ground.

The party under Peter Carew were soon attacked at a disadvantage by Fay's men, and were obliged to fly with serious loss, including Peter Carew, who, incumbered with his armour, and fatigued with running, fell in some boggy ground, was seized, stripped, and, while Fay and others were endeavouring to save him, he was treacherously slain by one of Fay's swordsmen. George Carew would have gone with his brother, but his uncle, Jaques Wingfield, who had his doubts of the result of this rash proceeding, forbade him, saying, "No: though I lose the one, yet I will keep the other."

George Carew, under the limitations of Sir Peter's will, now succeeded to the lands of the barony of Idrone, and was also appointed Constable of the Castle of Leighlin in the room of his brother Peter, but his Munster claims being enough to occupy his whole attention, he sold his estate of the barony of Idrone, in the year 1585, to Dudleigh Bagnal.<sup>4</sup>

Dudleigh Bagnal was a younger son of Sir Nicholas Bagnal, who,

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Sir John Perrott," p. 16. Small 4to. London. 1626.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer's "View of Ireland," p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Hooker in Hollinshed, vol. vi., p. 485.

<sup>4</sup> 10th February, 1584-5, Inquisitiones post mortem. Dudleigh Bagnal preserved in the Exchequer, County of Carlow, No. 3.

in the year 1565, was made Marshal of the army by Queen Elizabeth, in consideration, so the Patent runs, of his good and acceptable service performed to King Henry VIII., to King Edward VI., to Queen Mary, and to Queen Elizabeth herself.<sup>1</sup> Dudleigh was brother to Sir Henry Bagnal, who, on the death of his father, Sir Nicholas, in 1583, was made Marshal in his room.<sup>2</sup> The Bagnals were from Staffordshire, and Sir Nicholas Bagnal was the first of the family that came to Ireland, arriving in the year 1542.

He settled at Newry, in the county of Down, having in the year 1552 received from King Edward a grant of the lordship of Newry, and the dissolved Abbey, and extensive lands thereto annexed; also the Lordship of Green Castle and Mourne.<sup>3</sup>

The Marshal's life seems to have been passed in the wars in Ireland, and his sons Henry, Dudleigh, and Ralphe were all officers in Queen Elizabeth's army, and were born, bred, and died amidst the conflicts and tumults of that troubled reign in Ireland.

It may well be presumed that Dudleigh Bagnal was of a different temper and character from Sir Peter Carew the elder. It would be hard indeed to find a man of Sir Peter's qualifications. With his freedom from prejudice (the character of a man that had seen the manners of many nations and cities of the world), with his hospitality and soldierly qualities, he was well suited to govern the Irish. Depending altogether on the will of their landlord for their security and good treatment, they placed inestimable store on his personal disposition. The fears of Sir Peter's tenants had early presaged the possibility of his selling his estate in Idrone. A rumour to that effect got abroad once during his absence in London, and so dismayed his tenants that the whole management of his estate was interrupted, and Sir Peter was informed that, unless he came over to disabuse their minds of this false tale, it was but lost labour to travail in his business.

"Your tenants," writes Hooker, "do verily refuse to take any estate at all, other than at your own hands . . . because they are informed that you do minde and intend to sell or conveighe the same to some one of the Earls of this land, which, if you should do so, then, besides the rents which you compounded, they shall stand at such devotion [i. e., in such thralldom], as which they do curse the time to think upon. . . . But assuredly, if you do mind to come over yourself, you shall be assured to set the same at such rate, price, and rent, as you will yourself: for so as they may have you to be their defender, and to be free from such governors as whom they fear to offend, they care not how far they do strain themselves."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Liber Hibernie," vol. ii. part ii., p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, *ib.*

<sup>3</sup> *Inqnia. Ultonie*, Down, No. 15, "Ar-

thur Bagnall." *Jac. I. Printed Inquisitions of Chancery.*

<sup>4</sup> "Life and Times of Sir P. Carew," by Maclean. Pp. 248-9.

Sir Peter, as we have seen, confirmed the principal gentlemen of the Kavanaghs in their possessions, and did not seek to remove any of the inferior families from their holdings, but made them his tenants by lease.

Dudleigh Bagnal, nursed up in conflict with the Irish, held them, probably, in contempt, and they, probably, repaid his scorn with hatred. Be that as it may, he was not eighteen months in possession of his estate in Idrone before he was murdered. The cause of it was, of course, the land question. He would not permit Donough and Murtough Kavanagh to live on the lands given by Sir Peter Carew to their father.

Murtough Kavanagh, the elder of the Garquill, was the chief of his name, and father of Donough and Murtough Oge, above mentioned. His chief house was the Castle of Rathnegarry, in Idrone, but he and his family dwelt at the Garquill adjoining to it.<sup>1</sup> It seems that Dudleigh Bagnal, after he had bought the barony of Idrone, was not content to let the Kavanaghs continue in possession of certain lands which they had been permitted to enjoy under the Carews, and, consequently, an ill feeling was engendered.

About the 30th of November, 1586, Henry Hern, son of Sir Nicholas Hern, and brother-in-law of Bagnal, having lost four cows, proceeded with twenty men to the house of Murtough Oge, chief of the Kavanaghs, who was at this time upwards of seventy years old. They entered the house with their swords drawn, which the old man seeing, attempted to effect his escape, but was taken and brought before Mr. Hern, who laid to his charge that one of his sons had taken away the cows.

Murtough Oge fairly promised to pay for the cattle if this could be proved, and appealed to the sessions; but this would not satisfy his accusers, who barbarously put him to death. This led to a deadly feud. In the following spring Murtough's two sons, Murtough and Donough Caraghe, assembled their followers with a determination of avenging their father's death, and on the 21st May, 1587, with twenty men they attacked a place called Ballymoiva, which they plundered, and then returned with the expectation of being followed by Bagnal, in anticipation of which they had set an

<sup>1</sup> The Garquill is the same as Garryhill, at present the property of the Earl of Beasborough. There is a mansion on it, built some 80 or 100 years ago, still occasionally occupied by the owner for a few weeks in the year. About the place are certain marks of antiquity, a few ancient trees, two remarkable old gate piers, standing in a field in front of the house, and, in the garden, part of a very ancient wall. Near the house, in

the rere, is a circular enclosure within a ditch, apparently the site of some old Irish dwelling. Garryhill has evidently been, from remote times, the chief place of a district. It commands a most extensive view on all sides, and lies on the road from Myahall to Bagnalstown, being about five miles from the latter. At the distance of a mile and a half from Garryhill are seen the ruins of Rathnaree Castle.

ambush of forty men to intercept him. Nor were they disappointed. Mr. Bagnal pursuing fell into the trap, and with thirteen others was slain. He was found to have received sixteen wounds above the girdle, one of his legs was cut off, and his tongue was drawn out of his mouth and slit.

These details are all taken from the contemporary account written by Henry Sheffield to Lord Burleigh,<sup>1</sup> and, in addition to the judgment thus pronounced on the injustice of Dudleigh Bagnal's proceedings, Sir John Perrott seems to have formed the same opinion of his conduct, for, after giving a similar account, and stating that Donough and Murtough Kavanagh assigned those acts of Dudleigh Bagnal as the cause of their rebellion, he seems to have taken them into protection, and advocated their pardon.<sup>2</sup>

Dudleigh Bagnal, at his death, left his son Nicholas, an infant, his heir-at-law, to whom, of course, the estate of Idrone descended. The castle and mansion-house attached to it at Leighlin Bridge, where Dudleigh resided, were held, however, merely in right of his Constablership of the Castle, and now passed to Ralph Bagenal, Dudleigh's brother, the uncle of the minor, who got himself appointed Constable, and, on Ralphe's death, to Sir Henry Bagnal, the eldest brother of Dudleigh, who succeeded him in the office.<sup>3</sup>

It appears, from a very curious recital in the patent of office, appointing Nicholas Bagnal to the Constablership of Leighlin Castle on his coming of age, that at the time of the purchase of Idrone by Dudleigh Bagnal, Sir George Carew got permission to surrender the Constablership, with the house and lands attached to the Castle (so necessary to the management of the estate), to Dudleigh. On Dudleigh's death, however, Sir George's surrender not being complete, Ralphe Bagnal, Dudleigh's brother, got liberty to stand in Dudleigh's place, but he, too, died before the transaction was perfected, whereupon Sir Henry Bagnal, the elder brother of Dudleigh and Ralphe, entered into possession of the castle and premises at Leighlin Bridge, and occupied them until his, Sir Henry's, death, which occurred at the fatal overthrow of the English forces at the battle of the Blackwater, near Armagh, in the month of August, 1598, where he was killed, leading the Queen's army against his brother-in-law, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, then in revolt.

Upon Sir Henry Bagnal's death, Sir George Carew found himself liable to large arrears of rent, due to the Queen for the premises attached to the Castle at Leighlin Bridge, as Sir Henry Bagnal had neglected to discharge the rent during his occupancy, and the surrender of Sir George Carew's interest and patent had not been pro-

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Sir P. Carew," by Maclean, p. 254 a.

<sup>2</sup> "Life of Sir John Perrott," p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> The uncles, probably, took the office to secure the residence for their nephew during his minority.

perly completed at the time of Ralphe Bagnal's death, so as to discharge Sir George, and fix the legal liability on the Bagnals. In these circumstances Sir George Carew applied to Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, for an appointment to be made to a nominee of his own, anticipating probably (what actually happened) that Nicholas Bagnal, son and heir of Dudleigh, who was now near of age, would be willing to take up the Constableness, and pay the arrears of rent rather than that a place of such importance and value to the owner of the barony of Idrone should be occupied by a stranger.<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly, on the 5th of October, 1602, Nicholas Bagnal was appointed Constable of the Castle of Leighlin, and in the year 1605 had livery and seisin (i. e., delivery and possession) granted him by the king of his estate, which as tenant in capite (i. e., holding immediately of the king), had been in the enjoyment of the Crown or the Crown's nominee, during his minority.

Nicholas appears to have been the last of the Bagnals that occupied the castle and mansion at Leighlin Bridge as his residence,

<sup>1</sup> " Sir George Carew, by letters dated from the camp at Carew Castle, addressed to Lord Mountjoy, signified his willingness for passing the office of Constable to Nicholas Bagnal, and the cancelling of his (Sir George Carew's) patent, viz., by the allowance of the Lord Deputy and Council he conveyed over an estate thereof, as also of certain lands annexed thereto (for which there was a great rent reserved to the Queen, together with the inheritance of the barony of Idrone, which neighboured the same), to Dudley Bagnal, Esq., who, before he obtained patent thereof in his own name, was unfortunately slain, and then the same reverted to Sir G. Carew, who conveyed the same to Mr. Ralphe Bagnal, his brother, who also died before Sir George Carew's patent was surrendered, whereby the same reverted to him again. Sir Henry Bagnal, during his absence in England, entered and enjoyed the profits thereof during his life, and in all that time never paid her Majesty the growing rents, due out of the lands annexed to the said Constableness, but left the arrearages of rent chargeable on Sir George Carew, who, as Constable, was answerable. Therefore, upon notice thereof, Sir George Carew, when he was with the Lord Deputy at Kilkenny, prayed his Lordship's warrant to possess himself of the said house and lands of Leighlin, wherunto he only was patentee, which the Lord Deputy accordingly did, and, by virtue of his warrant, Nicholas Hermon, as

his Vice-Constable, still continued in the same. Upon which his entry, Master Nicholas Bagnal, son and heir to Dudleigh, to whom Sir George first made sale thereof, besought him that he might have the benefit of the bargain, and what he intended to pass, which, although by law he could not challenge; yet Sir George, conceiving himself bound in conscience to accomplish that to the son which he at first intended to the father, and perceiving the young gentleman to be of a good forward spirit, his principal living and fortune depending thereon, without which the barony of Idrone could do him little good, nor the Constableness be well maintained and supported, except the office and the barony were both in one man's hands, was contented, so as he would clear him of the arrears, to surrender his whole estate therein. Which being done, Sir George besought the Lord Deputy to cause the old patent to be cancelled, and a new one to be passed to the said Nicholas, also desiring his Lordship to give special order that the lands belonging to the Abbey, whereon the Castle was built, and which lay near to the house of Leighlin, might not be divided from the house, but granted by new lease to the Constable, lest, by disposing of them to a stranger, controversies might be nourished, and thereby her Majesty's house endangered. Patent, accordingly, to Sir Nicholas Bagnal, October 5, 1602."—"Liber Hibernia," part ii. p. 126.



for the next Constable was a stranger,<sup>1</sup> and it was owing, probably, to the circumstance of the Bagnals losing the Constabship and the official residence attached to the Castle, that they built a residence for themselves about two miles to the east of Leighlin Bridge, called Dunleckny House, where they continued to reside, and from whence they were always afterwards known as of Dunleckny.

There is now to be passed over a period of nearly forty years that preceded the year 1641, which Lord Clarendon portrays as forty years of peace, during which men, as before the Flood, were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until suddenly came the night of the 23rd of October, 1641, with the breaking out of the great Irish Rebellion, when all that had hitherto been called prosperity was to give place to ruin and desolation.

This period was one of great improvement in Ireland. Plantations similar to that of Idrone, but managed more "thorough" than, to the regret of Sir Henry Sidney, Sir Peter Carew chose to manage his barony, had been taking place all over the kingdom. New English planters, proprietors, and tenants, were flocking over, and new buildings and improved farming were to be seen in various parts.

The Munster plantation, formed by Queen Elizabeth, of gentlemen out of Cheshire and Lancashire, and others from Devonshire, which had been swept away on the outbreak of Tyrone's rebellion in the North, "making the work of years to be the spoil of days," as Bacon says, was renewed. The Ulster plantation had been growing for about thirty years. Leitrim was just planted. Sir John Davis, fetching over from the treasury at Westminster the old engagement made by the Byrnes, Kavanaghs, and others, with King Richard II., to quit all the lands they held within the line of the Barrow, had the king's title found to all the lands comprised within the line of the Slaney and the sea as far north as Arklow River, and King James I. formed a well-defined and well-secured plantation in that part of the county of Wexford.<sup>2</sup> Lord Strafford had commenced another plantation in the county of Wicklow, on the lands held for ages by the Byrnes. And, following Sir John Davis's plan of hunt-

<sup>1</sup> April 2, 1609: H. Fisher, Gent., appointed Constable of the Castle of Leighlin, vice Bagnal, deceased.—"Liber Hib.," part ii. p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> "The new plantation intended in the county of Wexford, in the province of Leinster, is to be made in the two baronies of Gowry and Ballakenny, and the half barony of Skerriewalaha, which contain (as they are estimated by Survey), about 66,800 acres of land, all lying together on one continent, betwixt the River of Slaney on the south, and the River

of Arklow north, the sea on the east, and the bounds of the counties of Catherlagh and Kildare on the west; whereof the profits and occupation have been for many years in the several septs of the Kavanaghs, Kinsalagha, Mac-Saddoes, Mac-de-Amoores, and Murroughs. . . . His Lordship (the Lord Deputy) resolved on a project for the division and plantation of those counties. . . . Of 57 natives, 21 are still to retain their ancient habitations. All the residue of the inhabitants, estimated to be 14,500 men, women,

ing up old defective titles, he had the king's title found to the whole of Connaught, and "a noble English plantation was designed," and the town of Galway, it was thought (if the scheme had not been suddenly cut short by cutting of the Earl of Strafford shorter by the head), might have become another Derry on the west.

So pleased was Sir John Davis with the improved prosperity of Ireland, that he describes the year 1613 as a year of jubilee, the Sabbath of the land after its travails of 400 years<sup>2</sup> ("for the plagues of Egypt, though they were grievous, were but of short continuance, but the plagues of Ireland lasted four hundred years"<sup>3</sup>); when the strings of this Irish harp, which the civil magistrate doth finger, were all in tune, whence he conceived a hope that Ireland (which heretofore might properly be called the "Land of Ire," because the irascible power was predominant there for the space of four hundred years together), would, thenceforth, prove a land of peace and concord; and, as a proof of its peace and its progress, he declared it to be so free from crime that, for five years preceding, he had not found so many malefactors worthy of death in all the six circuits of Ireland as in one circuit of six counties, namely, the western circuit in England.<sup>4</sup>

"This state of peace and prosperity," in the words of Lord Clarendon, "continued for forty years," that is to say, from the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign up to the breaking out of the great Rebellion of 1641, "being such a calm (according to his account) as Ireland had not known since the twelfth century, with plenty and security, increase of traffic, and whatever else might be pleasant and profitable to a people."

And it was a period of progress and improvement,—improvement of the new demesnes and farms in the occupation of the English and Scottish planters, and a period of calm produced by the decay and despair of the Irish race, which saw no means of further resisting the confiscation and plantation of their ancient inheritances.

The new proprietors were full of the enjoyments of their lately acquired properties, "vineyards they had not planted, and houses

and children, may be removed at the will of the patentees."—"Report of the Commissioners made to the King (A. D. 1613), concerning the general grievances of the kingdom." 1 "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica; or, Collection of State Papers, illustrating the government of Ireland during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I."—Vol. I., p. 376. 8vo. Dub. 1772.

<sup>1</sup> Sir R. Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," part ii. p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> "Discovery," &c., pp. 303, 304.

<sup>3</sup> Sir J. Davis would have agreed with the poet's description of Ireland's continued misery, who, however, had to add two centuries more of misfortune elapsed, since that greatest of Irish Attorney-General's prophecy of prosperity—

"Hapless nation, rent and torn,  
Early thou wert taught to mourn;  
Warfare of six hundred years,  
Epochs marked by blood and tears."

<sup>4</sup> "Discovery," p. 200.

they had not builded." Everything to them wore the aspect of happiness and prosperity, for they were happy and prosperous themselves. Yet there were statesmen who foresaw danger and future misfortune amid all this prosperity. They were aware that this prosperity was founded in the midst of a secretly discontented and unhappy nation, though deprived of arms and of hope of redress. They knew how grieved the Irish were to leave their possessions to strangers, which they had so long after their manner enjoyed, as Sir John Davis contemptuously describes it,<sup>1</sup> even though it were but "a scambling kind of possession," on which "they had never planted orchards or gardens."<sup>2</sup>

Had they chosen to listen to the native writers, they would have heard from them their opinion (at the very same date) of the cruelty of driving out the owners from their native homes with charges of children—no property but a few cows and garrans—no trade but tillage and pasturage; men, however, of lofty spirit and vigorous frames, who would rather hunger and want in their own soil than feast in a foreign country. These men, it was said, in mere despair, might, perhaps, fight for their homes, and prefer to be drowned in their own blood near the graves of their forefathers, like the Scythians to whom they were said in race to belong, than be driven as exiles to an unknown country, or be buried on an unknown shore.<sup>3</sup> "Of old," says Rothe, in his "Analecta," "we might fear the sound of the trumpet and the brandishing of the sword, but now what else do we hear of and dread, than the inextricable questions of our forefathers' religion and our forefathers' possessions; questions about our faith, our farms, our estates; about plantations and supplantations; about putting a new face on this old country; about extending the new colonies of strangers; about spreading a new religion; about confirming old estates by new titles; and heaping on the inhabitants fresh injuries."<sup>4</sup>

Sir Edw. Phillips, who was sent over by King Charles I., in 1627, to survey and report upon the Ulster plantation, foresaw the dangers to be apprehended from the secret discontents of the Irish, and prophesied for it, in consequence of the settlers' disregard of these injured feelings of the native inhabitants, and the careless security in which they lived amongst them, a fate similar "to the lamentable case of the Munster plantation after the Blackwater overthrow, yet fresh in our memories."<sup>5</sup>

Archbishop Usher, in the same year, addressing an assembly of

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, of the State of Ireland, 1610, "Discovery," p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Id., p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> "Analecta sacra nova et mira de Rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia. Collectore et Relatore, T. N., Philadelpho, pp. 259-60.

(David Rothe, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory). Printed at Cologne, A. D. 1617. 12mo, pp. 581. Dedicated to the Prince of Wales.

<sup>4</sup> Id., pp. 204-5.

<sup>5</sup> Harris's "Hibernica," vol. i. p. 131.

notables at the Castle of Dublin, composed principally of the ancient nobility and gentry of English extract (who were chiefly Roman Catholic), which met to consider of raising funds for supporting a standing army, on account of an apprehended invasion from Spain, relied, as his principal argument for the measure, upon the discontent of the Irish, on account of their being dispossessed of their lands. He warned them that they would have, in the event of invasion, to meet the attempt of the Irish to re-establish themselves in their ancient possessions, "for this (said my lord) you may assure yourselves 'Manet altâ mente repostum,' in other words, lies at the bottom of their hearts."<sup>1</sup>

In all rebellions previous to the civil war of 1641, the "Old English," though Roman Catholic, and the Milesian, or native Irish, had been opposed to one another, but already, in 1614, their union was presaged, on account of the late plantations of new English and Scottish in all parts of the kingdom, whom, with an unanimous consent, both reputed as a common enemy:

"The general ill affections to the state increasing on this account, as well as for the cause of religion (whereby they are united), the next rebellion [adds this statesman], whensoever it shall happen, doth threaten more danger to the state than any that hath preceded."<sup>2</sup>

The barony of Idrone was at this period in possession of Colonel Walter Bagnal. He was grandson of Dudleigh Bagnal, the first purchaser, slain, as has been mentioned, by the Kavanaghs, which Dudleigh was son of one Marshal of the English army, and brother of another. Colonel Walter Bagnal was thus distant by but a few descents from the first Bagnal that left the ancestral home in Staffordshire to improve his fortune in Ireland.

Had Colonel Walter Bagnal, this Englishman at little more than three removes, been told that he was to forfeit, as being Irish, those very estates that the Kavanaghs had lost for the same cause, he would, probably, have called it a hard saying, difficult of belief. Yet so it happened. And if he had been versed in the story of Ireland, he would have found it but a common case.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Present State of Ireland," p. 61. 12mo. London. 1678.

<sup>2</sup>"A Discourse of the Present State of Ireland, 1614, per S. C. "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica," vol. 1, p. 480.

<sup>3</sup>It has, indeed, been remarked from old time that the people of England regard with all the cold, bitter feeling of a stepmother, their own children, when once they transplant themselves to Ireland. The statutes of Edward the First's day prove that the "English by birth" in Ireland, i. e., the officials and others fresh from England, looked down on the "English by blood," as Irish landlords

were called in that day. The soldiery and other planters of Cromwell's day had not been settled twenty years in Ireland, when (in the debates of the English Parliament of 1667 on the Cattle Bills), they were regarded with almost as much scorn as the Irish Rebels of 1641. (See Carte's "Life of Ormond," pp. 832-3.) For years after the Revolution of 1688, the same spirit was exhibited to those lately planted from England in Irish soil, in the measures and debates concerning the woollen trade, which makes one of those English lately settled in Ireland exclaim, in 1698, that though the

One of the motives of that settlement of Ireland, which eventuated in the transplanting to Connaught, in the year 1653, of the remnant of the Irish nation left undestroyed by famine, pestilence, and the sword, was the difficulty that had been experienced at all times of preserving the English settlement in its integrity in Ireland.

“It has been observed,” writes one of the principal promoters of that scheme, “that from the very day upon which peace hath been concluded, and the affairs of Ireland settled between the English and the Irish, the Irish have grown stronger and stronger, and the English weaker and weaker, whereby the Irish interest, after all former settlements, gained ground, and wearied out the English.”

The Irish Statute Book is but a record of the same story. It might almost be described as the groans of England over her lost labours in the settlement of Ireland. The difficulty of maintaining the settlement in its English purity lay, in truth, in the very nature of things.

If, of matter, the greater mass of atoms attracts the less, it happens no otherwise with man, who never fails at length to be moulded more or less nearly to the model of the multitude he moves amongst. The English settlers, few in number, compared with the native Irish, must by sympathy be naturally prompted to adopt the manners and prefer the interests of those they lived with. There are principles of man's nature which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derive nothing from it but the pleasure of seeing it. The sociability of the Irish, their greater ease and animation of life, their freedom from the burden of the feudal system (for they knew nothing of forfeitures, of wardships, of marriages, of reliefs, of forest laws, or game laws), had great attractions; and mutual wants and common interests

English of Ireland be “bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh,” yet the English of England still treat them ever as Irish. And, he observes, how peculiar is their lot when they remove to Ireland, compared with settling in any other of the English colonies. “A man may travel out of England (he remarks) to Africk, Asia, America,—remove his family with him if he thinks convenient—live as long as he pleases in the English factories of those countries, and have sons and daughters born to him, and if he and they happen to return to England, they shall not be denied the title and privilege of English people. But let a man once land upon Irish ground, breath of that air, drink one dish of St. Patrick's well, and especially if he live there some few years, upon his return hither

(to England), he must rest satisfied with the odious character of an Irishman.”—“A Discourse concerning Ireland, and the different Interests thereof. In Answer to the Exon and Barnstaple Petitions. Shewing that if a law were enacted to prevent the exportation of woollen manufacture from Ireland to foreign parts, what would be the consequences both to England and Ireland. *Pro aris et focis*,” p. 46. Small 4to, 72 pp. London. 1697-8 (Anonymous, but written by the Rev. Mr. Thomas, Vicar-General of Tuam.) “The great Interest of England in the Well-planting of Ireland, with English people, discussed.” By R. L., a member of the Army in Ireland. p. 5. 8vo. Dublin. 1656. Many similar quotations, to the same effect, might be added.

were continually tending to amalgamate the two races. But it was the Irish, as the more numerous, that necessarily absorbed the English.

Laws were continually enacted to forbid that union or amalgamation of two races in contact which follows by the law of nature, and to require that the smaller should maintain itself a separate and distinct people, dwelling amidst the daily life of the larger. The code called "The Statute of Kilkenny" is but one sample from the statute book. It not merely forbids the English in Ireland, under the severest penalties, to adopt Irish dress, Irish laws, and Irish customs, but even to hold commerce with them. The example of the Jews might have shown that this end could only be obtained at the cost of extirpating (as they were enjoined to do) the native and larger race by the sword. Now, among the many causes that attracted the English towards the Irish, there was a natural one of predominant and irresistible force. The daughters of Erin were fair, and the women of England not coming over in sufficient number with the men, the English took wives of the native race. The children of the Irish mother, surrounded from the very breast by Irish nurses and gossips, lisped their first wants and first likings in Irish, and the son of the Englishman grew up half an Irishman before he was a man.<sup>1</sup>

This degenerating of the English, for so in their pride the English of the mother country termed it, began, it has been remarked, at the Conquest, when Strongbow married Eva, daughter of Mac-Murrough, which was excusable, perhaps, considering the fine fortune he received with her—no less than the kingdom of Leinster. But the ill effects of Englishmen marrying Irish wives had become so palpable by the reign of Edward III., that by the Statute of Kilkenny it was made high treason.<sup>2</sup> Lovers, however, "laugh at all

<sup>1</sup> About forty years after Cromwell's era, and only seven years after the battle of the Boyne, the following was written:—

"We cannot so much wonder at this (the quick degenerating of the English settlers in Ireland), when we consider how many there are of the children of Oliver's soldiers in Ireland, who cannot speak one word of English. And (which is stronger), the same may be said of some of the children of King William's soldiers, who came but t'other day into the country. This misfortune is owing to the marrying Irish women for want of English, who come not over in so great numbers as are requisite. 'Tis sure that no Englishman in Ireland knows what his children may be as things are now; they cannot well live in the country without growing Irish, for none take such care as Sir Jerome Alexander did, who left his estate to his daughter,

provided she married no Irishman, or any related to that interest."—"True way to render Ireland happy and secure, or a Discourse, wherein 'tis shown that 'tis the interest both of England and Ireland to encourage foreign Protestants to plant in Ireland." In a Letter to the Hon. Robert Molesworth. *Dubl. Printed by Andrew Crook, A. D. 1697.*

<sup>2</sup> "Article 2. Also it is ordained that no alliance by marriage, gossipred, fostering of children, or by amour, be henceforth made between the English and the Irish. . . . And if any shall do the contrary, and thereof be attainted, he shall have judgment of life and member, as a traitor of our Lord the King."—Statute of Kilkenny, 40 Edward III., edited by J. Hardiman, Esq. *Irish Archæol. Society, "Tracts relating to Ireland," part ii., p. 9.*

laws but those which Love has made," and the fearful penalties of the Statute of Kilkenny were as vain against the grace and attractiveness of Irish women, as were in after times the enactments of the Puritans,<sup>1</sup> and the methodized malignity of the Penal Laws. The penalties, however, were often paid; and, though the enactments of Edward the Third's day had been repealed some short time before Colonel Walter Bagnal's birth,<sup>2</sup> yet the forfeiture of his life and estate, and his being branded as an Irishman, may be considered as the penalty that followed his father's marrying an Irishwoman. Distinctions and disqualifications on account of race had, it is true, been done away with expressly by statute.<sup>3</sup> But the English habit still brought privilege and power, and the Irish habit disqualification and disparagement.

Ireland, within little more than fifty years before the great era of 1641, had been largely colonized by new English. The new English, as the settlers were called that had taken lands in the plantations formed in every part of the kingdom by Queen Elizabeth, King James, and Charles I., formed a rival interest, not merely to the native Irish, whom they supplanted in their lands, but to the old English, whom they supplanted in power, and the favour of the Crown. They came over, not merely with all the newest tastes in farming, but with the strongest English prejudices. The ancient English settlers were, of course, less English than the new planters, and managed their estates and their tenants in a more Irish way, and stuck to many Irish habits, and, amongst others, to the Irish habit of religion.

Colonel Walter Bagnal, possessor of the barony of Idrone at the period of the Great Rebellion of 1641, was a Roman Catholic. He was grandson of Dudleigh Bagnal, the purchaser, whose eldest son, Nicholas, died in 1624, leaving an only son, who soon after died, unmarried, whereupon the barony of Idrone passed to George

<sup>1</sup> *Declaration of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland against intermarriages* :—

"Whereas the late Lord Deputy Ireton published a declaration (dated 1st May, 1651), wherein all officers and souldiers of the army were strictly forbidden to intermarry with any of the women of this nation that are Papists, or with any other that are or have been lately Papists (whose change of religion is not, or cannot be judged to flow from a real work of God upon their hearts), upon penalty of being cashiered the army, and made incapable of any future employment, which declaration hath been since renewed, continued, and published by the Commander-in-Chief on the 10th of March last. The said Commis<sup>rs</sup> of the Commonwealth, taking into consideration the weighty reasons of the sd Declaration,

and how fit it is that it should by all other officers and persons employed in this Country be observed, Do further Order and Declare that all Civil officers who shall intermarry with any of the women of this Nation that are Papists, &c., shall be suspended from their several employments, and according to the quality and circumstance of the offence be held incapable of future preferment. Commis<sup>rs</sup> of the Revenue to receive any information and make strict enquiry for offenders, and to return the names of all such offenders to the Comm<sup>rs</sup> of the Commonwealth.

Dated at Dublin, July, 1658.

Edmd. Ludlow, Miles Corbett,  
John Jones.

<sup>2</sup> 11th, 12th, and 13th Jas. I., c. v. Irish. A. D., 1612.

<sup>3</sup> 11th, 12th, and 13th, Jac. I., c. 5.

Bagnal, of Ballymoon, in the county of Carlow, second son of Dudley Bagnal, and father of Walter Bagnal.

George Bagnal had married Joan Butler, daughter of Walter, eleventh Earl of Ormond, and thus Colonel Walter Bagnal had a Roman Catholic for his mother, for the house of Ormond, like most of the ancient nobility of English race in Ireland, continued to be of the old form of religion after the Reformation in England. The great Duke of Ormond himself, grandson of this Walter, the eleventh Earl, was the only Protestant of his family,<sup>1</sup> and this merely by the accident of his being under age when the title and estates devolved to him, whereupon, as being one of the king's wards, he was put under Protestant guardians by the Court of Wards, a branch of the Court of Chancery, and brought up a Protestant.<sup>2</sup>

Colonel Walter Bagnal was brought up a Roman Catholic, and thus, though in blood entirely English, came almost necessarily to side with the Irish in the conflicts of 1641.

Until the rise of the rival power of the new English, the old English, as the Roman Catholic gentry of Ireland were designated, had enjoyed a monopoly of power. The native Irish were not only excluded from office, but were even disqualified from purchasing land in their own counties, in order to keep their interest in the reduced state it had been left by the new plantations of Scotch and English, made at its expense.

From the reign of James I., the old English found themselves debarred from office and power, on account of their religion, and saw with envy the monopoly which they had so long enjoyed transferred to their rivals—the new English.

They found themselves, in the face of this new interest, under the same disability with the Irish, and, thus identified in grievance, they were at length forced by circumstances into a union of interest and action with the Irish.

The troubles about religion had been increasing in England all

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1679, the time of the "Popish Plot," the Duke of Ormond thus wrote to Sir Robert Southwell:—

"— My father and mother lived and died Papists, and only I, by God's merciful providence, was educated in the Protestant religion . . . . My brothers and sisters, though they were not very many, were very fruitful and very obstinate (they will call it constant) in their way. Their fruitfulness hath spread into a large alliance, and their obstinacy hath made it altogether Popish. It w<sup>d</sup> be no small Comfort to me if it had pleased God it had been otherwise." —The Duke of Ormond to Sir Rob<sup>t</sup> Southwell. Carte's "Life of Ormond," vol. ii., p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> The effects of this education did not always prove so successful as in the Duke of Ormond's case. Sir Phelim O'Neale, the chief actor in Ulster in the Rebellion of 1641, was also educated, by order of the Court of Wards, in the Protestant religion; but he was no sooner out of wardship than he renounced the Protestant religion, and embraced the Roman Catholic faith. "As the Israelitish women in their songs celebrated David's slaying of Goliath, so the Irish in their ballads sung the praises of Phelim, for bringing over the heretics from the orgies of Calvin, to hear the venerable Sacrifice of the Mass." —Lynch's "Alithinologia," vol. ii., p. 45. In Latin. Printed at St. Malo's, A. D. 1664.



through the reign of Charles I., until at last, at the breaking out of the Civil War in 1640, these differences formed the symbol of contest between the King and Parliament. As a natural consequence, almost, of the great Rebellion in England, followed the great Rebellion in Ireland; and as, naturally, the old English and the Irish, who were united in points of religion, formed a common interest in favour of the King against the Parliament, whose principles as Puritan were most hostile to them.

They now formed themselves into an organized body, called the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, with a Government consisting of a legislative House of Assembly, composed of the three estates of Prelates, Peers, and Representatives of the Commons, and an Executive Council. In this Assembly, Colonel Walter Bagnal, by race and blood one of the new English, found himself united as a Roman Catholic, not merely with the old English, such as the Butlers, Barnewals, Plunkets, Nangles, Darcys, Esmondes, and others, but with the native Irish—the O'Moores, the O'Neills, the Kavanaghs, and others, whom his ancestors, about sixty years before, had been promoted and enriched for subduing. Colonel Walter Bagnal here sat as representative for the county of Carlow, and in the army of the Confederates had the command of a regiment of horse. It is not necessary to enter further into the history of this period, than to explain Colonel Walter Bagnal's conduct in reference to what is known as the Peace of '46, which formed a remarkable turning point in the affairs of Ireland.

At this period (the year 1646), the Confederate Catholics of Ireland were in possession of a considerable military force, divided into four armies, styled after the different provinces where they were raised, and which they had chiefly to defend—the army of Ulster, of Munster, of Leinster, and of Connaught.

The king's affairs at the same period had taken a very unfavourable turn in England, and his best hopes were now placed in obtaining military aid from the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, with whom he was ready to conclude a peace, on the terms of their advancing him a sum of £12,000 out of their treasury, and sending over 10,000 men to join his forces against the Parliament in England.

The conduct of the negotiations for this peace between the King and the Confederate Catholics was entrusted, on the King's part, to Lord Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and to Commissioners from the Confederate Catholics on the other part; and the negotiations had been dragging on slowly for two years, by reason of the Confederates demanding greater freedom for their religion than Lord Ormond thought it safe for the King to grant. They demanded a repeal of all penal laws passed since the reign of Henry VII.; that their religion might be celebrated, in all its splen-

dour, as freely as at Paris or Brussels; and further, that they should keep all the churches and monasteries that they had got possession of during the war, which included those over five-sixths of Ireland. Lord Ormond declined to be a party to a peace on such terms; but the King, being resolved to get the aid of the Confederate forces at all hazards, sent over Lord Glamorgan to the Confederates at Kilkenny, commissioned to conclude a secret treaty, granting them their terms, on condition of their sending over the men and money he demanded.

An accident, however, exposed the whole of Glamorgan's secret treaty, and brought about a most complicated state of affairs. At the fight near Sligo, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam was slain, and the papers containing the terms of the secret treaty were seized among his baggage, and immediately printed and published by orders of the Parliament of England, to prejudice the King with the Puritans of England and Ireland. Lord Glamorgan being arrested in Dublin by Lord Ormond as for misusing the King's name, he defended himself by proving the authenticity of his commission, but, to relieve the King from the odium of making such concessions to the Roman Catholics, he produced another paper, called a defeasance, by which the King declared he would be no further bound than he might think fit.

On being released, Lord Glamorgan went to Kilkenny, and assured the Confederate Assembly that the latter paper, whereby the King pretended not to bind himself to what he engaged to do for the Roman Catholics, was merely done by way of "blindation;" in other words, was intended to deceive the English Parliament, and not to dissolve his obligations entered into with the Confederates.

The Council of the Confederates, who were extremely anxious for the conclusion of a treaty of peace, were content to accept Lord Glamorgan's promise that the King would fulfil all that he had undertaken as regarded the religious liberties of the Roman Catholics.

They, therefore, instructed their Commissioners to conclude the treaty with Lord Ormond, which was, accordingly, signed at Dublin on the 28th of March, 1646, securing the civil rights of the Roman Catholics, but omitting all mention of their religious liberties, which had been the subject of Lord Glamorgan's articles.

This proved extremely distasteful to Rinuccini, the Pope's Nuncio in Ireland, who had a very large party in the Assembly and throughout the country to support him. The Council, accordingly, became extremely anxious for their personal safety, and for the consequences that might result from proclaiming the peace, which had been suspended by agreement with Lord Ormond until the 30th of July, on which day it was proclaimed with all due ceremony in Dublin. No sooner did this occur, than the Prelates met in national Synod at Waterford, and on the 12th of August issued their decree

declaring the Commissioners who had signed the peace, and all who should accept it, perjured. Foreseeing the danger they would be in when it came to be proclaimed in Kilkenny, the Council of the Confederates induced Lord Ormond to proceed thither from Dublin on the 28th of August, with 1500 foot and 500 horse, "to countenance" this ceremony, which accordingly took place with all the splendour that the Lord Lieutenant's presence, with 2000 men, could give it.

The Nuncio, however, and the party opposed to the peace, secretly sent orders to Owen O'Neill, then with the Ulster army near Roscrea, to march with all speed towards Dublin to intercept Lord Ormond's return, and, if possible, to make a prisoner of him. At first Lord Ormond could scarcely credit the intelligence, and cast about to ascertain the truth of it; but,

"Whilst he was considering what party to take, the Earl of Castlehaven came to him, with a full account of the design laid to intercept him, and that both O'Neill's and Preston's armies were on the march to cut off his retreat, so that he had not a moment's time to lose, and must inevitably be lost unless he marched immediately to Leighlin Bridge with his troops, and having there passed the Barrow, and got that river between him and the enemy, endeavoured by long marches to gain Dublin. There was neither room nor time for dispute, and the Marquess of Ormond immediately joined his troops at Callan. Thence he dispatched orders to Sir Frederick Willoughby, who was still posted at Gowran Castle, to take up all the draught horses he could find in the plough, stables, or field, to put them into the waggons, and to march with all the forces as fast as possible to Leighlin Bridge, and possess himself of that pass, for they were all betrayed, and O'Neill was advanced with his army into the barony of Ballinakill, in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny . . . . . When he came within three miles of Leighlin Bridge, he received advice that 100 men, under Colonel Walter Bagnal, were put into the fort at the Bridge end, and thereupon sent two officers to Bagnal, to know whether he might expect to find him a friend or an enemy. Bagnal returned a very civil answer, that the passage over the Bridge should be open, and that he might command any accommodation that the Castle could afford."

Colonel Bagnal's conduct on this occasion was, in fact, the salvation of Lord Ormond, who would have otherwise fallen into the hands of Owen O'Neill and his brave but ferocious<sup>1</sup> army, composed of the Ulster creaghts, then fresh from their triumph over the Scotch forces at Benburb; but, being allowed a passage over Leighlin Bridge, he was enabled to reach Dublin in safety on the 30th of Sept. 1646.

There now broke out an open schism in the Confederate Assembly, between the parties who supported the peace signed with Lord

<sup>1</sup> Carte's "Life of Ormond," vol. i. p. 582.

<sup>2</sup> They "gave out that if the Lord Lieutenant would not admit of Glamorgan's peace,

they would treat him (when they caught him) in a manner *too scandalous to be mentioned*."—Carte's "Ormond," vol. i., p. 581.

Ormond, and those who adhered to the views of the Nuncio, who condemned it as beyond the powers of the Commissioners, and declared them and all who adhered to it "perjurious," as acting contrary to the original oath of association, by which they were bound to secure their religious freedom. But the practical question now was, whether they should unite their forces with the King's, and thus together oppose the Parliament forces, which were every day growing stronger in England, or, by rejecting the peace, run the hazard of having to meet them alone. The King was a prisoner in the hands of the Parliament. The Parliament ships were in the Bay of Dublin. Many of those under Lord Ormond's command were well inclined to surrender Dublin to the Parliament, in which event it was foreseen by many that the forces of the Confederates would be unequal to cope with the Parliament arms, and they had already ample evidence of what fate they might expect in the event of their being subdued, both Houses of Parliament having passed resolutions that they would not allow a toleration of their religion in any of the King's dominions, and had, by various acts and ordinances, confiscated their lands, and assigned them for the payment of the expenses of the Irish war.

These differences about the Peace of '46 gave rise to most tumultuous debates in the Assembly, in which the party for rejecting the peace were the most numerous and powerful, and finally succeeded. Colonel Walter Bagnal, however, supported the peace. He considered that the faith of the Confederates was pledged by the act of their plenipotentiaries in signing it, and spoke against rejecting it as if he had a full vision of the calamities impending over his country, his family, and himself. There is extant an account of these scenes by an eye-witness, who was himself a member of the Assembly. He contrasts their conduct at this period, when the Assembly had been new formed in an irregular manner, with their former grave deportment—saying that their clamorous disputations, and horrid confusion of outcries of "I, I, No, No," were such as vexed the souls of some composed men, who had been witnesses, in former sittings, of their grave deportment; for though the House, in her best of times (he admits), fell into heat, and was loud in her "I's and No's," yet now it had grown clean another thing. The Bishop of Leighlin, who always sat upon an eminent bench at the upper end of the House, could, with waving his hat, raise such a storm from the middle seats and towards the door, that nothing could be heard for a long time after but the repeated thunder of "I or No," or that name which he first dictated to them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 429, "Fragmentum Historicum; or, the second and third books of the War of Ireland, containing the transactions in that

kingdom from the years 1642 to 1647." By Richard Bellings, Esq. "Desiderata Curiosa Hib.," vol. ii. p. 429. 8vo. Dubl. 1772.

Amid such scenes as these, Colonel Walter Bagnal, a "young man," the reporter adds, "who, to the nobleness of his birth, and plentifulness of his fortune, had added a great stock of valour and many excellent parts," spoke after this manner:—

COLONEL WALTER BAGNAL'S SPEECH.

"MR. PLUNKET,—When I consider the weight and importance of the matter now agitated, I do not wonder that we have spent so many days in the debate of it. . . . But when I observed men's reasons are rather cried down than convinced, and that it is an impetuous storm, not a natural tide, that raises the sea of our passions to so exorbitant a height, I must confess I look upon it as a sad presage of the many miseries (if God prevent them not) which will befall us and our posterity.

"For I appeal to the consciences of all that hear me, if, when we were first compelled (for compelled we were) for safety of our lives and fortunes, and the defence of our religion, and our King's right, to take up arms, we had then, while yet his Majesty was in power, been offered less advantageous concessions, we had not joyfully accepted them; and I cannot see that improvement in our condition which sh<sup>d</sup> make us less willing to acquiesce.

"We have plenty of arms, you will say, which then we wanted; our armies are formed, and our affairs directed by a constant way of government. . . . But when we shall consider that the party in the Parl<sup>t</sup> of Eng<sup>d</sup>, which hath vowed the extirpation of our religion, and was then seconded but by the confused clamours of the multitude at London, hath armies at present, and the royal fleet at their command; that they who were then in their down, and w<sup>d</sup> scarce adventure to hop out of their nests, do now fly all England over, we cannot be so partial to ourselves as to think our state so much improved beyond theirs, that we should now reject those conditions, which we would cheerfully have embraced at first.

" . . . But now, Mr. Plunket, I shall beg leave of the House to recede from the ordinary custom, and to apply my speech to the prelates. My Lords, there was a time when our ancestors, at the peril of their fortunes, and with the danger of their persons, sheltered some of you and your predecessors from the severity of the laws. They were no niggardly sharers with you in your wants; and it cannot be said that the splendour of your present condition hath added anything to the sincere and filial reverence which was then paid you. We, their posterity, have with our blood, and the expense of our substance, asserted this advantage you have over them, and redeemed the exercise of your function from the penalties of the law, and your persons from the persecution to which they were subject.

"We are upon the brink of a formidable precipice—reach forth your hand to pull us back; your zeal for the house of God will be thought no way less fervent, that you preserved the Irish nation; and your judgment will not suffer for the attempt, when you give over upon better information. Rescue us, we beseech you, from those imminent miseries that environ us visibly. Grant somewhat to the memory of our forefathers, and

to the affection we bear yourselves; let this request find favour with you, made to prevent the violation of publick faith, and to keep the devouring sword from the throats of our wives and our children."<sup>1</sup>

But all appeals were vain. The Nuncio's party were too fixed in their purpose to recede, and the peace was rejected.<sup>2</sup>

These solemn words of Colonel Walter Bagnal's have a yet deeper significance, when it is remembered that the whole audience he addressed were shortly afterwards visited with the woes he had predicted, and thus endeavoured, but in vain, to avert. It would almost seem as if he saw, like as in a vision, how the members of this great Assembly, comprising the most ancient of the nobility and landed gentry and prelates of the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland, were to be dispersed and driven as houseless wanderers into foreign lands; while his concluding words presaged his own worse fate, of being put to a cruel death by his enemies, while his wife sank, bereft of reason and broken-hearted, into the same grave, leaving their children to the mercy of those that had made them beggars and orphans.

These debates took place in Nov., 1646. In Jan., 1649, the King was beheaded. In Aug. of the same year Cromwell landed, and in March, 1650, Kilkenny surrendered, after a most gallant defence by Sir Walter Butler. The Leinster forces of the Irish, in which Sir Walter Bagnal had the command of a regiment of horse, held out for two years longer, and, finally, came in upon articles which were completed at Kilkenny on the 12th of May, 1652. The Delegates named by the Earl of Westmeath, Commander-in-Chief of the Leinster forces, to meet the Commissioners appointed by Edmund Ludlow, the Commander-in-Chief of the Parliament Army (among whom were Colonel Daniel Axtell, Colonel Richard Lawrence, Colonel Henry Prittie), were Sir Walter Dongan, Bart., Commissary-General of the Irish Horse; Lewis Dempsy, Lord Viscount Clanmalier; Sir Robert Talbot, Bart.; Sir Richard Barnewall, Bart.; Colonel Walter Bagnal; Colonel Lewis Moore; and Thos. Terrill, Esq.

The terms agreed upon were, that the Leinster forces should lay down their arms on the 12th of June following, except that each colonel of horse was to have allowed five horses and three cases of pistols, and other officers according to the measure specified in the first of the articles.

By the second article, the officers, except such as were thereafter excepted, were to have pardon for life and protection for them, selves and for their personal estate, with liberty, if they should not be willing to submit to such terms as the Parliament might hereafter impose, to retire within three months into any foreign state in amity with England. But by the seventh article (which was the excep-

<sup>1</sup> "Fragmentum Historicum," &c., p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Id., p. 444.

tion above referred to, and under which the Parliament leaders justified their act of putting Colonel Walter Bagnal to death), the benefit of the articles was not to extend to the exception of any person being questioned according to the due course of law, who had a hand in any of the murders that were committed upon the English or Protestants of Ireland, during the first year of the war. And this the English Commissioners of the Parliament forces further qualified by declaring that the exception should not extend to questioning the acts of soldiers in arms against any of the field forces of England, or others entertained in public pay in the defence of any castles on behalf of the English.<sup>1</sup>

That Colonel Bagnal was incapable of murder in any ordinary sense of the word, is evident from his birth, his breeding, and noble character, as also from his fearlessly intrusting himself into the hands of the English army, an act which shows that he was conscious of no such crime. And the Commissioners of Government gave subsequent testimony to the cruelty he met with, by a certain remorse, as exhibited in their dealings with his son, to whom they were less severe than others of like condition,—yet for a charge of murder Colonel Walter Bagnal was detained a prisoner in Kilkenny, by the order of the Commissioners of Parliament.

It is by no means improbable that in an attack on some castle during the first year of the war, some of the garrison may have been killed while Colonel Walter Bagnal was in command of the attacking forces.

In many instances gentlemen assembled their English tenants, armed them, and stood upon their defence, endeavouring to hold out until the King's regular forces should be able to join them, and they might assume the offensive.

As these armed retainers would not be in the pay of the state (though to all intents and purposes engaged in the war), if any of them happened unfortunately to be killed in defence of their post, the commanding officer of the Irish force would, of course, come within the terms of the seventh article, and be liable to suffer death. In the case of Colonel Charles M'Carthy Reagh, a prisoner of war trying to escape, in the first year of the war, from a sentinel belonging to the forces under Colonel M'Carthy's command, endeavoured to wrest his musket from the hands of the soldier, who, in the struggle, shot the man. Colonel M'Carthy was tried under the article for murder.

Fortunately, Colonel M'Carthy was not actually present on the spot, or he had forfeited his life as guilty of murder. Lord Muskerry was tried on a similar charge, and was acquitted. Sir Richard

<sup>1</sup> Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland. Dublin Castle.

Everard, for some like act, was found guilty, but his sentence was changed to exile.

Colonel Walter Bagnal, however, being, unfortunately, first tried when there was a demand for victims, met harder measures, and could find no mercy.

During the period of his imprisonment he seems to have endured very harsh treatment from Colonel Axtell, Governor of Kilkenny, whose severity is well known. He denied him, at one period, not only the access of his friends, but even sufficient food for his wants. Such rigour arose, perhaps, from some attempt at rescue, of which, however, there is no mention in any of the letters about to be cited, but the date coincides with the publishing the Act of Proscription, under which the high courts of justice proceeded.

The first letter is dated 4th of September, and is as follows :—

“ *Comm*” for the Affairs of Ire<sup>l</sup>, to COLONEL AXTELL.

“ *Tredagh*, 4<sup>a</sup> Sep., 1652.

“ SIR,—We have rec<sup>d</sup> a Peti<sup>o</sup>n from C<sup>o</sup>ll Walter Bagnall desiring his wants and present condition to be taken into consideration. Wee desire you to take especiall Care y<sup>t</sup> there may be some effectual course taken y<sup>t</sup> he do not perish for want of relief; and y<sup>t</sup> out of the profits of his estate and (if that cannot be timely gotten) then you cause soe much as you shall judge necessary to be paid out of y<sup>e</sup> Treasury to y<sup>e</sup> end soe that the same exceed not 20s. per week. This wee commend to your care, and your order to the Treasurer in writing shall be his warrant for the payment thereof.”

“ Your &c.”

Though this letter may have obtained for Sir Walter Bagnal better treatment, in the way of food, the Commissioners were again obliged to interfere to obtain for him the access of his friends.

*Same to Same.*

“ *Tredagh*, 11 Sep., 1652.

“ SIR,—Since our last, touching Colonel Walter Bagnall, we received another petition from him, complaining that he is of late deprived the conversation of any friend. We do not know what extraordinary reason there may be for it, and, therefore, shall not give any positive direction in it. But we do think fitt, so far as may consist with the safe keeping of him, all civility should be shewn him, and that his friends may be admitted to him, Provided it be with your Licence, and that they come in such number and at such times as you shall think fitt, and that no discourse pass

<sup>1</sup> Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland. Dublin Castle.



between but in the presence and hearing of their keepers, and that in English. With some such caution these civilities (we suppose) may be shewed with safety. But we leave it to your discretion upon the place, and remain

“Your &c.”

In the month of October, 1652, a high court of justice was set up at Kilkenny, consisting of officers of the army, with Sir Gerard Lowther, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, as President, for trial of Sir Walter Bagnal and other prisoners, at which Sir Walter was brought to trial on a charge of murder. He pleaded that he was one of the managers of the Articles of Kilkenny (or Leinster Articles), and remained as a hostage for the due performance of them, and claimed his privilege, as a hostage, to be free from trial. On reference, however, to the Commissioners of Parliament for the Affairs of Ireland, who were then at Kilkenny Castle, on a tour through the Parliament quarters, the plea was rejected, and, the trial proceeding, he was found guilty, and suffered death.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Walter being now dead, and the period of the Commonwealth settlement arrived, the barony of Idrone, with the rest of the lands of Ireland, passed to new lords and under new laws.

Within a few weeks after the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion, the leaders of the Parliamentary party in England had already arranged a scheme for taking the management of the suppression of it out of the hands of the King, whom they justly suspected of intrigues against them in that country, suspended only, not extinguished by the death of Lord Strafford, whose real crime was the raising of forces in Ireland, intended to be used against the Puritans in England.

If an army were to be raised in the ordinary way, for putting down the Irish rebels, the King, as Captain-General, would have the officering and commanding of it, and would, sooner or later, use it, as Lord Strafford intended to use the ten thousand men he raised in Ireland, nominally to be employed against the King's rebels in Scotland, but really against the Parliament.

The Parliamentary leaders, therefore, compelled the King to assent to a scheme, afterwards embodied in an Act of Parliament, by which funds were to be raised by a voluntary subscription throughout England, for the equipping and paying a private army, for the putting down the rebellion, of which army, a committee of the subscribers (called adventurers) were to have the control, the King having nothing to say to it, except to furnish the officers (who were to be nominated by the committee) with commissions. The moneys to be thus raised, instead of being paid into the King's exchequer, were

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no report or memorial of this trial remaining.

to be paid to the committee, and the "ventures" thus made were to be satisfied out of the rebels' lands in Ireland "whenever the lords and Commons of the realm of England should in Parliament by order declare that the rebels were subdued, and the rebellion appeased and ended." For the satisfying of the adventurers in this scheme, they set aside, by anticipation, 2,500,000 acres, which divers well-affected persons foresaw would be confiscated; one-fourth of the quantity (625,000 acres) to be taken out of each of the four provinces. These were to be given out at such easy rates that the adventurers were to be satisfied in lands, at the rate of 12s. per Irish acre in Leinster; 8s. per acre in Munster; 6s. per acre in Connaught; and 4s. per acre in Ulster, then rated lowest.

And for £200 advanced, any man would be made lord of a manor of 1000 acres Irish (1620 acres statute or English measure), in Ulster; for £300 he was to obtain the like in Connaught; for £450, in Munster; for £600, in Leinster.

*(To be continued.)*

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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**GENERAL MEETING**, held in the Society's Apartments, Williamstreet, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, March 14th (by adjournment from the 7th), 1860,

The Rev. **CHARLES A. VIGNOLES**, A. M., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

Philip J. Newton, Esq., D. L., J. P., Dunleckney, Bagnalstown; John R. Corballis, Esq., Q. C., Chairman of the County of Kilkenny, Rosemount, Roebuck, county of Dublin; John Alexander, Esq., Milford, Carlow; Nicholas Power O'Shee, Esq., J. P., Sheestown, county of Kilkenny, and Gardenmorres, Kilmacthomas; the Rev. Gerald Fitzgerald, A. B., Ex-Sch. T. C. D., Kilsoran Rectory, Tagoat, Wexford: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

John Johnes, Esq., M. A., J. P., Dolacouthy, Llandeilo, South Wales: proposed by F. Lloyd Philipps, Esq.

Rev. Thomas O'Carroll, P. P., Clonoulty, Cashel: proposed by Maurice Lenihan, Esq.

Professor John Tyndall, F. R. S., Albemarle-street, London: proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin.

Thomas H. Jermyn, Esq., 24, South Mall, Cork: proposed by the Rev. Stephen O'Halloran.

John Petty, Esq., Ennis, county of Clare: proposed by John Hill, Esq.

Henry Colles, Esq., J. P., Trafalgar-terrace, Monkstown, county of Dublin: proposed by John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

The Milwaukie Temperance Society, Milwaukie, Wisconsin, U. S. A.: proposed by James O'Mahoney, Esq.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology: their "Proceedings," Vol. III., No. 1; also "The East Anglian," No. 5.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: "Archæologia Æliana," part 15.

By the Architectural and Archæological Society for the county of Buckingham: "Records of Buckinghamshire," Vol. II., No. 3.

By the Geological Society of Dublin: their "Journal," Vol. VIII., part 2.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, No. 21.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 882-91, inclusive.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," December, 1859.

By the Publisher: "The Dublin Builder," Nos. 13 and 14.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for January, February, and March, 1860.

By the Author: "Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Bootertown and Donnybrook," by the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker, A.M., Incumbent of Bootertown.

By the Author: "An Address by the Hon. Lord Neaves, at the Conversazione-Meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, on Friday, the 23rd December, 1859."

By William Barton, Esq., Dungannon: five ancient coins, viz., two London groats of Edw. I.; an Irish groat of Philip and Mary; an Irish farthing of Elizabeth, 1601: and a copper penny token, much defaced.

By the Rev. James Graves: a groat of Edw. II., and a small copper French baronial coin.

By the Rev. Thomas Greene, R. C. C.: a London shilling of Edw. IV.

By the Rev. James Graves: the Original Commission, on parchment, appointing Sir Gregory Byrne, of the Queen's County, (ancestor of Lord de Tabley), "Captaine of a Company in his Maj<sup>y</sup> Royall Regiment of ffoot Guards," and dated December 1st, 1688. The document was further interesting, as bearing the autograph of James the Second's Viceroy in Ireland, Richard Earl of Tyrconnell. The seal, unfortunately, was destroyed.

Mr. Thomas Wilson, Bandon, exhibited two coins, viz., a well-preserved copper token, struck at Kilbeggan, bearing, obverse, a sun, and around the edge HEN<sup>RI</sup> DAY KILBEG<sup>AN</sup>; reverse, H. D., and round the edge c<sup>O</sup> WESTMEATH; also a farthing of Elizabeth: both had been found on the removal of the old bridge of Athlone.

The Rev. J. H. Scott, Seirkieran, sent a transcript of the inscription from a monument of the O'Brien family remaining in the large church on Holy Island, in Lough Derg, on the Shannon. The inscription was as follows:—

I. H. S THIS MONYMENT WAS [MADE] BY THE LADYE MA. BRIEN MOTHER  
 TO SIR TERLAGH 30 OF [ ] 1740.  
 HERE LYE THE BODIES OF THE NOBLE KNIGHT SIR TERLAGH M<sup>c</sup> IBRIEN ARA  
 BARONET WHO DIED 28 MARCH ANNO DOM. 1626 AND HIS LADYE [ ]  
 BYTLER DAUGHTER TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE WALTER EARLE OF ORMONDE WHO  
 DIED THE X OF FEB. 1626. PRAY FOR THEIR SOVLS. MEMENTO MORI.

The monument bore a shield charged with the three lions passant gardant, in pale, of O'Brien; and had the crest, a hand brandishing a sword, oddly introduced at the dexter side within the escutcheon. Alice was the name of the Earl of Ormonde's youngest daughter, who is mentioned on the monument. It should be observed, that the inscription was not given line for line, as in the original.

Mr. Gilbert J. French, of Bolton, in referring to the O'Kelly seal engraved in the second volume (new series) of the "Journal," sent the following observation:—

"Permit me to suggest, that as the mode of indicating heraldic tinctures by lines and points, or *Taille douce*, as it was called, originated in Italy about the year 1636, it would be unsafe to attribute an earlier date to the curious bronze seal engraved at p. 448 (vol. ii., n. s.), on which the field, gules, is distinctly marked by perpendicular lines."

The following Papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

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## ON LUGUD'S LEACHT, AND THE "DUIVHIN-DEGLAIN."

BY E. FITZGERALD, ARCHITECT.

THE antiquities of Ardmore have several times been brought under the attention of this Society; and an important point it will ever be found in archæological pursuits, to note and publish jottings of discoveries and information as they are made and received; thus it has been to a considerable extent with regard to Ardmore, and with what effect will hereafter be seen.

Somewhat cogent reasons have just now turned up, which, it is pleasing to know, give good grounds for identifying the Oratory Ogham at Ardmore with Lugud, the great grandfather of St. Declan, fixing the date of this inscription in the beginning of the third century.

Being much interested in the antiquities of this venerable place, and especially in anything connected with the tutelar saint of the district, St. Declan, I was anxious for some time to get a transla-

tion made of his ancient MS. Life. With Mr. Windele's assistance, I was enabled, about a year ago, to put it in a fair way of translation here; but translation and transcribing are slow work in the hands of a horny-handed peasant, after his hard day's work is ended in the open air, even though a fair Irish scholar. Slowness will not suit some people, and the work was taken away from him when about one-third done, with a view to its completion by a much abler hand. However, the portion translated included in it the pedigree of the saint, in which, on reading over, I was most agreeably surprised to find that LUGUD is there set down as the great grandfather of St. Declan, as the following extract from the manuscript shows:—

“Hence, it is to the race of Eoghan, the son of Fiacha Suighdhe, the natives of the Decies rightly belong, and of the race of the same Eoghan is the holy Bishop of whom, and of whose genealogy we write, namely, Declan, son of Erc, son of Trean, son of Lugud, son of Anac, son of Brian, son of Eoghan (the second), son of Art-Corb, son of Mogh-Corb, son of Muscraidhe, son of Mesfoire, son of Cuana of the Just Judgments, son of Cura the Victorious, son of Cairbre the Long-handed, son of Eoghan (the first), son of Fiacha-Suighdhe, son of Feidhlimidh the Lawgiver, son of Tuathal the Legitimate, son of [Fiacha Finmolaidh, son of Feradach Finn-fechnach, son of Crimthan Niadh-Nairi, son of Lughaidh Sriabhndearg, son of Lothar (one of the ‘three Finns of Eamhan’) son of Eochaidh Feidhlioch, Erc, son of Trian, the father of Declan, was, moreover, King of the Decies.”

Drawings and translations of the Ogham inscription discovered in St. Declan's Oratory have been published four times in this Journal: in vol. iii. p. 227, first series; vol. i. p. 45, new series; and at p. 330, same volume; also in vol. ii. p. 183. They were each given under different circumstances: the first, as the relic lay when discovered, built into the gable of the Oratory, the inscription being taken under considerable disadvantage, as the scores turned under and over the edges of the stone. The second was taken from a rubbing after the stone had been removed from the Oratory, and brought under closer inspection, and another line of inscription found on the back of it. The third was given, with a number of others, as readings of Ogham writings; and the fourth, with a number of Cryptic inscriptions from England. The four translations were by four different writers, Professor Connellan, Mr. Windele, Mr. Williams, and the Rev. D. H. Haigh; and though each differed in their readings, yet all agreed that the name Lugud was inscribed on the monument. A misprint of one letter occurred in the name when first published, a G being substituted for an L in Lugud, which will at once be detected on reference.

I have got another reading of this inscription from Mr. Williams, which is of considerable importance in connexion with the

present discovery, especially as he has good grounds for the alteration, from finding, on close inspection, that the letter *i* originally existed at the end of the first line, though now partly obliterated, the inscription originally appearing as follows:—

l u ḡ u b e c c a r m a é i



b o l a c i b i o ḡ i a r ḡ o b



c o i l p e ó a r u a ḡ a m o n a r



“Luḡub ecc ar máci  
Lugud who died in his lordship  
Do láci bí oḡ iarḡob  
On a day he was fishing  
Coilpeb ar naḡ-amonar  
Is buried in *the* grave's sacredness.

Modern orthography and idiom:—

Luḡub do eagann a máci,  
Do la bí aḡ-iarḡarpeabó  
Ceatoilpeab annro  
Ann Amonar na h-uairge.

Lugud, who died a lord or chieftain,  
On a day he was fishing,  
Is buried here in the grave's sanctuary.

Mr. Williams adds on the word—

“Máci:—I have met this word in several Oghams, used to mean a *head or chief*; an idiom peculiar to the Irish language occurs in this line, which it may be well to explain. Thus: if an Irish speaker or writer wanted to express the idea, *John is king*, he would use the words ‘aca-peagan ann a pḡ,’ which our grammarians translate, ‘John is in his king.’ This form, however, does not fully express the sense of the

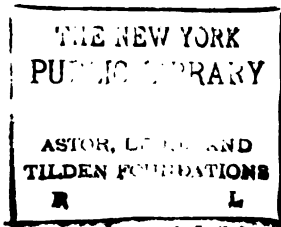
Irish, which should be translated, *John is in his state of being a King*, Hence, accordingly, the first line above literally signifies:—Lugud, who died in his state of being head, lord, or chieftain.’

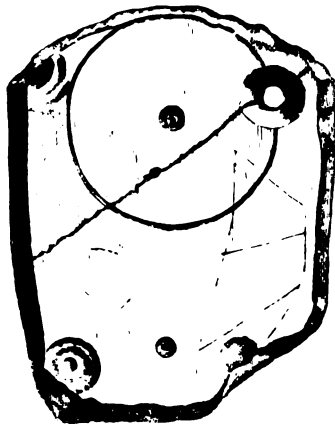
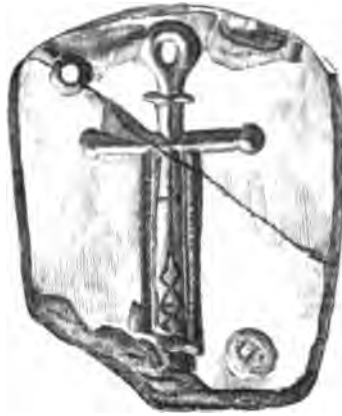
When this relic was discovered, an impression seemed general that it was built into the Oratory without more design than to use it as a common building stone. However, now finding the name Lugud to be a family name of St. Declan, and especially, as the first word to be read on the stone, as it originally lay in the Oratory, was Lugud, shows there was marked design in placing it in the building for preservation, and to be seen and read, as the principal part of the inscription was turned to the front.

On communicating my views on the foregoing to some of my friends, much interested in such matters, I was somewhat astonished to find them quite sceptical on the subject, saying, many other Luguds lived before that period, and why not identify this memorial with any of them, as well as with the great grandsire of St. Declan? Another great objection is, that a monumental pillar-stone, or leacht, should be made use of as a building stone in the erection of an Oratory, especially as a portion of the stone was broken off, so as not to interfere with the pitch of the roof—such an appliance showing a contempt and disregard for the monument, not to be expected from the filial respect, affection, or reverence of the grandson or his friends. Now, as to the propriety of identifying this epitaph with Lugud, the great grandfather of St. Declan, in preference to any other, it seems clear and feasible to me: for where a memorial with a family name is found incorporated with and forming part of a private oratory, mausoleum, or vault of a prince, or celebrated man, from general usage, such name would be considered as of a connexion or near relative. But more especially, where we find that name set forth in the prince’s pedigree as that of his great grandfather’s, to my mind the conclusion of its identification is quite satisfactory. And as to the disrespect and irreverence, &c., &c., paid this memorial, by placing it in the building, I totally differ in opinion, considering that Declan or his disciples paid this Pagan monument the highest honour and respect in their power by incorporating it with the walls of one of the first Christian churches erected in Ireland, and have no doubt, from the position in which it was found, that it was for that purpose it was placed there.

A portion of one end of the stone being broken to meet the incline of the roof, appears to me to be comparatively of late date, as by referring to the first sketch of this relic, published in vol. iii. p. 227, first series, it will at once be seen that, originally, at the left side, the gable rose considerably above the broken part of the stone, and that the breakage evidently was the work of a late period, probably when Bishop Mills re-roofed the building in 1716,







THE DUIVHIN DEGLAIN — FULL SIZE

*Front and Back View.*

as recorded by Ryland in his "History of Waterford," for, of course, his workmen knew nothing of the inscription, and therefore set no value on the stone if it came in their way.

The next question is—Is this "Life of St. Declan," from which we have been quoting, an authentic ancient Irish manuscript? This question I must leave for our deep-read Irish scholars to decide; but this I may say, that Smith, in his "History of Waterford," has quoted the MS. largely; and that Bishop Ussher published extracts from it as an ancient manuscript in his day, over two hundred years ago, and that the copy here used has been compiled from Irish MSS. in St. Isidore's College, Rome, and at Louvain.

**THE DUIVHIN DEAGLAIN.**—With respect to our other relic, lately identified as the "Duivhin Deaglain," forming the illustration to this paper, I received the following note over three years ago from Mr. Williams, before either he or I was aware that there was any mention made of it in the "Life of St. Declan." Writing to me on another subject, date 20th November, 1856, he says:—

"I have before me a little relic of St. Declan, which goes under the name 'Dhuveen' (probably a corruption of Dub, black, and Mion, a relic): it is formed of black marble, and bears an incised cross on the face, which, within the memory of the present owner, contained a beautifully executed silver crucifix. It has been found in St. Declan's grave, and long used to cure sore eyes, headach, &c., &c. The present owner, Mr. John Burke, of this town (Dungarvan), lent it some time ago to an Irish Goth for that purpose, who took away the silver figure, and otherwise greatly mutilated it; there is an iron band around it to keep it together. I expect to be able in a few days to get at its history. I enclose a full-sized sketch of it; the three holes are countersunk, doubtless for the purpose of holding some metal, as one hole is filled with lead, which has an iron pin in its centre, that appears at both sides; it is likely the other two were filled in the same manner."

The above letter lay over among my papers since. I ought to mention here, that when I had taken away the MS. "Life of St. Declan" from my first translator, Mr. Williams kindly offered to take up the matter, and complete the translation; the genealogy given herewith, and the following extracts relative to the "Duivhin," are from his pen. About three months ago he wrote to me, saying, that he was much pleased to find, in reading over the MS., that the Duivhin was mentioned several times in it. I immediately wrote, saying, if possible, we should get possession of the relic for examination, &c.; but, to my great disappointment, he informed me, in a post or two, that he had made every inquiry, and found that the owner of it was dead some time, and his wife was dead, and no one could give him any information what had become of it. I again urged him to persevere, saying, such a matter would not be lightly

destroyed by the peasantry, and that we should get it. He did persevere, and with success, for a part of a letter from him, dated 15th December, 1859, ran thus:—"I am glad to inform you that St. Declan's affairs look a little brighter this morning; I was speaking two days ago to the present possessor of the 'Duvveen;' he lives about ten miles from this, but promises to be in town before a week, when he would bring it to me for a short time." About a month ago the relic was brought, and lent to him for a short period; he immediately forwarded it to me, and I made the accompanying sketch, and took several impressions from it in wax (one of which I send for the Society's Museum). I returned the relic, and understand that it is still in the possession of Mr. Williams. The portions of the "Life" which refer to this remarkable relic are as follows:—

"Declan having commenced to say mass in a church he met on his way (in Italy), a small stone was sent to him from heaven; it came in through the window of the church, and rested on the altar in his presence. Declan felt greatly rejoiced on seeing it, and gave praise and glory to God for it. Just possessing the stone, Declan felt his mind much fortified against the ignorance and unreasonableness of the Gentiles. He gave it to Lonan, the Roman prince (of whom we have spoken), who accompanied him, to keep, and be carried by him: the name by which it is known in Ireland is, 'Duivhin Deaglain' (correctly, Duivh-mhion Deaglain), i. e., *Declan's Black Relic*. It is from its colour it received this name; for it is *black* according to colour. Many miracles were performed by its means, through the grace of God, and sanctity of Declan; it still exists in Declan's Church. . . . The stone which we mentioned, that was sent from heaven to Declan, was at this time carried by a monk; Declan never liked to part with the stone, but gave it on that day to a person who accompanied him; in proceeding to the ship, on coming to the strand, the monk laid it on a large rock, and forgot it there; nor did they miss it until they had proceeded about half way to Ireland by sea. On discovering their loss, Declan and his disciples became grieved at losing that gift which was sent from heaven to Declan, in a place from which they did not expect ever to recover it. Declan looked up to heaven, and manifestly prayed to God and to heaven in his mind; and he said to his disciples:—"Put off your grief, for it is possible for God, who first sent this gift from heaven, to send it now to us in a wonderful ship." It was great and beautiful to behold, how the rock, devoid of reason or understanding, obeyed its Creator, contrary to the course of nature, for it swam or floated after the vessel directly, and it was not a long time until Declan and his disciples saw the rock, with the stone (*Duivhin*) on it! Declan's people, on witnessing this miracle, became filled with the love of God, and with veneration for their master, Declan. Declan spoke, and said prophetically:—"Allow the rock to pass on before you, and follow ye it directly, for into whatsoever port it shall pass, it is near it my city shall be, and my episcopal residence; and it is from it I shall go to the kingdom of God; in it also shall my resurrection take place." The rock commenced to pass on before the ship, and having slackened the great speed which it

had hitherto maintained; it kept a short distance before the vessel, so that it could be seen from the ship, but yet so that the ship could not overtake it. It steered its course directly towards Ireland, and made port in the southern border of the Decies of Munster, at the Inch or Island which was then called *High Sheep Island*. The ship made the same port as Declan had foretold."

The miraculous floating rock referred to here is still to be seen in Ardmore Bay, and is looked on by the peasantry with the greatest reverence; it is celebrated for innumerable healing virtues, and is always the centre of great attraction on St. Declan's patron day.

Whilst the Duivhin was with me, Mr. Gillespie, Architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, saw it, and he at once suggested the idea that it was no less than an ancient seal, and said that he had seen several ancient ecclesiastical seals somewhat similar; and that the holes (one of which still retains a portion of an iron pin) were for iron pins, which fitted into the reverse, as the ancient seals were impressed with an obverse and reverse, and attached to their intended documents by a string, as still observed on Popes' Bulls.<sup>1</sup>

If this relic was used by St. Declan as a seal, and it has all the appearance of being so used, it is the most ancient Irish or English seal yet discovered, as the earliest English one known is that of Edward the Confessor, the size of which is about that of the "Duivhin Deglain." In Mr. Williams' first letter, he mentioned that he was told a silver crucifix was originally inlaid in it, but had been stolen. However, I found, when the wax impressions were taken from it, that a second ornamental cross presented itself, which occupied the incised part of the large cross, that evidently was not intended to be seen, except when used in sealing, and raised on the wax. I mentioned this fact to Mr. Williams, and he sent me the following note:—

"I have lately seen an old man, who frequently saw the Duivhin in the possession of David Burke, the person who discovered it in Declan's grave, in the Oratory. He states that the cross *was not* inlaid with a silver figure, but that the holes were ornamented with silver knobs; would not such prevent its having been used as a seal?"

<sup>1</sup> We have seen similar stones (indeed, there is one of them in the Society's Museum), having crosses and other ornaments hollowed in their surfaces, and which were evidently used as moulds to cast the objects indicated.

May not this remain have been one side of a mould for casting crosses? The tradition of the silver "crucifix," which it was said originally to have held, would seem to prove as much.—Ed.

## ON METHERS AND OTHER ANCIENT DRINKING VESSELS.

BY THOMAS JOSEPH TENISON, J. P., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

DEAN SWIFT, in his literal translation of "Plearaca na Ruinach," or "O'Rourke's Noble Feast," written about 1720 in the Irish language by Hugh M'Guaran, Esq., a contemporary of Carolan, calls this drinking vessel a *madder* :

"O'Rourke's noble fare will ne'er be forgot  
By those who were there, and those that were not:  
His revels to keep, we sup and we dine  
On seven fat sheep, fat bullocks and swine;  
Usquebaugh to our feast in pails was brought up,  
An hundred at least, and a *madder* our cup."

The following lines have been quoted from an old poem of 1689, by a gentleman of reliable authority in such matters:—

"With that the porter brought 'em out  
A *madder* which was shov'd about;  
Which though 'twas reckoned but a small one,  
Contained three *halfs* of a whole gallon."

The mether, or madder, is an ancient mead-cup, a fermented beverage still compounded in some parts of Ireland, and composed of honey boiled with water. It has been denied that this vessel was a mead-cup. The very name of the article I humbly consider a sufficient testimony of its having been used in drinking *mead*, or *metheglin*, the favourite beverage of the Celtic tribes.

It would appear, that at a very early age of the world, this liquor must have been in general use, for Hugh Miller, in his "Testimony of the Rocks," says (on the authority of the celebrated oriental linguist and antiquary, Sir William Jones), that Satyarrata (Noah, perhaps) drunk *mead*, and became senseless. The Teutones who, ages ago, inhabited northern Europe, used methers in quaffing this drink for thirty days after a marriage amongst them. My fair friends will learn that from this custom comes the curious, but familiar expression, "to spend the honeymoon." "The mether is now entirely disused, or only to be found in the remotest wilds of our country." It is generally modelled from the wood of the alder or crab tree, sometimes of sycamore or willow, quadrangularly formed at the top, although round at the bottom. These drinking vessels are usually about eight inches high, and in circumference, about one foot outside measurement.

Some, however, much larger and smaller, have been frequently found at considerable depths in bogs or turbaries, their high state of preservation being, no doubt, owing to the bituminous quality and antiseptic properties of those deposits. Methers, having four handles, are now very rare, and are seldom seen except in museums, or, perhaps, in old families resident in remote and sequestered districts, which have escaped the vigilant researches of itinerant collectors. In the Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy it is stated that there is in that collection thirteen two-handled, and thirteen four-handled methers, in three of which latter the handles are prolonged into feet. A large specimen, fourteen inches deep, and which would contain three quarts, was, about four years ago, discovered in a moss-bank, somewhere in the county of Fermanagh; it was filled with *adipocere*, or bog-butter, and, from the locality in which it was found, it is conjectured that it must have been buried there for centuries. It may have been intended to contain beer or butter, being too capacious to drink *aqua vitæ* out of. A well-informed writer on this subject suggests "that whiskey, which, comparatively speaking, is of recent introduction, cannot be taken draught-wise." I may be pardoned the digression if I state, on the same authority, that it was first distilled about the year 1550, amongst the English settlers in this country, "for supplying the Irishry." In Queen Mary's reign, A. D. 1554, an Act was passed "prohibiting any but peers from distilling it," the restrictive powers having been vested in the Crown. According to Lodge, the Scottish Solomon (who, like most of his canny countrymen, always looked to number one) rewarded his noble favourites, doubtless for a *con-si-der-ation* (like old Trapbois), "by licensing them, not only to make *aqua vitæ* (whiskey), but to keep public houses for the sale thereof." Mr. Bell, of Dungannon, possesses an extensive collection of methers in every variety. One in his cabinet was made of horn, and, amongst the many and curious historical articles exhibited by him at Belfast in 1852, during the visit to that city of the British Association and his Excellency the Earl of Eglinton, was a mether with eight handles, the only one of the description I have seen or heard of. It is supplied with two bottoms, betwixt which are placed several small stones, which, when the vessel is raised or shaken, produced a rattling sound. Authorities too well known to require commentary or confirmation, have stated "that mether-making was at one time a respectable and profitable occupation in Ireland;" but now to say that such a great man's grandfather was a mether-maker would be considered (as Bailie Nicol Jarvie says) "a little on the north side of civility." A friend of mine told me that foreigners, who had resided at the mansions of some of the Scottish nobility, about the beginning of the present century, had assured him that there they had frequently met with methers, a few of which were clumsily made of solid silver.

As much controversy has arisen regarding the Dunvegan Cup, mention should be here made of this celebrated antique, which belongs to Macleod of Macleod, and has been sent for exhibition to the Edinburgh Antiquarian Society's Museum, and was also exhibited at the Dublin Exhibition in 1853. This cup was for centuries actively employed in the streaghs, or rounds, by which Gaelic term the rude and rollicking hospitalities of those periods were called. The following extract from the "University Magazine" of November, 1858, p. 637, has invested this subject with peculiar interest, and from which it appears that the long pending controversy has terminated:—

"We cannot omit a congratulatory observation, that the Dunvegan Cup, long claimed by antiquaries of the Land of Cakes as a sumptuous pre-historic specimen of Scottish art, and celebrated as such in the 'Lord of the Isles,' has recently been acknowledged by them as a chalice carved and set with jewels in the *fifteenth century*, at the cost of Catherine Mac-grannal, wife of Maguire, Prince of Fermanagh."

It has also been shown by Mr. E. Curry, who examined the inscription upon this cup, when exhibited in Dublin, that it was of Irish manufacture (*vide note in Wilde's "Catalogue"*). The following is Sir Walter Scott's descriptive notice, in poetry and prose, of this cup, and which I print *in extenso*, as too curious and interesting to be omitted or curtailed:—

"'Fill me the mighty cup,' he said,  
 'Erst own'd by Royal Somerled;  
 Fill, till on the studded brim  
 In burning gold the bubbles swim,  
 And every gem of varied shine  
 Glow doubly bright in rosy wine!'

"A Hebridean drinking-cup, of the most ancient and curious workmanship, has been long preserved in the Castle of Dunvegan, in Skye, the romantic seat of Mac Leod, the chief of that ancient and powerful clan. The horn of Rory O'More, preserved in the same family, is not to be compared with this piece of antiquity, which is one of the greatest curiosities in Scotland. The following is a pretty accurate description of its shape and dimensions:—It is  $9\frac{3}{4}$  inches inside depth, and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in height on the outside, the extreme measure over the lips being  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The cup is divided into two parts by a wrought ledge, beautifully ornamented, about three-fourths of an inch in breadth. Beneath this ledge the shape of the cup is rounded off, and terminates in a flat circle, like that of a tea-cup; four short feet support the whole. Above the projecting ledge, the shape of the cup is nearly square, projecting outward at the brim. The cup is made of wood (oak, to all appearance), but most curiously wrought and embossed with silver-work, which projects from the vessel. There are a number of regular projecting sockets, which appear to have been set with



stones; two or three of them still hold pieces of coral; the rest are empty. At the four corners of the projecting ledge, or cornice, are four sockets, much larger, probably for pebbles or precious stones. The workmanship of the silver is extremely elegant, and appears to have been highly gilded. The ledge, brim, and legs of the cup are of silver. The family tradition bears, that it was the property of Neil Ghlune-Dhu, or *Black-knee*. But who this Neil was, no one pretends to say. Around the edge of the cup is a legend in Latin, perfectly legible, in old English or black-letter capitals—‘Ufo Johannis Mich. Magni Principis de hi Manae Vich Liahia Magryneil et sperat Domino Ihesu dari clementiam illi deae ipsa. Fecit Anno Dom. 993. Onili Oirni.’”

This, being the reading of the late Sir Walter Scott, may thus run in English—

“Ufo, the son of John, the son of Magnus, Prince of Man, the grandson of Liahia Macgreyneil, trusts in the Lord Jesus that their work (i. e. his own, and those of his ancestors) will obtain mercy. O’Neil Oirni made this in the year of God 993.”

There is another reading by Dr. Wilson, author of the “Pre-historic Annals of Scotland,” and which learned work contains a drawing of the Dunvegan Cup. The following is Dr. Wilson’s reading, as published in the Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquarian Society:—

“Katharina mg Ryneill, uxor Johannis meg maguir, principis de Firmanach, me fieri fecit Anno Domini 1493. Oculi omnium in te sperant Domine, et tu das escam illorum in tempore opportuno.”

Sir Walter’s notice concludes in these words—

“The workmanship of the whole cup is extremely elegant, and resembles, I am told, antiques of the same nature preserved in Ireland.”

I shall not stop to consider the contradiction contained in the date inscribed on the cup, viz., 993, with that involved in the decision which “acknowledges it to be a chalice of the fifteenth century;” nor shall I attempt to determine whether the Dunvegan Cup be a mether or a chalice; but I hope I may be permitted to say, without being charged with presumption, that I have not seen or heard of any other cup, similarly fashioned, that is *not* a mether. Many methers, too, were incised with a figure of the cross, which was, probably, considered as a safeguard, as evidenced by the following incident, contained in a narrative of a King of Meath, and which is related by some ancient fabulist. This monarch, having been proffered a mether containing aconite, placed his forefinger on one corner of the cup, and then on the other, until making the sign of the cross over the mouth. He then inquired, with a knowing

look, out of which corner he should drink, and not having been answered by the astonished *kerns*, he immediately quaffed the deleterious draught with impunity.

The mether, however, appears to have been the only form of ancient quaffing vessel used in Ireland; it then follows that their chalices have been similarly shaped, and as the Dunvegan Cup contains not only a religious inscription, but "that within the mouth the letters J. H. S. are repeated four times," we may reasonably conclude that in the holy offices of the Church it was used as a sacrificial vessel. Travellers who have penetrated into distant regions of the east and west, have there recognised wooden vessels as identical with, or which bore a marked resemblance to the Irish mether. The late Mr. Reynolds, of the Royal Navy (K. L. H.), informed me that at El-Arish, on the confines of the Holy Land and Egypt, he had seen a utensil designed for domestic purposes, which in form was not much different from our mether; and Dr. C. F. Moore assured me that, when he visited Asia Minor some years ago, he was much struck with the similarity between wooden vessels used by the inhabitants of Trebizond, Samsoun, and the adjacent country, and those ancient drinking-cups (or methers) he had examined in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and also in my possession. He also observed in the same localities wooden vessels, which the people call *kuva*, or *kuser*, that resemble, in some respects, the noggin still in vogue in the Irish hovels and Scottish highlands—

"Where the bleak Celt their stormy mansions tread,  
And force a churlish soil for scanty bread;"

both being made with staves, bound together with hoops, and having a simple handle fixed on one side. Here, however, the similitude ceases, for the eastern vessel is furnished with a spout, and is of different form and dimensions,—the proportions being about ten inches high, broader at the bottom than at the top, where it is nearly ten inches in diameter, while that at the mouth is not more than seven inches.

Scott, in a subsequent portion of his popular poem, makes mention of a goblet called a mazer. Respecting this goblet, my information is meagre and scanty indeed, nor does it appear to have been known prior to the reign of James III., who was slain in battle A. D. 1488.

"‘Bring here,’ he said, ‘the mazers four,  
My noble fathers loved of yore;  
Thrice let them circle round the board,  
The pledge, fair Scotland’s right restored.’"

Mention is made of the mazer in Thompson's "Inventories of the Treasure of James III.," thus, "Item four Masaris called King Robert the Brocis with a cover." When in Scotland I was told that the brass dish or saucer suspended at the doors of barbers' shops, and which are to be seen in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stirling, &c., are designated mazers, a symbol which I believe in North Britain has continued in use since the practice of blood-letting, shaving, and peruke-making was united in the profession of "barber-chirurgion."

Dr. Samuel Johnson, in "A Journey to the Western Islands," &c., describes Rory O'More's Cup:—

"In the house is kept an ox's horn, hollowed so as to hold, perhaps, two quarts, which the heir of Macleod was expected to swallow at a draught, as a test of his manhood, before he was permitted to bear arms, or could have a seat among men."

The Kavanagh or Macmurragh Horn, deposited in the Museum of the University of Dublin, is, I presume, of a similar character with that of Rory O'More, above described. Both horns I consider to be of much more modern invention than the mether. In commenting on the Kavanagh Horn, as a fine work of decorative art, Mr. Wilde observes—

"That cups or goblets were placed beside most of the public road wells of Ireland, even in Pagan times; and it is related that in the reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and of his grandson, Cormac Mac Art, who flourished between the years 123 and 266 of the Christian era, so great was the wealth of this kingdom, and such the virtue of its people, as well as the administration of the Brehon Laws, that silver cups were placed at each road-side well for travellers to drink with. Brian Boroimhe, about the year 1000, revived this ancient custom, and put in force the law which sustained it; and it is to this golden age that Moore's lines of 'Rich and rare were the gems she wore,' refer."

The difference between the mether and the quagh or bicker, so well known in Scotland, is, that the latter is much smaller, and a cooper-made article with hoops and staves. There was also a drinking-vessel used in Scotland, called a *Cogue* or *Coggie*, composed of the same materials as the mether or bicker, but different from them as being destitute of a handle. The Duke of Gordon, in his *auld* song, "Cauld kail in Aberdeen," has immortalized the coggie. His Grace sings:—

"There's cauld kail in Aberdeen,  
And costocks in Strathbogie;  
When ilka lad maun hae his lass,  
Then fye, gie me my coggie."

In comfortable Highland families small drinking vessels, or dram-cups made of silver or horn, were used, called *tassies*. From the protracted alliance between the natives of Scotia Minor and the French, it appears in the highest degree probable that this dram-cup might have been introduced into Scotland by the French, and that *tassie* is a mere corruption of the word *tasse*, which has been slightly altered by a change of pronunciation.

“I pledge wi gles my bonnie lassie,  
In this last nappie, siller tassie.  
O Cogoe o swats, is na bad fare,  
But barley bree gie me my share.”

In the opening stanza of Burns' "Bonnie Mary," mention is also made of this small cup or can:—

“Go fetch to me a pint of wine,  
An fill it in a silver tassie;  
That I may drink, before I go,  
A service to my bonnie lassie.”

The Irish noggin, before alluded to, is not unlike the Scotch coggie, but of larger dimensions. The coggie differs from the bicker as being without a handle. It would seem as if the good people of Cork were familiar with the cogoe about a century ago, for Jackson, the celebrated composer and performer on the Irish pipes, names one of his lively *strinkins*, or jigs, "Jackson's Cogoe." The caup of Scotland and the caupin of Ireland are the same. A stoup is a kind of jug with a handle.

Methers, seventy years ago, were, in many instances, manufactured of massive silver, a few of which, I have been assured by a gentleman conversant with the habits and history of this country, are still extant; and that, about the year 1828, several were in the possession of the Earl O'Neil at Shane's Castle. By-the-by, I think the Four Masters mention, that in the olden times we had an Irish artificer who was employed in the construction of metallic methers.

The author of Waverley describes a drinking-vessel called "a tappit hen," which was formerly in common use, and contained three quarts of claret:

“Weel she lo'ed a Hawick gill,  
And leugh to see a tappit hen.”

“I have seen,” said he, “one of those formidable stoups at Provost Haswell's, at Jedburgh, in days of yore. It was a pewter measure [a metallic mether], the claret being, in ancient days, served from the tap, and had the figure of a hen on the lid. In later times the name was given

to a glass bottle of the same dimensions. These are rare apparitions among the degenerate toppers of modern days.

“The use of the four handles in the mether appears evidently for the greater convenience of passing the cup round from one to another, and in drinking out of it you must apply one of the four corners to your mouth.”

An instructive writer in “The Dublin Penny Journal,” before quoted, states that the Marquis of Townsend, when he retired from the Viceroyalty of Ireland, regularly introduced methers at his dinner parties in London, when his guests usually applied the side of the vessel to the mouth, and seldom escaped with a dry neckcloth, vest, or doublet. His Lordship, however, after enjoying the mistake, called on his *fidus achates*, Colonel O’Reilly, “to teach drill, and handle the mether in true Irish style.”

The following humorous anecdote I have heard narrated in the convivial circles of Dublin, a city some years past celebrated for its hospitality, sociality, and good fellowship:—

Some sixty years since, a jolly and hospitable alderman of the old “ascendancy” school, who had realized a splendid fortune from small beginnings and plodding industry, invited several of the English aristocracy (then staying in Dublin), the theatrical *artistes*, and musical *dilettanti*, to dine at his mansion in M—square. During the repast the subject of conversation turned on the manners and customs of the metropolitan Irish, when a military *parvenu*, after indulging in several inopportune national reflections, lisped out, with true Cockney aspirations, “The Irish society I ham accustomed to move in, practise precisely the same manners and usages as the English aristocracy in London, to which I belong.” After dinner, according to custom, magnums of the richest and rarest wines were served, and Burgundy drank out of cups which few persons present had seen before. They were methers, some of which were carved from solid blocks of alder or yew-trees; others laid with argent mounting of chased silver. The English guests, in endeavouring to drink from these, instead of imbibing from the corners of the cup, applied their mouths to the sides, when two streams flowing from the aperture at each corner copiously drenched their dresses, amidst roars of laughter from the initiated toppers: on which Jack Johnstone, the famous and favourite Irish actor, exclaimed, with a joyous banter and brogue peculiarly national, at the same time lustily striking with his open hand the ensanguined back of the enraged aid-de-camp, “Be the powers, captain, there appears to be a trifle of difference in the manner of drinking wine in London and Dublin!”

REMARKS ON ANCIENT IRISH EFFIGIES SCULPTURED ON  
THE WALLS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH ON WHITE IS-  
LAND, LOUGH ERNE, PARISH OF MAGHERACULMONEY,  
COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

BY GEORGE V. DU NOYER, ESQ., M. R. I. A.

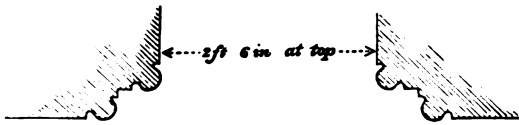
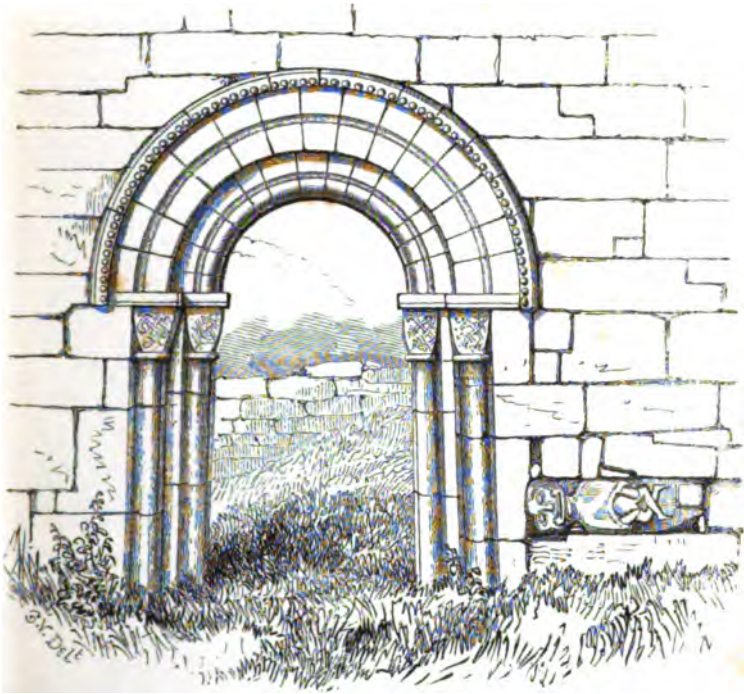
IT is a singular fact, and one worthy of remark, that the sculptor's art, as applied to the representation of the human figure alone, appears to have been but very rarely practised in Ireland, prior to the arrival in that country of the Anglo-Normans in the twelfth century. The taste for decorative art which the pre-Norman Irish ecclesiastics, or people of note, evinced, as displayed in their churches and stone crosses, lay almost entirely in ornamentation of an arabesque character, combined frequently with grotesque animals, serpents, and fishes; and if human figures were introduced into the carving, they were either subsidiary to the scroll-work ornament, of which they were extravagantly made to form a part, or they were employed as a rude bas-relief illustration of some passage in the Old or New Testament, or of some local event, probably contemporaneous with the period of the work itself.

In attempting to determine the age of the small effigies which form the subject of this paper, I shall be guided in the inquiry by three considerations, viz., the age of the building in which they appear; the mode of their occurrence in the masonry; and lastly, the style of dress which they exhibit.

It would appear from the admirable work of the learned Dr. Petrie on the "Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," that in the seventh and eighth centuries the Irish progressed in architectural skill, and evinced a desire for decoration in their ecclesiastical edifices. To gratify this growing taste, they altered the form of the doorways from the flat-topped to the semicircular arch, which was sometimes even slightly stilted—a change most probably induced by their growing intercourse with the Eastern Churches, and their consequent increased acquaintance with Byzantine art.

The doorways of this period, and somewhat later, were headed with a double arch, once recessed, the outer one being level with the surface of the wall. A drip moulding was introduced, and this was ornamented usually either with the small billet or the large bead. In the succeeding century the drip moulding, which was frequently very massive and quite plain, was terminated by the head of some monster.<sup>1</sup> At the sides of the doorways, of the various periods to

<sup>1</sup> Vide Dr. Petrie's "Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," p. 242. En-graving of the doorway of the old church of Raheen, Queen's County.

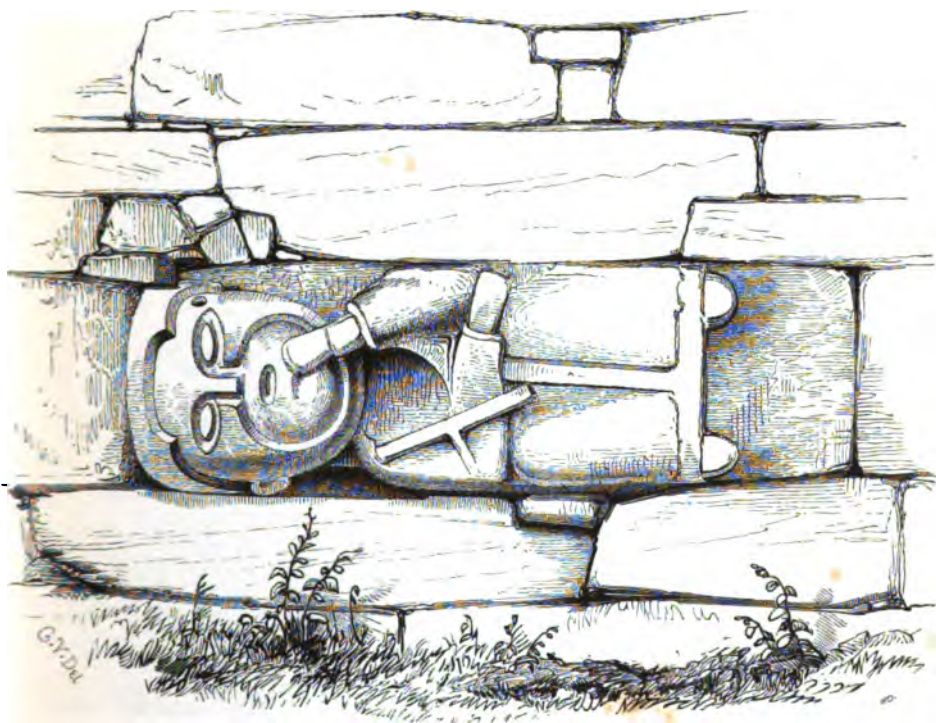


Doorway from the old Church on the White Island, Lough Erne, Co. Fermanagh.

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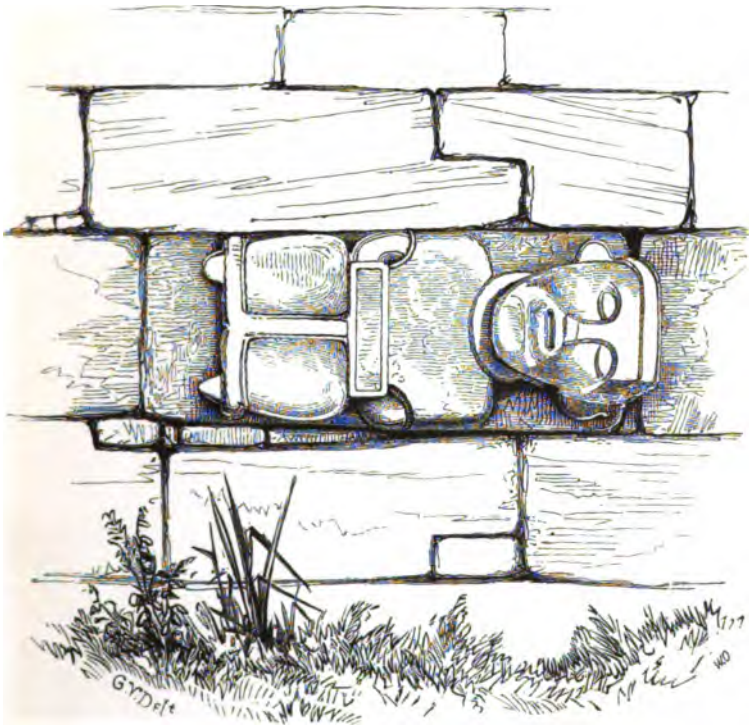
Effigy in alto-relievo, from the East gable of the old Church on the White Island, Lough Erne,  
Co. Fermanagh.

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Effigy in alto-relievo, from the East gable of the old Church on the White Island,  
Lough Erne, Co. Fermanagh.

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which I allude, we find the round pilasters, with capital and plinth, placed so as to correspond to each member of the arch, one pilaster only being introduced at each side of the single recessed arch. The capitals of these pilasters are ornamented with interlaced tracery, human heads, grotesque animals, and sometimes an acanthus-like scroll-work.

In constructing the walls of the churches of this period, the more ancient, or cyclopean, style of masonry was still retained, in which the angles of many of the stones were cut away, to allow of the adjoining block being let into them. Hence, building in regular courses was not yet in vogue. Moreover, the sides of the doors and windows slightly converged after the old fashion.

To exemplify the foregoing remarks, we refer the reader to the woodcut of the doorway of the stone-roofed chapel at Killaloe, the erection of which is attributed by Dr. Petrie to St. Flannan, who, according to Ware, was consecrated first Bishop of this see at Rome by Pope John IV., about the year 639.<sup>1</sup>

In the ninth and tenth centuries a further increase of decoration is observable in church doorways; and the division of the church into nave and choir by means of an arch, more or less ornamented, appears to have been introduced about this period. So far as I can determine, it would seem that the style of masonry, termed cyclopean, ceased to be in use, in Ireland, at the close of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century.

Towards the close of the eleventh, or the commencement of the twelfth century, we find the doors of churches becoming still further recessed, arch within arch, and decorated, more or less, with details of ornamentation, common to Saxon and early Norman buildings. As an example of these changes, both in construction and decoration, I refer to the doorway of the church at Freshford, county of Kilkenny, a work which is of peculiar interest and authenticity, as round its inner arch it bears an inscription in the Irish character, which clearly places the date of its erection at the period to which I allude.<sup>2</sup> The church of Cormac Mac Carthy, on the rock of Cashel, built A. D. 1127, is another and a more widely known example of the style of Irish ecclesiastical architecture of the twelfth century.

Sufficient has now been said to form data on which to argue with reference to the age of the church on White Island, in Lough Erne, and I now submit to the critical antiquary the sketches, Plates II. and III., as mere specimens of its masonry, regarding, for the present, those stones on which the effigies in relief occur, merely as a part of the building materials; the cyclopean character of this masonry is so clearly apparent, that we are at once forced to believe

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *id.*, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *id.*, p. 280.

it the work of a period not later than the close of the ninth century.

Here, then, we should pause, were it not that the doorway of this church yet remains, (Plate I.) and from it we can more accurately determine the age of the building, which may, with every probability, be referred to the close of the eighth century. This doorway is in the south wall, but, if it had been placed at the west gable, we might suppose the church to be even still more ancient.

In comparing the accompanying sketch of this door with that of the stone-roofed church at Killaloe, a great similarity between them will be observed; the differences, however, which do exist indicate that the White Island church is not quite of equal age with that at Killaloe.

A glance at the illustrations will be sufficient to show that the sculptured stones, to which I now direct attention, were used as mere building materials in the construction of the walls of the church, without the least reference to the manner in which they were ornamented. Moreover, the field of the stones on which the figures have been carved are level with the surface of the surrounding masonry, while the effigies themselves stand out from it to the depth of from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 inches.

I have now to notice the costumes of these very singular, and, I believe, unique effigies, the first measuring 1 ft. 8 in. in length, by 1 ft. in breadth, and the second 2 ft. long by 9 in. wide, as represented on Plates II. and III. Both these portray ecclesiastics, and the former is of exceeding interest: it represents the figure as seated in an easy attitude, the elbow of the left arm resting on the left knee, and the hand supporting the chin; the right arm is crossed over both knees, having the hand resting on the left knee; against the right arm leans obliquely what appears to be the staff of a short pastoral crook or cambutta, the head of which is defaced; the staff reaches no lower than to the inside of the right knee, and appears to have been retained to the right arm, above the elbow, by a strap, after the fashion of a modern lancer's spear. The dress consists of a tunic with sleeves, fitting tight round the wrist, but loose at the elbow; by which the whole figure is enveloped, having only the ends of the feet appearing from under it; an ornamental band extends down the front of the dress, commencing at the waist, and joins on to a similar ornament, which extends round the bottom of the skirt; the feet are encased in round-pointed shoes; the hands are carved as without fingers or thumbs, probably the representation of the fingers being an effort of art beyond the skill of the sculptor; the face is close shaven, and the head bare. The great point of interest, however, in the appearance of this effigy, is the manner in which the hair is cut over the forehead, as I believe it affords us a clear illustration of the true form of the *ancient Irish tonsure*. If this be

so, we shall be enabled to fix, with tolerable accuracy, the age of this figure.

The history of the ecclesiastical tonsure is a subject of considerable interest to the archæologist, and it will be necessary to dwell on it at some length. Harris affords us the following information regarding the tonsure.

“ [But the Apostels were not uniform in their *Tonsure*. S<sup>t</sup>. Peter shaved the Top of his Head leaving below towards the Forehead and Ears a circle of Hair representing our Saviour’s Crown of Thorns. There are extant several early Testimonies of this kind of *Tonsure*, as *Alcuin*, who says, that S<sup>t</sup>. Peter introduced it to distinguish the clergy from the Laity, not only in their Dress but in the form of wearing their Hair; and *Gregory of Tours* asserts that S<sup>t</sup>. Peter shaved his crown *ad humilitatem docendam* to teach humility. This kind of *Tonsure* was for the most part followed by the Ecclesiastics of the *Latin Church*; yet not universally, according to the Epistle of the Abbot *Coelfrid* to *Naitan*, King of the *Picts*, as the same is given us by *Bede*, ‘ We know (says the Abbot) that neither all the *Apostels* were shaved after the same manner, nor now, though the Catholic Church accords in the same Faith, Hope, and Charity, yet doth it not agree in one uniform manner of *Tonsure* through the whole world.

“ The second kind of *Tonsure* is supposed to have been introduced by S<sup>t</sup>. *Paul*, and (as *Bede* says<sup>1</sup>) was in practice among the *Eastern Ecclesiastics*. He does not particularly describe the Form: but one may draw it by consequence from his words. For he says ‘ that *Theodore* archbishop elect of *Canterbury* born at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, was shaved after the *Eastern* fashion with the *Tonsure* of S<sup>t</sup>. *Paul* and was obliged to wait 4 months before he went into *Britain*, till his hair grew fit to be shaved into a *Crown of Thorns*; for he had formerly received the *Eastern* fashion of *Tonsure* called the *Tonsure* of S<sup>t</sup>. *Paul*.<sup>2</sup>”

“ From hence it seems that the *Tonsure* of S<sup>t</sup>. *Paul* consisted in a total shaving of the whole Head, since *Theodore* was obliged to wait so long till his hair grew of a sufficient length to enable him to cut it into the form of a *Crown of Thorns* after the manner of S<sup>t</sup>. *Peter*’s *Tonsure*.

“ A Third kind of *Tonsure* was in use called by some, in contempt, the *Tonsure* of *Simon Magus* which consisted in shaving off the hair from Ear to Ear forming the half of a circle, or an imperfect orb on the fore part of the Head all the rest of the hair being left at full length. This was the *Tonsure* in use among our *Irish Monks* and *Ecclesiastics*, the original of which (as it is said) some ascribe to *Simon Magus*, but others to a swineheard of King *Leogair*, who was King of *Ireland* when S<sup>t</sup>. *Patrick* first preached the Gospel there. This last opinion is countenanced by an ancient Book of Canons in the *Cotton Library* cited by *Ussher*, in which one finds this passage ‘ The Romans say that this kind of *Tonsure* took its origin from *Simon Magus*, who shaved himself only from Ear to Ear, thereby to chase away the *Tonsure* of the magicians by which the fore-

<sup>1</sup>Lib. iv., c. 1.

<sup>2</sup>A description of tonsure yet used by

the Turks, and some other Eastern nations.

part of the Head used only to be covered,' but that the author of this *Tonsure* in Ireland was a swineherd of King *Leogair Mc Neil* is testified by a sermon of St. Patrick, and that from this swine-herd the Irish have almost universally received it." Whoever introduced the Tonsure into *Ireland* it was certainly brought in use after the arrival of S'. Patrick, though undoubtedly in his time. It is more than probable that he introduced the Roman Rite, which was S'. Peter's Tonsure, being always accustomed to it."<sup>3</sup>

This supposition of Harris, though a reasonable one, is, I think, incorrect, and so is his description of the form of the tonsure of Simon Magus, though it appears to be an obvious reading of the passage explaining it.

Archbishop Ussher has printed the following in his "Antiquities of the British Church," which is of interest to the present inquiry, and I transcribe it in the original:—

"*Incipit Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniæ, secundum diversa tempora.*

"Primus ordo catholicorum Sanctorum erat in tempore *Patricii*. Et tunc erant Episcopi omnes clari et sancti et Spiritu sancto pleni, ccccl. numero, Ecclesiarum fundatores.

"Unum caput *Christum*, et unum duces *Patricium* habebant; unam Missam, unam celebrationem, unam tonsuram (ab aure usque ad aurem) sufferebant. Unum Pascha, xiv. Lunâ post æquinoctium vernale, celebrabant; et quod excommunicatum esset ab unâ Ecclesiâ omnes excommunicabant, Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant; quia<sup>3</sup> super petram Christum fundati, ventum tentationes non timebant.

"Hic ordo Sanctorum per *quaterna* duravit regna, hoc est, pro tempore *Læogarii*, et *Ailu Muilt*, et *Lugada* filio *Læogarii*, et *Tuathail*. Hi omnes Episcopi de Romanis, et Francis, et Britonibus, et Scotis exorti sunt.

"SECUNDUS ordo catholicorum Presbyterorum. In hoc enim ordine pauci erant Episcopi, et multi Presbyteri numero ccc. Unum caput Dominum nostrum habebant, diversas Missas celebrabant et diversas Regulas, unum Pascha quartadecimâ Lunâ, post Æquinoctium, unam tonsuram ab aure ad aurem; abnegebant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas à Monasteriis. Hic ordo per *quaterna* adhuc regna duravit, hoc est, ab extremis *Tuathail*, et per totum *Diarmata* Regis regnum, et duorum *Muredaig* nepotum, et *Ædo* filii *Ainmerech*. A  *Davide* Episcopo et *Gilla* et à *Doco* Britonibus Missam acceperunt; quorum nomina hæc sunt; Duo *Finiani*, duo *Brendani* *Fairlathia Tuama*, *Comgallus*, *Coengenus*, *Ciaranus*, *Columba*, *Cainecus*, *Eogenius mac Laisreus*, *Lugeus*, *Ludeus*, *Modiueus*, *Cormacus*, *Colmanus Nesanus*, *Laisreanus*, *Barrindeus*, *Coemanus*, *Ceranus Comanus* [*Endeus*, *Ædeus*, *Byrchinus*] et alii multi.

"TERTIUS ordo Sanctorum erat talis, Erant Presbyteri Sancti, et

<sup>1</sup> This was the tonsure used by the Normans in the time of William the Conqueror: vide "Bayeux Tapestry."

<sup>2</sup> "Annales," tom. i., p. 732.

<sup>3</sup> Harris' "Ware," vol. ii., p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> "Britan. Eccl. Antiq.," p. 473.

<sup>5</sup> "Al. nec laicos nec feminas de Ecclesiis repellebant."



pauci Episcopi, numero centum; qui in locis desertis habitabant, et oleribus et aqua et eleemosynis [fidelium] vivebant, propria devitabant, et diversas Regulas et Missas habebant, et diversam tonsuram (alii enim habebant coronam, alii cæsariem) et diversam solemnitatem Paschalem. Alii enim Resurrectionem XIV., Lunâ vel XVI. cum duris intentionibus celebrabant. Hi per *quarternâ* regna vixerunt, hoc est, *Æda Allain* [qui tribus annis, pro cogitatione malâ, tantum regnavit] et *Domnail* et filiorum *Mailcobi* et *Æda Slaine* permixta tempora; et usque ad mortalitatem illam magnam perduraverunt, Hæc sunt nomina eorum, *Petranus* Episcopus, *Ultanus* Episcopus, *Colmanus* Episcopus, *Murgeus* Episcopus, *Ædanus* Episcopus, *Lomanus* Episcopus, *Senachus* Episcopus.

“Hi sunt Episcopi, et alii plures. Hi verò Presbyteri; *Fechinus* Presbyter, *Airendanus*, *Failanus*, *Comanus*, *Commianus*, *Colmanus*, *Ernanus*, *Cronanus*, et alii plurimi Presbyteri.

“Primus ordo *Sanctissimus*, Secundus ordo *Sanctior*. Tertius *Sanctus*. Primus sicut Sol ardescit. Secundus sicut *Luna*. Tertius sicut *Stellæ*.”

Primus ordo, from A. D. 428 to 544. Secundus ordo, from A. D. 544 to 599. Tertius ordo, from A. D. 599 to 666.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we are given to understand the chief peculiarities of the form of the Irish tonsures in use from the beginning of the fifth to the middle of the seventh century, and it now remains for us to determine when the first form of tonsure ceased to be in use among the Irish ecclesiastics. The case is thus stated in Venerable Bede's “*Ecclesiastical History* :”<sup>2</sup>—

“I beseech you, holy brother. . . . Why do you, contrary to the habit of your faith, wear on your head a crown that is terminated, or bounded? And if you aim at the society of St. Peter, why do you imitate the tonsure of him whom St. Peter anathematized? . . . . He [Adamnanus] answered, ‘Be assured, my dear brother, that though I have Simon's tonsure, according to the custom of my country, yet I utterly detest and abhor the Simoniacal wickedness . . .’ After this letter was read, Naitan knelt upon the ground, and said, ‘Therefore I publicly declare and protest to you that are here present, that I will for ever continually observe this time of Easter with all my nation; and I do decree that this tonsure, which, we have heard, is most reasonable, shall be received by all the clergy in my kingdom.’ Accordingly, he immediately performed, by his royal authority, what he had said. . . . . All the ministers of the altar and monks had their crown shorn. . . . Not long after (A. D. 716), those monks also of the Scottish nation who lived in the island of Hii (Iona), with the other monasteries which were subject to them in Ireland, were, by the assistance of our Lord, brought to the canonical observation of Easter and the right use of the tonsure.”

If the tonsure then in use amongst the Irish ecclesiastics resembled that of Simon Magus, as Harris supposed, and consisted in the

<sup>1</sup> See O'Conor, “*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*,” vol. ii., pp. 162-164.

<sup>2</sup> “*Ecclesiastical History*,” Giles's translation, pp. 829, 830.

shaving of the skull from the forehead to the crown in a line passing over the head from ear to ear, it would not have been possible for all the ministers of the altar and monks of the time of King Naitan to have assumed that of St. Peter, or the Roman tonsure, without delay. From the fact, therefore, that they had this ceremony performed on them at once, it is clear that the hair covered the whole head to the top of the forehead; and the primitive Irish tonsure consisted in clipping the hair in a peculiar trifoliate form across the forehead, commencing at one ear, and ending at the other.

Thus, we find that the Irish ecclesiastics generally, at the close of the seventh century, ceased to use the tonsure of Simon Magus, and consequently the effigy from the White Island church must be of a date prior to this period.

With regard to the style of dress which this singular figure presents, we find that it exactly accords with the description of the ancient clerical tunic given by Ledwich in his "Antiquities,"<sup>1</sup> where he states that in the eighth century the ancient clerical dress consisted of a loose garment with sleeves, the former costume having been, as he says, the *Rheno*, or short mantle.

Plate III.—This effigy, which is somewhat smaller than the first, measuring but two feet in length by nine inches in width, also represents the individual as seated, and is likewise the figure of an ecclesiastic; the lower portion of the dress is the same as the one first described; but the shoulders are enveloped in a short cloak or chasuble, which is carried over the elbows; the arms of the figure appear to be bare; the head is covered, and the forehead bounded by a flat band;<sup>2</sup> a kind of narrow collar appears round the neck. Resting on the lap, and held by both hands, appears what I take to be one of those flat boxes or *Cumdachs*, in which MSS. of the Gospels, and such reliquaries, were preserved.

In this effigy we have an illustration of the ancient mantle not reaching below the elbow, and called the *rheno*, which probably was the same as the ancient *cucullus* or *sagum*, contracted in its length, and introduced as an ecclesiastical dress during the sixth and seventh centuries, the period to which I assign those effigies. The *rheno* was, it is true, strictly a secular garment, and its being borrowed by the ecclesiastics of those days gave great offence to such as were more canonical in their style of dress. In this figure we find it used in connexion with the skirt of the tunic, and thus the effigy is one of much value.

EFFIGY AT LEFT SIDE OF DOORWAY, PLATE I.—This effigy, which measures two feet in length, belongs to that class of sculpturings which in Ireland have extended down to the middle of the six-

<sup>1</sup> Ledwich, "Antiquities of Ireland," p. 259, *ut supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* carving on the lintel of the Priest's House, Glendalough, Petrie, *id.*, p. 246.

teenth century, and are found in the walls of castles as well as of churches. They are known amongst the peasantry of the southern counties by the name of "*Sheela-ni-giggs*." The one under review is clearly as old as either of the two former effigies. The face is evidently meant to be grotesque or laughing, a peculiarity of expression universally attempted to be carried out by the sculptor in works of this type, no matter how recent may be their date. This figure is entirely nude, except the shoulders, which are covered by the short *rhen* or secular dress, already alluded to, a garment forbidden to be used by the early Irish ecclesiastics, unless, as we see in the former effigy, Fig. 2., it was associated with the skirt of the tunic. The head of this figure also exhibits what I suppose to be the Irish form of tonsure, so that the female ecclesiastics of the early Irish church, without doubt, adopted this distinction, as well the male community, as we read in "*Marianus Scotus*."<sup>1</sup>

From the foregoing inquiry, therefore, it would appear that those effigies which represented the early Irish ecclesiastical dress and tonsure (the latter having been condemned at the close of the seventh century) had, at the close of the eighth century, lost the respect and veneration in which they had once been held; and when the church on the White Island was a-constructing at that period, possibly out of the ruins of a former edifice, the ecclesiastics, who had then given up the use of the ancient tonsure as an "heretical and damnable error," mutilated those effigies as we see them, and applied them to the degraded but useful purpose of mere building materials.<sup>2</sup>

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## THE PLANTATION OF THE BARONY OF IDRONE, IN THE COUNTY OF CARLOW.

(Continued from page 44.)

BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

It was, in fact, a project for a second conquest of Ireland by plantation, to be carried on like the first, as a private adventure by private men, sanctioned and encouraged by the Parliament. The likeness did not fail to strike those familiar with the story of Ireland; and the Speaker of the house of Commons, Sir John Bulstrode Whitelock, at the conference between the Lords and Commons, on

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Harris* "Ware," vol. ii., p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* "Adamnani Vita St. Columbæ," by the Rev. William Reeves, D. D., pp. 47, 350, 351.

the 13th of February, 1641-2, in the conclusion of his speech, recommending the scheme to the Lords by order of the House of Commons, thus adverts to the similarity :—

“William the Conqueror gave leave to 12 knights to enter Wales, and what lands they could gain there, to keep and plant themselves in it. From one of these descended Richard, ‘the strongboe,’ Earl of Chepstow, who, in Henry the Second’s time, made the first conquest, and with such as desired to plant themselves in Ireland. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that, according to old prophecies long current in Ireland, this shall continue, with frequent battles, numerous murders, and a contest so prolonged that it shall hardly be completed by the day of judgment. These propositions (added the Speaker) will, I hope, give a period to that prophecy, and as the first conquest was begun by plantation, so a happy and perfect establishment thereof and of the true religion may be made by a like noble plantation, to which these propositions tend, and, by command of the House of Commons, I present them for your approval.”

The following is the passage in full from Giraldus :—

“The Irish have four national Prophets, Moling, Brechan, Patrick, and Columbkil (whose works, written in the Irish tongue, are to this day extant among them), who, speaking of the conquest of Ireland, all agree that it will be stained by frequent battles, by numerous murders, and a contest continued to late ages [*crebris conflictibus longoque certamine per multa in posterum tempora multis cædibus fœdaturum*], but in the end, a little only before the day of Judgment, they promised complete conquest of the island to the people of England, and to have it encastled [*‘incastellatum’*] from sea to sea. And though the English may suffer many overthrows in their wars there (and according to Brechan, all the English are to be routed by a certain King to come from St. Patrick’s mountains, who on a Sunday night is to break into a fortress in the woody parts of Ophalley), yet they all agree in asserting that they shall continually keep possession of the eastern coast.”—(*Hibernia Expugnata*, in *Holinshed*, ch. 33, p. 807.)

This shows that, long before the invasion, it was foreseen by all those who were endued with a little political sagacity (which in early times is never held in any account by the people, unless palmed upon them as the prediction of some inspired prophet), that it was the fate of Ireland to be subjected to any nation, that, like the Romans or the English, had framed their institutions and political discipline to the purpose of conquest and plantation. It is impossible for the clan or family system, with its social equality, political freedom, and internal broils, to stand the shock of a people compacted on the military or feudal system, bound together in defence of their conquests against the nations they have invaded and despoiled, clinging together, as the Celtic narrators describe it, “like the scales on the back of the old dragon.”

A brigade of 5000 foot and 500 horse, designed for Munster, of

which Lord Wharton was to have the command, was raised by the adventurers,<sup>1</sup> but the civil war having burst forth in England by the King's displaying the Royal Standard at Nottingham, on the 23rd August, 1642, the King refused to grant the commissions for the officers, fearing that these forces would be used against himself, as in fact happened, these very troops having marched from Bristol, where they were delayed for want of their commissions, to the battle of Edgehill, where they contributed to his defeat.

The military part of this scheme thus failed, but the plan of pledging the lands to be conquered in Ireland for moneys to be advanced to Parliament, sometimes to relieve "the gasping condition" of the Protestants there, but oftener to carry on the war against the King in England, was continually extended. The sums brought in, however, did not answer the expectations entertained. In hopes to induce merchants and traders, foreign Protestants as well as English, to embark in this speculation, the Parliament of England offered the principal sea-port towns in Ireland for sale,—Limerick, with 12,000 acres contiguous, for £30,000, and a rent of £625 payable to the state; Waterford, with 1500 acres contiguous, at the same rate; Galway, with 10,000 acres, for £7500 and a rent of £520; Wexford, with 6000 acres, for £500 and a rent of £156 4s. 4d.<sup>2</sup> But this offer, tempting though it might sound, found no bidders. The towns were still in possession of the ancient inhabitants, and merchants, of all others, are least inclined to buy the bear's skin before the bear be dead.

The plantation scheme under the Adventurers' Acts was, therefore, likely to be a failure, unless some further plan were adopted. During the whole ten years, from 1642 to 1652, only £360,000 had been brought in on the security of lands in Ireland. At the end of the war in 1652, the charge for the army in Ireland had reached £30,000 per month, leviable off cattle and tillage lands. But such was the devastation that had been made of the stock of the country by the wars, and so few were the inhabitants, that the assessment was double the best improved rents which the lands (paying assessment) yielded in time of peace. To put an end to this accruing charge for the pay of the army, and to satisfy the soldiers' arrears, the Parliament, with the consent of the officers, determined to set out lands to the army, at the same rate as the adventurers. But when they began to reflect on the danger of setting down some thousands of men dispersedly amongst a nation of dispossessed proprietors and their families, rendered desperate by loss of their ancient inheritances, they had to plan some scheme to provide for their safety.

It has been said that there is no more dangerous design a con-

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth's "Collections," vol. iv. p. 776.

<sup>2</sup> Scobell's Acts and Ordinances.

queror can entertain than to confiscate a nation's lands, for (as has been lately remarked upon a similar project) "it is never safe to confiscate a man's lands unless you are prepared to take his life."<sup>1</sup> Now whatever may have been the fury of the Puritans in the early days of the Rebellion, when they talked (like Antiochus concerning Jerusalem<sup>2</sup>) of making Ireland the common burying-place of the Irish,<sup>3</sup> they had come in the course of ten years to milder and humaner measures.

They considered that "extirpations in the abstract are cruelties,"<sup>4</sup> and they determined to reconcile a universal confiscation with the safety of the new plantation.

On the 12th of August, 1652, there passed the Parliament of England an Act of Proscription, which was ordered by the Commissioners of Government to be proclaimed through every precinct in Ireland, "with beat of drumme and sound of trumpett," declaring that it was not the intention of Parliament to extirpate that whole nation, but that the lands of all the Irish were forfeited on account of the national rebellion, and announcing to those who were not included in the sentence of death or exile, denounced against various classes or categories of persons by the Act, that they should be allowed certain portions of land for their support, wherever the Parliament of England, in order to the more effectual settlement of the peace of the nation, should think fit to appoint.<sup>5</sup>

On the 26th of Sept., in the following year, they learned their fate. All the lands of the Irish in Ulster, Munster, and Leinster, were to be set out by lot between the adventurers and the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army, and the Irish were to withdraw by the 1st of May, 1654, into Connaught, which "the Parliament of England," so the Act declared, "had reserved for the habitation of all the Irish nation not excepted by the Act." Here enclosed on one side by the Shannon, and on the other by the sea, shut up as it were in an island, which was made further secure by being encircled with a belt of English military settlers four miles wide round the whole province—the Irish, under pain of death, were to remain

<sup>1</sup> Speech of Sir James Graham, Bart., on the occasion of the debate in Parliament concerning the confiscation of Oude, 21st May, 168.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Maccabees, ix. 4.

<sup>3</sup> "24<sup>th</sup> Reason. Some have directly preached for mercy to be shewed to those merciless Irish rebels, as Archdeacon Buckley and the Bishop of Meath, who said in a sermon before the state that four sorts of them sh<sup>d</sup> be saved: 1<sup>st</sup>. Children. 2<sup>d</sup>. Women. 3<sup>d</sup>. Labourers. 4<sup>th</sup>. All that resist not,—yet women are worse than men." —"An Apology made by an English Offi-

cer of Quality for leaving the Irish wars, declaring the design now on foot to reconcile Irish and English, and expelling the Scots, to bring their Popish forces against the Parliament," p. 10. Small 4to. London (no date, but about 1648).

<sup>4</sup> "Nevertheless, since extirpations are cruelty in the abstract . . . there must be a means found out to preserve that people, and make them serviceable to the Government."—Sir R. Coxe's "History of Ireland." Folio, 1689. Preface.

<sup>5</sup> Scobell's "Acts and Ordinances of the Parliament of England."

for ever impounded, in order that the English might plant and dwell in the rest of Ireland in security.<sup>1</sup> The Parliament, however, excepted the four counties of Dublin, Kildare, Cork, and Carlow from being set out to the adventurers and soldiers, and reserved them for the purpose of paying public debts and gratifying eminent friends of the republican cause.<sup>2</sup>

Under the terms of the great Act of Proscription, of 12th August, 1652, entitled, "Ordinance for the settling of Ireland," the Earl of Ormond and a long list of the most ancient nobility and gentry were excepted from pardon of life or estate. And the only exemption for the rest of the nation from forfeiture or transplantation was for those who should be able to prove their "constant good affection" during the whole period of the war to the Parliament of England. It was not enough to have done nothing, and to have remained quiet; each individual was presumed to be guilty, and he must prove not merely his innocence, but, "by the series of his carriages," his distaste for the proceedings of his countrymen, and set forth his acts of adhesion to the Parliament of England. He might even prove "the manifestation of much good affection," and yet not escape, which was only to be allowed for the manifestation of a "constant good affection." Numbers of Protestants, being Royalists, were within this description of guilt, and, of course, forfeited; but they were permitted to compound for their estates as delinquent Protestants. The ancient English gentry in Ireland, who were, for the most part, Roman Catholic, also forfeited their estates, but for them there was no compounding, and they and their families had all to transplant to Connaught.

Thus, John Luttrell (ancestor of the Luttrells, Lords Carhampton), the owner, in 1652, of the beautiful estate of Luttrellstown,<sup>3</sup> adjoining the Phoenix Park, Dublin, which he inherited from some of the Luttrells who came in with the Conquest, got liberty, before the transplantation of the Irish was finally arranged, to plough and rent, as tenant to the State, part of his former property, and, while doing so, to have the stables on the outer wall to occupy and inhabit, Colonel Hewson occupying the mansion-house and yard as a garrison. On the 30th September, 1654, Mr. Luttrell was dispensed with

<sup>1</sup> "This province of Connaught and Co. of Clare for their natural and artificial strength are worth the noting, being altogether environed on the west and south-west, part thereof by the vast ocean, and almost encompassed on the east and north-east part thereof in the whole length from north to south, for the space of 140 miles, or thereabouts with the great and, for the most part, impassable River Shannon, except by boat or bridge. And on all sides parts of the said province so beset with mightie strong gar-

risons, as, namely, Limricke, Galway, Athlone, Jamestown, the forts of Slego and Belleek in the Co. of Mayo (with many other garrisons of lesser moment, and of no small strength), that sh<sup>d</sup> the Irish at any time appear to stir in the least, it were no less than wilfully to expose themselves to immediate slaughter and the mercy of the sword."—"Present State of Ireland." P. 67. London. 12mo. 1678.

<sup>2</sup> Id., ib.

<sup>3</sup> Purchased from the late Lord Car-

from transplantation till the 1st of December following, "in regard his whole livelihood and his family's depends on the improving that crop of corn that is now in taking off the ground." When the limit of his stay was out, he took his solitary way to Connaught, having obtained, through the mercy of the Council Board, that his wife and children might be spared the calamitous winter journey to that place of banishment. The stay of his wife appears to have been limited to the early spring, for on the 18th of May she obtained the following order:—

"18th May, 1655.

"Jane Luttrell, her husband being already transplanted into Connaught, and forasmuch as she hath a great charge of children and stock, which are not yet in a condition to travel, is dispensed from Transplantation till 20th June next."<sup>1</sup>

For it must not be supposed that it was the Mere Irish only that were removed. On the contrary, the common people being useful as tenants and labourers, were sheltered by the officers and soldiers. It was the proprietors that were especially compelled to transplant. Of these, the old English were in possession of the best estates and finest houses, which were, of course, necessary for the accommodation of the new English planters. The blood of the first conquest, the Fitzgeralds, the Butlers, the Burkes, the Plunkets, Talbotts, Tuites, Daltons, had now to give place to a new swarm from the old hive, and to taste a worse bitterness at the hands of their own countrymen than the Milesian Irish in the days of the early invaders; for a conquest by plantation in a country in its pristine state, where commerce is not extensive, nor land accurately appropriated into demesnes, is rather a contest for empire and followers than for house and property. But plantations in a country already full, as Bacon remarks, are accompanied by "displantations," or (as he elsewhere calls them) "the displanting of ancient generations," and are rather, he says, extirpations than plantations.<sup>2</sup> They entail consequences that afflict for centuries. It may be thought, perhaps, that the old gentry might be spared a portion of their estates, or be let to live (as many of their wives and children got liberty to do for a time, while watching their last crop) in the stables and offices, or on the charity of some of their former tenants (as not a few contrived still to do both after these forfeitures and those of 1688).<sup>3</sup>

hampton about sixty years ago, by the father of Colonel White, the present owner, and by him called Woodlands.

<sup>1</sup> "Orders of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland." State Paper Office, Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> "Plantations are amongst ancient primitive and heroical works. . . . I like a plantation in a pure soil, where people are not to be displanted to the end to plant in

others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation."—"Essays," xxxiii.—"Of Plantations."

<sup>3</sup> "8th Aug<sup>t</sup>, 1659.—Whereas James Byrne hath by some of the Justices of the Peace been lately apprehended in the C<sup>o</sup> of Wicklow, being a vagrant person, and returned thither without license out of the C<sup>o</sup> of Galway, to which place he was diyers



But there was a very good answer to show the necessity of their transplanting. In the first place, there would be no comfort for the new planter, who would be troubled with the contemplation of their misery.

“The souldiers, adventurers, and other Protestant planters would hardly be encouraged to settle themselves on their lands, and plant them with English (says Colonel Lawrence), if, every time when he comes to see his lands, the ancient Irish proprietor shall salute him upon it with a sad story of his suffering and hard usage, to have his inheritance taken from him and given to other men. Nay, the posterity of that Irishman shall hardly ever pass by the Englishman’s dwelling, without cursing him and his successors (in their hearts), and wishing for time to recover their own again.”<sup>1</sup>

In addition to which, there was the danger to be apprehended from their ill-will:—

“Besides, if any Englishmen were so bad natured, as they could bear their murmurings and complainings, yet few of them (after they come to discern their danger, and the hazard of all their costs and improvements upon their waste lands) would be so stupid as to continue the hazard of their persons and families, and their posterities and estates, upon a place so near that neighbourhood, that (upon principles) were bound to hate and contrive the ruin of him and his while he lived there.”<sup>2</sup>

But though the gentry, with their wives and daughters, for the ease of mind and security of the new English “proprietors,” were especially required to transplant, the common Irish were not exempt. In the Act of Parliament there was an exception made of husbandmen, artificers, labourers, and those that had no land or goods to the value of ten pounds; yet lessees were considered “pro-

years since transplanted, and, as he alleges, came to look after some gratuities from some of that County who were formerly his tenants and acquaintants, and now poore labouring people there. Whereas likewise it appeareth by his own confession y<sup>t</sup> hee was a Lieutenant Colonel under Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Phe-  
lim Byrne, a Lieutenant General for the Rebels, and being vehemently suspected to have come into those parts upon some designe to disturbe the publique peace and to promote the designes of the Common Enemy, Ordered that the Justices of Peace of the Co of Dublin or any of them do give speedy warrant for y<sup>e</sup> committal of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Byrne unto y<sup>e</sup> County goal att Kilmainham, there to remain until he be further proceeded against according to Law.

“Dated at Dublin, 8 Aug<sup>r</sup>, 1659.

“THOS. HERBERT,  
Secretary.”

“Orders of Council for the Affs. of Irl.”

<sup>1</sup> “The Great Interest of England in the Well-planting of Ireland with English Protestants.” p. 24. 8vo. London. 1658.

<sup>2</sup> By an Ordinance of Parliament (for the Attainder of the Rebels in Ireland) passed in 1656, it appears, that “the Child, grand-child, brothers, nephews, uncles, and next pretended heirs, and active kindred of the forfeiting proprietors, having no visible means of livelihood, but living only and cowering upon the common sort of people, who were the tenants or followers of their families,” were still lingering near the ancient lands, “waiting an opportunity (as may be justly supposed) to massacre the English who, as Adventurers, Soldiers, or their tenants, are set down to plant upon these estates,”—they were therefore within 6 months to transplant to Connaught, or under penalty, in default, of being transported to the Plantations in America.—Scobell’s “Acts and Ordinances.”

prietors," and as "those that had borne arms," (or "swordmen," as the other great qualification was familiarly styled), were not exempt, and as this term was held to include any that had kept guard or attended muster even by compulsion; there were scarce any that were not transplantable; for during ten years the Confederates had their established government, and their armies over three-fourths of Ireland.

This will account for the extreme depopulation of many parts of Ireland, as, for instance, of the county of Tipperary, where Dr. Petty says that the reason he made use of Lord Strafford's survey of that county, taken in the year 1639, was that the country had become so uninhabited and waste, by means of the transplantation, that it would be impossible to find mearers to do it tolerably well.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently there was an order made for sending back four fit and knowing persons of the barony of Eliogarty, from Connaught, to attend the surveyors, and show the bounds of the lands to be admeasured in that barony, as there was no inhabitant of the Irish nation left that knew the country.<sup>2</sup>

A similar effect seems to have been produced in the county of Meath; a new race occupied it; the old, the native race, were all swept away.

In Easter Term, 1659, the Court of Exchequer ordered a levy of £10 1s., arrear of excise due in 1653, by the barony of Slane, to be levied off the inhabitants, who thereupon came in and prayed a discharge, stating that those that ought to have paid the same "are all either transplanted, gone beyond sea, or dead," and "the present inhabitants are soldiers, who, with their tenants, came into the barony since 1653."<sup>3</sup>

But perhaps the best evidence of the desolation and depopulation was the increase of the wolves, which had come to such numbers, from having the country to themselves, that they destroyed the flocks and herds, and were found even preying on young orphan children,<sup>4</sup> of whom multitudes were wandering about; and, to get rid of this pest, days were appointed, by public authority, for the different baronies near Dublin, to meet to hunt them, and lands were leased by the State in the neighbourhood of Dublin under conditions of keeping a pack of wolf-hounds, part of the rent to be discounted in wolves' heads at five pounds for every "dogge wolfe" killed,

<sup>1</sup> "History of the Down Survey," by Dr. W. Petty. A. D. 1655-6. By Thomas A. Larcom, F. R. S., Major of Royal Engineers. P. 60. 4to. "Irish Archæol. Soc. Publications." Dublin. 1851.

<sup>2</sup> "Order of Council for the Affairs of Ireland." 20th Dec., 1654. State Paper Office,

Dublin Castle.

<sup>3</sup> "Orders of the Revenue Side of the Exchequer," late Chief Remembrancer's Office.

<sup>4</sup> Order of Commissioners for Affairs of Ireland, 12th May, 1653.—Hardiman's "Iar Connaught," p. 181. Irish Archæological Soc. Publications.

and so in proportion for she wolves and cubs.<sup>1</sup> And deer toil were brought over at the public charge, and kept in the public store for setting up while driving the woods with hounds and horn for these destructive beasts of prey.<sup>2</sup>

The barony of Idrone, which had been purchased by Dudleigh Bagnal from Sir George Carew, about sixty years before the breaking out of the Rebellion of 1641, belonged, at the latter period, to Colonel Walter Bagnal. It has been already mentioned that Sir Peter Carew confirmed the chief gentlemen of the Kavanaghs in the lands he found them possessed of at the time he recovered the barony under the decree of the Council. But, subject to those estates, which seem to have been granted to the Irish in tail, the entire barony, that is to say Idrone East, belonged to Colonel Bagnal.

In 1639 or 1640 there was an account taken, by order of Lord Strafford, of all the King's tenants in the four provinces of Ireland, for the purpose, it would seem, of raising money, for fines for aliening without license. The following are the estates of Colonel Walter Bagnal, as they appear in the books of the King's tenants for the county of Carlow:<sup>3</sup>—

Walter Bagnal, Esq., tenant of the manor, town, and lands of Ballymone, containing one mart land; Ballylowe, half mart land; Ouldtown, half mart land; Barduffne, half mart land; Castlebury and Donleckney, one and a half mart land; Gleaduffe, Killcrutt, Rathballyffolane, alias Ballyfullane and Knockballinrahine, two marts and six parts of one mart land; Aghde, one mart; Rathwheat, two parts of one mart land; Kilknocke, one mart; Orchard,

<sup>1</sup> 11 March, 1652-3.—Lease to Capt<sup>n</sup> Ed. Piers of all the forfe<sup>d</sup> lands and tithes in the bar<sup>y</sup> of Dunboyne in the Co of Meath (5 miles north of Dublin) at the sum of £548, for five years from 1 May, 1653, on the terms of his keeping up a hunting establishment for killing wolves and foxes. He was to maintain three wolf dogs, two English mastiffs, a pack of hounds of sixteen couple, three of them to hunt the wolf only, a knowing huntaman, and two men and a boy—an orderly hunt to take place thrice a month at least. This establishment was to be kept partly at Dunboyne and partly at Dublin. And for the securing the performance of his engagement, he was to pay £100 a year additional rent, to be defalked in wolf and fox-heads; 6 wolf-heads and 24 fox-heads the first year, 4 wolf-heads and 16 fox-heads the 2<sup>d</sup> year, 2 wolf-heads and 10 fox-heads the 3<sup>d</sup> y<sup>r</sup>, and 1 wolf-head and 5 fox-heads in each year afterwards during the term. And in case he shall fall short of killing and bringing in the s<sup>d</sup> number of wolves, and foxes' heads yearly, then deduction is to be made

out of the s<sup>d</sup> yearly allowance or salary of £100, for every wolf's head so falling short the sum of £5, and for every foxe's head 5s." —"Orders of Council for Affairs of Ireland."

<sup>2</sup> The Israelites were warned not to kill all the Canaanites all at once or too suddenly, for fear of the increase of wild beasts of prey.—"When the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it . . . . . and when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee, thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them, thou shalt make no covenant with them nor shew mercy unto them; neither shalt thou make marriages with them . . . . . thou shalt consume all the people which the Lord thy God shall deliver thee: thine eye shall have no pity upon them. . . . . And the Lord will put out those nations before thee by little and little; *thou mayest not consume them at once, lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee.*"—Deuteronomy, vii.

<sup>3</sup> "Book of Homage Tenures for the Province of Leinster." Court of Exchequer.

half mart; Killcarricke, one and a half mart land; Ballyfoyminge, two-sevenths of one mart land; Kilmaloppoge, half a mart land; Ballytarsnoe, one mart land; Teghawrelane, one-seventh part of a mart land; and the town and lands of Ballywalter,—Held of our Lord the King, as of his manor of Carlow, by the service of half of one knight's fee, by letters patent dated 21st July, 1626.

The same: Rathellin, one mart land; Ballywilliamroe, Rathcroage, part of the lands called Parckevespane, half a martland; Seskinrian alias Seskin, Ballinisilloge, Ballinecarrige, Ballycarroge, Killoge, Ballyglappalocke, Ballyshane, half a mart land in Clonen; four-sevenths of one mart land in Ballyreagh; one mart land in Ballycormacke; one mart land in Cloughwalter; five-sevenths of one mart land in Ballyclantornocke; one mart land in Killcallatrome; one mart land in uttermost Seskin Donree; seven-eighteenth of one mart land in Clough-Cantwell; Corromore; one mart land in Killoughternan, Ouldbegg, Clonclevett, Broolyria, Cowlanacappoge, Ballygowen, Clonagastill, Gormanagh, Knockskun, Knockower, Killedmond, Rahindarragh, Ballinvalla, Bowly Cullen, Killtennell, Golleglowne, Knockroe, Ballybromell, Killconnor, Ballyrian, Skillrye, and Corrobegg,—of our Lord the King, as of his manor of Carlow by the service of half of one knight's fee, by letters patent dated 21st July, 1626.

The same: Killinerle, Downcore, Killcomeny, Killshanerlone, Orney, Rathheaden, Ballyteige, Kildrinagh, Lomclone, one mart land called Clantomensland; Ballintortane, Ffenogh, Killanckline and Ballyloghan, and Ballyrane,—of our Lord the King, as of his manor of Carlow, by the service of half of one knight's fee, by letters patent dated 21st July, 1626.

The same: All those manors, towns, and lands of Ffemough, alias Ffymagh, Monibegg, Bohermore, Knockmollen, Rathduffe, Newtowne, Ballynemuer, Ballydermine, Ballyhobboge, Tartanecowla, Ballyknockane, Ballybegg, Ballytomen, Cowlenesopp, Carrickbegg, Ballylowe, Rathphillibine, Skreatrine, Glangerry, and Ffarenloghane,—of our Lord the King, as of his manor of Carlow by the service of half of one knight's fee, by letters patent dated 21st July, 1626.

The same: All the manors, castles, towns, and lands of Kenoge, Knockanecrogh, Crannagh, Carrickebracke, Rostillige, Moyvalla, Rahinquoile, Toameduffe, Bannogebeegg, Killvearie, Killgarrane, Aghevicke, Ballydney, Ballinigran, Knockasgondon, Killdame, Killgreanie, Ballynattn, Rahanna, Balliniekard, Rahorckane,—of our Lord the King, of his manor of Carlow, by the service of one half of one knight's fee, by letters patent dated 21st July, 1626.

The same: Staplockstown, Killreny, and Ballykerooke, one mart land; Twirbilane (?), Ballinacarrigge, one mart land; Newton and Kilknock, one mart land; Rathcroage, one-sixth of a mart land;

Clonegidd, half of a mart land; Rathrehead, half a mart; Ballilowe, Balligowen, and Ballitarsne, half a mart land; Clonegoose, Knocknegundenagh, and Ballinesilloge, one-third of a mart; annual rent of 40*s.* issuing from the town and lands of Ballicoppigan and Killcallatram; annual rent of 40*s.* from Knockanvogh, Killtennell, Ballicullen, Ballinvalla, &c., Rosdillige, Killenerle, Moyvally, Knockroe, Rahanan, Crannagh, Rahindarragh, Killedmund, and Rahinquill, Tomduffe, containing one mart land; reversion of the town and lands of Ballinloghan, Coolnegappoge, Carrickbegge, Carrimore, Aghavick, expectant on the death of Bryan M'Donogh Kavanagh, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; Orchard, half of a mart land; Caldtowne, half of a mart land; reversion of the town and lands of Ballyrean, containing one mart land, after the death of Owen Birne; reversion of the town and lands of Tooleanageanagh, Bohillagh, Watterstowne, Lenkardstowne, expectant on the death of Thomas Davills, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; Ballyrye, Knockbower, Urney alias Norney, Ballinegran, Ballymeene, and Carrickbegg, one mart land and a half; Ballyhobbocke, whereof Ballybegg a parcel, containing one-sixth of a mart land. Annual rent of £10 sterling, issuing from the lands of Aghe, Boherduffe, and Cloghnen; Kildrynagh, containing half a mart; Ballywilliamroe, one mart; Killcarrick, annual rent of £2 sterling, issuing out of Ballaghdermine; annual rent of 25*s.* issuing from Ballyknockan, Ballycomen, one-third of a mart land; annual rent of £5, issuing from the lands of Seekinryan; and another annual rent of 30*s.* issuing from the lands of Kilbride; annual rent of 70*s.* issuing from the lands of Donowe; Rathvallyvillane, Killcruitt, and Sliguth, alias Sligah, two mart lands and one-sixth; annual rent of £5 sterling, issuing from the lands of Rathellin, by Inquisition, after the death of George Bagnall, Esq., in the year 1637.<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to ascertain, were it possible, the names and condition of the tenants and inhabitants of these lands at the period of their being confiscated; but though it is easy to know the names of all the proprietors who forfeited estates under the proceedings of the Parliament, there is no record of the names of their tenants.

In the year 1653 and 1654 there was a Survey taken by order of the Commonwealth Government, to ascertain the lands forfeited by reason of the Rebellion of 1641, preparatory to the mapping and distributing of the lands among the adventurers and soldiers, in which are set down the various owners in fee; but no notice is taken of the lessees and tenants in occupation.

<sup>1</sup> These were the estates granted by Sir Peter Carew to the Kavanaghs and other Irish he found in possession when he reco-

vered the barony, by Decree of the Council, in 1586. This portion of the history of Idrone has been treated of already.

This Survey, afterwards known as the "The Civil Survey," was a report of the extent and value of the lands according to evidence obtained from the late proprietors' agents and tenants on the spot, with the aid of a jury, but was not accompanied by any map or survey "by down admeasurement" (as surveying and mapping was then called). It was made for State purposes, and ordered by the State. Sir William Petty's Survey was made by chain, &c., for the purpose of being mapped, and was called a "down" survey, which distinguished it from the former. The term "civil" survey, attached to the other, may have marked another distinction, Sir W. Petty's being undertaken for the army. The Civil Survey was, by the Act of Settlement, ordered to be handed to the Commissioners for executing that Act, as containing the names of the proprietors whose estates were to be adjudicated upon, and was afterwards burnt in the great fire that destroyed the Council Chamber in 1711. A specimen of it may be seen printed, "A Survey of the Half Barony of Rathdown, in the County of Dublin, by Order of Cs. Fleetwood, Lord Deputy, Oct. 4, 1654."<sup>1</sup> The first column in the "Book of Distributions," compiled in 1676, containing the proprietors' names, anno 1641, was taken from the Civil Survey, and the Barony of Idrone, as appearing in the "Book of Distributions," is given hereafter.

There is thus a very accurate record of the different proprietors whose estates were confiscated under the Commonwealth Government; but there is no mode of ascertaining the character and number of the farming population, which must, however, have been almost entirely Irish.

<sup>1</sup> "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica," vol. ii., p. 529.

(To be continued.)

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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**GENERAL MEETING**, held in the Society's Apartments, Williamstreet, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, May 9th (by adjournment from the 2nd), 1860,

**THE REV. CHARLES A. VIGNOLES, A. M.**, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

The Right Hon. Lord William Fitzgerald, Harcourt-place, Dublin: proposed by John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Arthur Nugent, Esq., Cranna, Portumna; and Benjamin W. Fayle, Esq., Parsonstown: proposed by T. L. Cooke, Esq.

D. C. O'Connor, Esq., M. D., Camden-place, Cork: proposed by R. Corbett, Esq., M. D.

George J. Wycherly, Esq., M. D., Charlotte-quay, Cork: proposed by Barry Delany, Esq., M. D.

Denis O'Connell, Esq., M. D., Flintfield, Millstreet, county of Cork; and John O'Connell, Esq., Altamont, Millstreet, county of Cork: proposed by Mr. P. M'Gragh.

Thomas Lane, Esq., 18, Patrick's-place, Cork; and Mr. John O'Reilly, Jun., Rose-Inn-street, Kilkenny: proposed by John G. A. Prim, Esq.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By Col. the Right Hon. W. F. Tighe: "Annals of Windsor, being a History of the Castle and Town, with some Account of Eton and Places Adjacent," by Richard Tighe, Esq., and James Edward Davis, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 2 vols. London, 1858.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for April, 1860.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," for March, 1860.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," Nos. 63 and 64.

By the Cambrian Archæological Society: their "Journal," third series, No. 22.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology: "The East Anglian," No. 6.

By the Author: "Notices of certain Crannogs, or Artificial Islands, which have been discovered in the Counties of Antrim and Londonderry," by the Rev. William Reeves, D. D.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 29.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 892-98, both inclusive.

By the Publisher: "The Dublin Builder," Nos. 16 and 17.

By the Rev. Dr. Spratt: the original brass matrix of the seal of the Very Rev. James Verschoyle, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. It bore the Verschoyle arms, a chevron between three boars' heads, impaling the arms of the Deanery; and the inscription—JAC. VERSCHOYLE. LL. D. DEC. EC. CA. S. PAT. DUB. INS. MAI. 3. 1794—i. e., James Verschoyle, LL. D., Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Dublin; installed May 3, 1794. This dignity was afterwards Bishop of Killala.

By Maurice Lenehan, Esq.: a fragment of a cannon ball, apparently a 24-pounder, dug up under the curtain of the Black Battery of Limerick—a relic of one of the sieges of that historic city. Mr. Lenehan also sent for exhibition four coins, one of them a brass of the Emperor Galba, turned up by a peasant whilst tilling his land, in the county of Limerick, which Mr. Lenehan said opened a question as to how it had got into a country where historians assert no soldier of the Roman Empire had ever set his foot. The three other coins were Limerick tokens, two of them being issued by E. Wright, dated 1674 and 1677, the third bearing the legend "Charity Change," with the date 1658.

By Mr. J. Phelan, Kilkenny: a piece of Irish "money of necessity," stamped with a castle, found at the Cathedral of St. Canice.

By Mr. Hayes, Porter at Swift's Asylum: some silver and copper coins, dug up in the grounds attached to that institution, including ashilling of Elizabeth, a gun-money half-crown of James II., and a St. Patrick half-penny.

By the Rev. Francis M'Loughlin, O. S. F., Ennis: a piece of gun-money of King James II., curious for the smallness of its size, it being a half-crown.

By the Rev. James Mease: two memorials of the Irish Rebel-



lion of 1798. The first was a gold ring, which he wished to deposit in the Museum. It was not of much antiquarian value. Its history was this :—A gentleman, who had received some assistance during that troubled period, made a present of rings of the same kind to those from whom he considered he had received most support. The inscription on the ring was “KING AND CONSTITUTION, 1798.” The other memorial would be considered as an important historical document. It was the original commission of Theobald Wolfe Tone as a General of Division in the United Irishmen. It is signed by James Napper Tandy, and countersigned “E. Fitzgerald.” The form was in copperplate on parchment, the blanks being filled up in the writing of Tandy. It was numbered 70,000. It bore an engraving of a harp surrounded by oak-leaves, and the mottoes, “It is now strung and shall be heard.” “Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.” The history of the document, as far as was known, was this. It was found by the Rev. James Despard in the pocket-book of a deceased brother. It was not known how it came into the brother’s hands. The family had a good deal of communication with the Castle of Dublin during the time of the Rebellion. But it was very unlikely that this parchment had ever been in the possession of any of the Castle authorities. In that case it would not be likely to have been parted with. It was most probable that some of the Despard family found it with some political prisoner and concealed it, from motives of humanity, as the possession of such a document in those days would have insured his execution. There was no date, but Mr. Mease had a faint recollection that when he first saw it there was 1795 upon it or the envelope. Of this he was not quite certain. The following was a copy :—

“ SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

“I hereby Certifie that Theobold Wolfe Tone has been duly elected and having taken the Test provided in the Constitution has been admitted a Member of this Society.

“JAMES N. TANDY, *Secretary.*

No. 70,000.

“*To be General of Division,  
E. Fitzgerald.*”

“S. of U. I. of D.

The document had evidently been originally bound with other similar forms in a block-book, as proved by the check-mark formed by the initials—S. of U. I. of D.

By the same: six coins, a shilling of James I., two groats of Elizabeth, a gun-money shilling of James II., a silver shilling of William III., and a half-penny of George III.

The Rev. Samuel Hayman, of Youghal, sent for exhibition two unedited merchants’ “tokens” struck in that town—viz., “Robert

Tobens, Youghal and Dungarvan, 1656," and "Thomas Cooke, 1671." The latter had been re-stamped, with the word "farthing" over "penni." Mr. Hayman also announced that there existed another unedited Youghal token in the collection of Captain Edward Hoare, North Cork Rifles, viz.—a second token of Peter Godwin—an engraving of which Captain Hoare intended to present to the Journal of the Society.

The Rev. James Graves presented a transcript of a document preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, which gave some idea of the state kept up by the Duke of Ormonde. Mr. Graves considered that the original MS., though undated, was contemporary with the first Duke, and that the Irish household was intended for Kilkenny Castle. The transcript was as follows:—

"To attend her Grace y<sup>e</sup> Dutches in Ireland dureing his Grace's absence.

Dyett or Table for her Grace,	}	Her Grace, . . . . . 1	} 10	{ 4 Dishes at a course, and one Remove, w <sup>th</sup> a Dessert. Supper.
		The two Ladys, . . . . . 2		
		Cap <sup>t</sup> Guards, . . . . . 1		
		Chaplain in waiting, . . . . . 1		
		Covers for others that dine w <sup>th</sup> her Grace, . . . . . 5		
Stewards Table,	}	Steward, . . . . . 1	} 16	{ 8 dishes, and 4 from her Grace's Table.
		Mrs. ffulford, . . . . . 1		
		Mrs. Parker, . . . . . 1		
		her Daughter, . . . . . 1		
		Mrs. Butler, . . . . . 1		
		Mrs. Richardson, . . . . . 1		
		Madamosell, . . . . . 1		
		Gen <sup>l</sup> Vaher in Waiting, . . . . . 1		
		Gen <sup>l</sup> at Large in waiting, . . . . . 1		
		Houshold Chaplin, . . . . . 1		
		Her Grace's Pages, . . . . . 2		
		Place for Strangers, . . . . . 4		
Clerke of y <sup>e</sup> Kitchin's Table,	}	Clerke of y <sup>e</sup> Kitchin, . . . . . 1	} 15	{ 3 dishes, and y <sup>e</sup> rest from her Grace's Table.
		Yeoman of y <sup>e</sup> Wine Seller (to be butler <sup>1</sup> ) . . . . . 1		
		Butler (none), . . . . . 1		
		Pantler and assis <sup>t</sup> to y <sup>e</sup> butler, . . . . . 2		
		Master Cook and Clerke of y <sup>e</sup> Chappell, . . . . . 2		
		Clerke of y <sup>e</sup> Coleyard, . . . . . 1		
		Yeomen Ushers 2, Scipio 1, . . . . . 3		
		Celerer & Larder Man (in one), . . . . . 1		
		Confectioner & 2 Strangers, . . . . . 3		
		Ffootmen 5, and 3 Strangers, . . . . . 8		

8 Two dishes.

<sup>1</sup> Below, with reference to this entry, is written on the original document the note— "Qy. what occasion for a yeoman of y<sup>e</sup> wine cellar?"

Maids Table,	{	Landry Maids, . . . . .	2	}	7	Two dishes.
		Mrs. Fulford's Maid, . . . . .	1			
		House maids 3, and Necessary Woman 1, . . . . .	4			
Assistants and Under Serv <sup>ts</sup> ,	{	Assistant Usher of y <sup>e</sup> Hall, . . . . .	1	}	10	Noe Dishes.
		Firemakers 2, Scullery maid's assis <sup>ts</sup> , . . . . .	4			
		Under Cookes, . . . . .	2			
		Helpers and Turnspitts, to eat in y <sup>e</sup> Kitchin, . . . . .	3			
		The Porter at Gate to have his meat cut and sent him from y <sup>e</sup> Clerke of y <sup>e</sup> kitchin's Table, . . . . .	1		1	
			<hr/>		67	

The Charges of y <sup>e</sup> foregoeing Tables, together w <sup>th</sup> y <sup>e</sup> Expense of Wine, ale, beere, & bread, at 49 <sup>d</sup> <sup>per</sup> week, which <sup>per</sup> ann. is . . . . .	2548	0	0
Wages to all, . . . . .	972	10	0
Board Wages for Stable, and those w <sup>th</sup> his Grace, . . . . .	837	4	0
Livery to Pages (but 3), . . . . .	165	9	6
Do. to Coachmen, &c., . . . . .	387	0	0
Stable Expenses, 2 Saddle, 14 Coach, . . . . .	240	1	4
Wax Candles, . . . . .	50	0	0
fuell, . . . . .	170	0	0
Washing, . . . . .	60	0	0
Contingences for y <sup>e</sup> Stables, &c.			
Porter's Gown, . . . . .	21	12	1
2 black's Livery, &c. (plaine) <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	61	18	6
Her Grace's Money, . . . . .	1000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	6570	04	10
To 3 Justices <sup>2</sup> , . . . . .	3600	0	0
	<hr/>		
	10770	04	10

To attend his Grace into England.

	Board Wages <sup>per</sup> weeke.
Mr Portlock, the Comptroler, . . . . .	0 12 0
Gen <sup>l</sup> of y <sup>e</sup> Horse, . . . . .	0 12 0
One Page, . . . . .	0 10 0
Two Valets de Chambre, . . . . .	1 0 0
Two Cookes, . . . . .	0 10 0
One Groome of y <sup>e</sup> Chamber or Closet-keeper, . . . . .	0 8 6

<sup>1</sup> The sums opposite this and the previous item, in the original document, have a line

drawn with the pen through the numerals.  
<sup>2</sup> i. e. Of the Liberty Court of Tipperary.

2 Coachmen at 8s. . . . .	0	16	0
Postillion, . . . . .	0	7	0
Helper, . . . . .	0	7	0
Six footmen, . . . . .	2	2	0
<small>This allowance takes in farrier, saddle, and barren maker's work.</small> } One Sett of Horses & two Padds, . . . .	4	16	0
Landry Maid, . . . . .	0	8	0
			<hr/>
	£	13	15 0
	£	52	0 0"

Mr. Edward Benn sent the ensuing observations on Irish crannogs :—

" In the last number of ' The Ulster Journal of Archæology ' there is an account of artificial islands in Swiss lakes, occupied at a remote period as habitations. The propriety of introducing such a paper into a journal in a province where so much exists, and where so little has been done to elucidate its early history, may be questioned; but the chief objection is, that it would seem to assume that those Swiss remains were identical with the artificial islands found in Ireland. They have nothing in common, except the fact of both having been habitations surrounded by water for security. The Swiss habitations also are alleged to be of a most remote period, indeed many centuries preceding the age of history. The Irish, on the other hand, may be said to be almost modern; the articles found about the former are described as exhibiting the very oldest and rudest efforts of uncivilized man; those in connexion with the latter are, in comparison, quite recent and modern. The oldest account we have of a crannog or artificial island in Ireland, does not extend, I believe, beyond a thousand years. Some may have been made so long ago, and even longer, but it seems pretty certain that the greater number are far more recent, and that during the sixteenth century they were known as the habitations of what we may call the landed gentry of the Irishry of the interior of Ulster, as the small castles, perched on rocks, were of their contemporaries on the sea coast. Thus, even without pretending to a very high antiquity, they present matters of great interest, the objects found around them throwing some light on the domestic manners and habits of the Irish of the North three centuries ago, of which but little is at present known.

" In this paper I will confine myself to statements concerning artificial islands in Down and Antrim, which I have personally examined; these were three, one at Ballincker, another at Ballywoolen, both in the county of Down; and a third near Randalstown, in the county of Antrim; and if such of the correspondents of the ' Kilkenney Journal ' as have opportunities of examining similar places elsewhere would furnish the like information, the result might be highly interesting, and would, perhaps, show that some are of older date than those which I examined, and that objects are found near them of a different age and character.

" At a time when rapine and plunder were the rule, and law and

order the exception, and in a country abounding with lakes and bogs, it was obvious that a habitation on an island was both easily obtained and of great security, more secure than even a small castle, which could probably be approached from all sides, and destroyed in a short time. Bands of marauders could not well carry a boat with them, and even if they did procure one, their approach to the island, opposed as they would be by armed opponents, would be undertaken under very disadvantageous circumstances. On the other hand, if great danger were at any time apprehended by the island inhabitants, escape could be made in the boat; the wooden dwellings, if destroyed, could soon be repaired, the island itself being scarcely capable of injury by any ordinary means. The mode of construction appears to have varied according to circumstances. In some cases advantage was taken of natural elevation, but from the very ruinous state in which they are now found, it is difficult to determine the manner in which they were originally made. The island at Ballykinler, now quite removed, seemed to have been formed by placing a circle of small trees around it, fast into the soil, then securing these by cross-trees firmly morticed; this was filled with brushwood, on which was placed a layer of earth and gravel; as this latter sank, the process was repeated, till the surface became perfectly solid. This is what appeared by examining a cutting through the centre; the brushwood kept all firm, and prevented the earth from washing out. The great island near Randalstown appears to have been made with very heavy beams laid horizontally, but, except this, the present condition, both of it and the adjoining ground, must render any account of its original construction quite conjectural. As a general rule, I would suppose that island habitations must have been damp and miserable, showing the great price paid for security in those melancholy times. The only perfect one I ever saw is that at Ballywoolen. It is small, and its general appearance is most gloomy, its surface being nearly on a level with the surrounding water. At one place was a sort of flagging of flat stones, where the fire had been, and near it was lying the mill as it had been left when abandoned, and where it was still allowed to remain; it was a small hand-mill, made of red stone, called, I believe, Ballyhack stone, brought from Wexford. I did not hear of anything else found on this island, but a piece of tube, about a foot long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, made of thin brass, rudely seamed with white metal solder. The lake here is not likely to be drained, as it is surrounded with high hills.

“In general the lakes in which these islands were made were surrounded by bog. The progress of time tended to enlarge the bog surface, changing the lakes into peat mosses. The advance of agriculture, and increase of population, again hastened the process, causing them to be drained for fuel and cultivation. As might be expected, bogs of this character, which had once been lakes of deep water, closely surrounding what had been dwellings, occupied, perhaps, for centuries, and into which everything that fell was lost for the time, are perfect mines for objects of antiquity. It is only the slow process of peat-cutting, however, that brings these things to light, and as this operation will extend over very many years, and be the work of many different hands, they are too frequently dispersed. Notwithstanding this, I have been enabled to preserve

a considerable number of them, which I now propose briefly to describe, and the greater part of which are in my own collection.

"Nearly the most common objects found are bones and horns, generally of oxen, the remains, it is to be presumed, of the animals on which the inhabitants of the island fed. The horns I have met with are all short horns. Besides the remains of the ox, are found tusks of the boar, and the bones, seemingly, of the sheep or goat, dog and deer. In one instance, the head of what seems a deer has the horns cut off, as with a saw, near the skull.<sup>1</sup> It was found at the island near Randalstown. It is probable the objects next in order of frequency, and which are found at all the islands, are sharpening-stones, or what appear to be such, of different sorts and sizes.

"The miscellaneous articles now to be named were discovered at Ballykinler, and at the crannog near Randalstown; those found at the former appear to be more ancient than those at the latter place. No weapons of bronze, so far as I can learn, were got at either, except seven short scythes of that material at Ballykinler; they were probably used at the making of the island for cutting the brushwood, and lost at the time. Besides these, there was also a curious knife, with a blade no larger than that of an ordinary penknife, and a handle of goat's horn, and a comb, like a large fine-toothed comb, made, I think, of bone, strengthened by two pieces, neatly fastened on with iron rivets. Some nondescript stones, with holes in them, were also turned up at Ballykinler, and two stones that appear interesting; they are semicircles of about three and four inches diameter respectively, and a quarter of an inch thick, and have been made by breaking into two pieces circular stones formed in the semblance of small cakes of bread; one of them, indeed, made of granite, bears a great resemblance to a piece of oaten cake. Could these have been intended to be kept by different parties, in confirmation of treaties or agreements made, each taking one to commemorate the fact of having broken bread together? I can imagine such a use for them, but I have never seen anything of the kind referred to. There was also got a ploughsock of iron, and, I believe, a ploughshare of flint, several darts of iron, and some pins. Most of these things were scattered before I heard of them.

"The island near Randalstown was a very large and important one, said to have been occupied by a member of the O'Neil family. The lake on which it stood has been long since drained, and a peat moss now occupies the place, which has been yielding antiquities for the last twenty or thirty years, and still produces some annually. A good idea of the importance of this island may be formed from the number of tools and appliances for carrying on the ordinary trades, which have been discovered on it, as the tongs and anvil of the smith, which latter is a rough lump of iron somewhat smoothed on one side, and weighing fifty or sixty pounds. Its use as an anvil is only conjecture; but it is thought a highly probable one, and if correct, it shows the difficulty of procuring in those rude times a piece of iron large and heavy enough for such a purpose. Then there were found also the crucibles of the brass-founder, one unused, and

<sup>1</sup> In the Museum of the College of Surgeons in London, there is the skull of an Irish elk, from which the horns have been cut

away in a similar manner, and said to have been found in that state in the west of Ireland.

several greatly worn and burned out. The perfect one is very neat and good, and about the size of a small hen's egg. Then we have next the scissors and two needles of the tailor: one of the needles is about the size of what is called a darning-needle; the other long and strong, resembling a packing-needle, such as is used for sewing sackcloth; both are made of brass, and well formed. There was also found the awl of the shoemaker, a very curious article, and apparently older than the other things; the blade of this awl is of brass, and the handle of stone. Several axes or hatchets of the carpenter have turned up, very like those of the present day; also a pair of small shears, such as are used by weavers. Connected with agriculture were found a very small sock of a plough, a curious spade, very light, about four feet long, all of wood, but neatly tipped with iron on the edge; and a pair of very large shears, for clipping sheep. There was also a netting-needle of iron, but few warlike weapons of any kind. None of the latter, indeed, came within my observation but an iron sword and a very good battle-axe, such as was used by the galloglasses; it is shaped like the axe used by coopers, and is very interesting from its rarity. Little or nothing of personal ornament has been found, so far as I have ascertained; there was one large bead, and a small crescent-shaped piece of glass that appeared to have been set in something. I can scarcely consider the great number of pins got at this place as personal ornaments, but rather the necessary hair or mantle pins of the common people; they are of brass, iron, bone, and wood, and generally from three to five inches long; those of brass having, in most instances, moveable rings at the top. There are some interesting varieties among them, though it is probable that some of these things, more particularly the pins of wood, may have been used for other purposes, as pointers, or, perhaps, for knitting. A curious button is among the articles found; it is not unlike a large button of the present day, but that it has two eyes. Besides this, there are several articles of thin brass, which might have been used for fastening leather or other garments; also a horse-shoe of ordinary size, thicker at the outer edge than elsewhere, without raised heels, but drawn out at the extremities to much greater length than shoes of modern make. Very little pottery has been found; such fragments as I have seen appear to be the remains of strong, well-formed vessels, but nothing more, I would suppose, than household earthenware. A wooden scoop was got, rather a curious object, the use of which is not easily determined. But the most interesting and valuable article which has come into my possession from this locality, and one which gives rather a favourable idea of the house-keeping of the occupants of this island home, is an exceedingly well-made brass dish, fifteen inches across, including the rim, which is an inch and a half broad. The dish is rather more than two inches deep, and, from its beautiful golden colour, would do no discredit almost to a dinner table of the present day. It seems to have been a good deal used, having many scores on its bottom made by the carver. The knife was also found; it was about six inches long, very narrow, and sharp at the point, and thick on the back. There were also other knives, but all without handles.

“ Besides the things here enumerated, the bog around the Randalstown crannog has already yielded several boats and parts of boats; these were all hollowed out of large trees, and were very well formed. One of

large size, and quite perfect, has been taken out lately from beneath sixteen feet of moss. It has been stated, when first raised, it retained its original form entire, but soon became warped and out of shape. In the bottom of this boat lay a very neatly made oak paddle, about three feet and a half long, and a wooden bowl, capable of holding nearly a quart. It was very thick and rude-looking, not made by turning, but by hollowing out of a solid piece, like the boat itself.

"The list of articles here described might, no doubt, be enlarged, by following such as have been dispersed. I can determine nothing regarding their age; they would seem to be of very different ages, and were, probably, lost at very different times. The oldest article found, so far as I know, was a stone hatchet, rather of a small size, but not remarkable or uncommon. The most recent, and the only piece of coin I ever heard of, discovered in such locality, is a base coin of Philip and Mary. We know when the coin was made, and, if the hatchet belonged to what is called the Stone Age of antiquities, that is, several thousand years ago, a wide range for conjecture as to the original age and lengthened occupancy of crannogs is hereby afforded. No gold or silver, so far as I have been able to learn from inquiry, has ever been discovered at any of the crannogs referred to in this paper."

Mr. John O'Reilly, Jun., contributed the following registry of births, marriages, and deaths, in the family of Mr. William Shee, of Sheepstown, county Kilkenny:—

"My daughter Mary born a Sunday ye 14<sup>th</sup> July 1734 at 2 a clock in the morning & was baptised by father Phill Purcell M<sup>r</sup>. Vall Smyth of Damme & M<sup>r</sup> Wat Butlers Lady stood gossops, pray God make her his servant."

"My Sone James was born Sunday y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> Septem<sup>r</sup> 1735 betwen 4 & 5 in the afternoon he was baptised by father Phill Purcell ye 25. Uncle Frank Shee and Cos<sup>s</sup> Chevers gossops; pray God make him his true servant."

"[Written later] 'My son Jam' sailed from Dublin ye 4<sup>th</sup> day of april 1748 on board ye friendship of London Captain Ross commander bound for Rotterdam. God protect and direct him.'

"My sone Frances was borne Saturday ye 21<sup>st</sup> of Janvar about 5 in the morning he was baptised by father Phill Purcell Pierce Corr and my mother Huish gossops."

"[Written later and a portion lost] 'My son Frank Shee sayl'd from Cork aboard the Betty from London, Captain Brown Commander for Haver de [torn away]

[torn away]	I pray God of his infinite	[torn away]
[torn away]	him and preserve him from	[torn away]
[torn away]	invisible	[torn away]
[torn away]	March ye 5 <sup>th</sup> about	[torn away]
[torn away]	the child being weak was baptised	[torn away]
[torn away]	a Carmilit Fryer s <sup>d</sup> Pendergast	[torn away]
[torn away]	gossops, he died ye 10 <sup>th</sup>	[torn away]
[torn away]	my Father Shees.	[torn away]

My Son Henry was born 7<sup>th</sup> ye 30<sup>th</sup> 1740 between 6 & 7 in y<sup>e</sup> morn-



ing, baptised 8<sup>th</sup> ye 5<sup>th</sup> by father Patt Murphey, M<sup>r</sup> Robert Langrish & M<sup>rs</sup> Read Rosenarow gossops I pray God make him his Son.

“ My Daughter Margret was born ye 6<sup>th</sup> of Decemb<sup>r</sup> 1743 at the our of 4 in ye afternoon baphtised ye 11<sup>th</sup> by father Patt Murphy M<sup>r</sup> John Meade & M<sup>rs</sup> Conan stood gossops.

“ My sayed daughter died ye 8<sup>th</sup> of Sep<sup>r</sup> following & is burried at Derry[ . . . ]

“ My Daughter Rose was born tusday ye 11<sup>th</sup> of Sep<sup>r</sup> about 6 in ye morning, crisened by father Patt Murphy, Red<sup>d</sup> Purcell [torn away] Mary Shee gossops my [torn away] Purcell. I pray God [torn away].

“ Sunday November ye 10<sup>th</sup>, my Daughter Mary was marryed to M<sup>r</sup> Patt Kennedy of Waterford by the Rev<sup>d</sup> Pat Murphy [torn away] [torn away] them.

“ Monday December 31<sup>st</sup> 1753, my Cos<sup>n</sup> Captain John Hennesy of Boulklyes died at Sheepstown of a obstruction in his livers & and is buried at Derryne[ . . . ]

“ Pray God have mercey on his soul.

“ I was marryed to M<sup>r</sup> Shee ye 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1732 by ye Bishop of Ossory.

“ My D<sup>r</sup> father M<sup>r</sup> George Huish died 26<sup>th</sup> October 1745, the lord Jesus have mercy on his Soul.’

“ The foregoing interesting record of Kilkenny family history is one of a class of documents very rare in Ireland, and, therefore, the more valuable. It is a register of the births, the marriages, and the deaths in a Catholic family, of the better class, during the dark days when the penal laws existed. It also tells of the abandonment of Ireland (where, at the time, every honourable career but trade was shut against them) by the sons of the family as they approached to manhood, and their departure ‘ beyond seas,’ either to swell the ranks of the Irish brigades, or to obtain the education forbidden them at home; and this notwithstanding the heavy penalties for so doing, which might have been imposed on their parents or guardians. These penalties made it neither safe nor prudent to commit to writing such confessions as the document contains, and hence the scarcity of those of a similar character. These penalties will be found stated at length in the Act 7 William III., c. 4, and were in full force during the early part of the time when the register commenced. Like all absurdly rigorous laws, they were, in a great measure, practically inoperative, through the good feeling of those who had the execution of them. Thus we find the Protestants, Mr. Langrish, of Knocktopher, and Mrs. Read, of Rosenarow, standing ‘ gossops’ for the Catholic child born in 1740, which child was baptized by Father ‘ Patt’ Murphy ‘ contrary to the statutes and the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, George II.’

“ The family to which the register relates resided at Sheepstown, otherwise Ballinageragh, near Ballyhale, in the county of Kilkenny. Sheeps-town, according to an inquisition held at Rosbercon in 1620, was held from the then Viscount Mountgarret by Pierce Rooth, merchant of Kilkenny. By a subsequent inquisition it was found to be held by John Rooth Fitz Pierce from the King, by knight’s service.

"The close connexion, religiously and politically, which our local history points out to have existed between the Rooths and Shees, was, no doubt, cemented by marriage alliances between members of both families, and in this way Sheepstown became the residence of one of the four younger sons of Sir Richard Shee, of Bonnetstown, who married into the Rooth family.

"The first name of local historic interest that occurs in the register is that of 'Mr. Vall Smyth, of Damme.' This gentleman, it will be found by reference to the first volume of the 'Transactions' of this Society,<sup>1</sup> was descended from a family originally settled at Longashen, near Bristol. William Smyth was the first of the name who settled in the county of Kilkenny, into which he came under the protection of the first Duke of Ormond.

"For the faithful services performed by the Smyth family to the house of Ormond, and which are detailed in letters under the hands of the first and second Dukes (for which see the 'Transactions,' as above quoted) a grant of arms was conferred on the family, which had been settled at Damagh for some time previously, where they built a mansion-house, a portion of which is now converted into a farm-house. William Smyth, the founder of the family, built St. Michael's Church near his house, and the grave-yard was the place of interment of his family.

"The dedication of the church to St. Michael was intended, no doubt, to preserve a memorial of the Bristol origin of the family, there being a church dedicated to the Saint in that city. A tombstone in the church-yard<sup>2</sup> gives a succinct history of the family from its foundation in Ireland. It ends with the record of the deaths of 'John Smyth on y<sup>e</sup> 8th day of June, 1708, aged 41 years; Jane Smyth, alias Read, wife to said John, dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 28th day of August, 1747, aged 71 years.' In reply to the statement that the Smyth family had ceased to exist in the county of Kilkenny for nearly a century, George Lewis Smyth, Esq., of Parliament-street, London, communicated the following:<sup>3</sup>—

"'The heirs of that Valentine Smyth, so emphatically commended by the Duke of Ormond, continued to possess Damagh until a younger son, taking advantage of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, wrested the estate from his elder brother, by becoming a Protestant.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> First Series, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> "Transactions," vol. i., (first series), p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> "Transactions," vol. ii. (first series), p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> The following is the circumstance which afforded a pretext for the enactment under which the proprietor of Damagh was dispossessed of his property by his younger brother:—

"2<sup>d</sup> Die Decembris, 1695.—A petition of Roger Shiell, Gentleman, being a Protestant, and the eldest son of a Papist, praying the House to appoint a Committee to prepare the heads of a bill, to prevent his being disinherited by his said father, was presented to the House, and read."

The following is the father's reply:—

"A petition of William Shiell, setting forth that he is very willing, without an act of parliament, to settle his estate on his Protestant sons, and none else; and that he has no design to disinherit his eldest son Roger Shiell, as being a Protestant, though he is less dutiful to him than his other sons; that in regard his real estate is not worth above ten pounds *per annum*, and that the allegations of his son Roger are false, that this House would examine the truth of the allegations on both sides, was presented to the House."—"Journals of the Irish House of Commons."

The Act for vesting the estates of Catholics in the nearest Protestant relatives claiming them, grew out of the proceedings consequent on the above petition.

"The dispossessed party did not, however, lose his interest with the Butler family; on the contrary, he rented from his patrons more than one townland in the neighbourhood of Carrick-on-Suir, where he resided. On the relaxation of the penal laws, the estate of Westcourt, near Callan, was purchased, in fee, by Valentine Smyth, of Carrick-on-Suir. 'He was, I believe, the grandson of the person who was deprived of Damagh, and instituted a suit in Chancery for the recovery of that property, without avail. He died at the Lodge, in Callan, which stands on part of the property.'

"Edmund Smyth, who died so late as 1822, in France, had been agent for the Ormond estates for some years. The estate of Westcourt descended to his eldest son Edmund, and passed through the Incumbered Estates Court in 1855.

"The 'Vall Smyth' of the register was, most probably, the person ejected from Damagh by his younger brother, and son to John Smyth, who died in 1708.

"Of the family of 'Huish,' to which the writer of the register belonged, we can find no record as having existed in Kilkenny.<sup>1</sup> It probably belonged to either Wexford or Carlow, of either of which counties she may have been a native. We are led to form this opinion by the fact of the relationship which existed between Mrs. Shee and the Chevers family, and by a note in the 'Annuary' of this Society for 1855 (p. 66), where it is stated that—'Chievers is the name of a Flemish family which settled at an early time in the county [Wexford]. William Chevre is one of the witnesses to the charter of Tintern Abbey (Charta, &c., Hib.). Patrick Chievers held a knight's fee of the Earl of Pembroke, and witnessed this nobleman's charter to Wexford in 1317. Edward Chievers was created Viscount Mount-Leinster by James II.'" The following extract from the 'Journal of the Irish House of Commons,' A. D. 1662, Car. II., is an evidence of the residence of a branch of the family in Carlow:—

"5 Die Martii, 1662.—Upon consideration had of the petition of Peter Bath, Merchant, alledging that Thomas Burdett, Esq., late Sheriff of the county of Catherlagh, a member of this House, suffered one John Cheivers, under an execution of three hundred pounds at the petitioner's suit, to make an escape, and praying, that the privilege of the said Burdett be waved, to the end he may bring his action against him."

"There did exist a branch of the Chevers family in Kilkenny, however, for, by an inquisition held at the Black Abbey, in that city, on the 6th of September, 1637, John Chevers was found in possession of

<sup>1</sup> The name of Huish is an extremely rare one in this country, though Mrs. Shee was evidently, from her family connexion, an Irishwoman. I never recollect meeting the name but once, and then it was subscribed to an advertisement of the "London and North-Western Railway Company," concerning trips to Killarney. Perhaps it may turn out that the "Mark Huish" of the railway line in question may also be of the line of Shees.

<sup>2</sup> There is a letter in the first volume of the

new series of the "Transactions" of the Society, p. 102, from Patrick Furlong to his nephew, Christopher Chievers. The letter is dated the 29th of June, 1593, and is concerning the presence of certain Spanish pirates then on the coast of Wexford. The writer was Mayor of Wexford, and uncle to Christopher Chievers. The latter resided at Killiane Castle, of which he was owner. Edward Chievers, Lord Mount-Leinster, of King James the Second's creation, was of this family.

Maylardstown, which he held in soccage;<sup>1</sup> but from the fact of Huish not being a Kilkenny name, it is probable that 'Cos' Cheevers,' a near and dear relative, was brought from her native country to stand sponsor for the first-born son of Mrs. Shee.

"In the two instances where the burial-place of the Sheepstown family is alluded to, the name of the place in the original MS. is partly illegible. In the first, only 'Derry' remains, and in the second, recording the death and burial of Captain John Hennesy 'of Boulkleys,' 'Derryne.' There can be little doubt that this means Derrynahinch, a very ancient grave-yard, within half a mile of Sheepstown.

"There are not now, however, any remains of monuments erected to any of the Shee family in Derrynahinch, for an obliging correspondent informs me that he 'examined *all* the tombstones in Derrynahinch old church-yard, and could not find one with the names of either Shee or Hennesy, although there are some with dates so far back as 1717.'

"This Captain Hennesy is likely to have been a relative to M. Hennesy, Lieutenant-Colonel of Lee's Regiment of the Irish Brigade in the French service. O'Connor, in the appendix to the 'Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation,' quotes two letters written by M. Dangervilliers to Colonel Hennesy; one of the 16th November, 1731, the other of the 27th September, 1732. The letters relate to an Irish soldier of Lee's, who, having killed a comrade, took sanctuary in the Church of the Capuchins at St. Omers, and communicate the King's determination not to permit religious houses to shelter foreign soldiers under such circumstances. This resolution of the French King was properly forced on him by the combative propensities of the Brigade men, whose ardour for fighting, while in peaceful quarters, may have inclined them to recall some feuds of their old country to keep their hands in practice. When accidents *did* occur, can we blame the Irish members of French religious houses, if they threw the mantle of charity over their brave countrymen, and sought to save them from the consequences, both by their prayers and the protection of their houses?"

"Captain John Hennesy, who lies in Derrynahinch, without a stone to mark where he rests, was one of those who composed Bulkley's regiment at Fontenoy, where it took the colours and two field-pieces from the second regiment of English foot guards. At the battle of Lawfeld, which took place on the 2nd of July, 1747, the Irish Brigade distinguished itself very much, and amongst the officers rewarded for their conduct on the occasion was M. Hennesy, Captain of the Grenadiers of Bulkley's

<sup>1</sup> There was another residence of the Chevers family in the county of Kilkenny, as the following extract from the "Post-chaise Companion," Dublin, 1808, asserts: "On the left of the road to Durrow, near Ballycondra, are seen the ruins of the Castle of Ballyeskin, formerly belonging to the family of Chevers." The ruins, we believe, still exist, and are in the parish of Aharney.

<sup>2</sup> Very many Irishmen were at the head of various religious communities down to the period of the first revolution in France. Not

to multiply instances, an "ingenious" English gentleman found an Irishman Prior of the Benedictine Priory of Chalons, where Abelard died and was interred, previous to the removal of his remains to the Paraclete. The Englishman indulges in the following choice specimen of the mode of speech called a "bull," concerning the Irish prior alluded to:—"The prior was an Englishman, though a native of Ireland—none of those idle distinctions reigning abroad, which so often bred discontent at home."—"Annual Register," 1768, p. 170.

regiment, who had the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel conferred on him. This appears to have been only brevet rank, and if the Captain Hennesy, distinguished for his conduct at Lawfeld, was the same man who died at Sheepstown, the circumstances of the times sufficiently account for his Coloneley not being obtruded on public notice in Ireland. He, when declining health prevented his pursuing a military career, returned to die amongst his kindred, and the pious prayer, 'Pray God have mercy on his soul,' shows how kindly the old soldier was regarded by them.

"The fact of 'Cos John Hennesy' being an officer in the Irish Brigade sufficiently indicates why 'My Sonne Jame' sail'd from Dublin bound for Rotterdam.' It would not have been prudent, two years after Fontenoy, for a young recruit to sail direct for a French port. Some years later, Frank, the second son, sailed direct for 'Havre-de ———;' the vigilance of the Government being then relaxed in some measure, though in 1750 a sergeant of the Irish Brigade was hanged at Tyburn for enlisting men in London for the French service.<sup>1</sup>

"The simple prayers of this Irish mother for the protection of her children from 'visible and invisible dangers' are very affecting, and were not unheard, for their careers in the land of their adoption were prosperous ones, and their descendants now exist in honourable positions in France.

"A correspondent of the 'Kilkenny Journal,' who some time ago gave a notice of Baron de Shee's elevation to a Chevaliership of the Legion of Honour, and also of his distinguished services as a cavalry officer in the French army, alluded to the Baron's descent from William Shee, of Sheepstown, who died in 1758, and who was husband to the lady who kept this family registry. The gentleman who communicated the sketch to the 'Kilkenny Journal' states that Henry Shee, son of the above William, 'married a Miss Nichols, whose mother was daughter to Richard Shee, of Roseneamy, from whom in the fourth degree is descended James Shee, Esq., of Abbeyview, Clonmel; her sister, Sarah Nichols, was married to James Butler, of Fethard, Esq., and their issue was Richard Butler, the first Earl of Glengall. Redmond Shee, the son of Henry Shee, and the father of the present Baron, by his wife, the daughter of Michael Murphy, the founder of the Presentation Convent in Kilkenny, left his native country in 1782, and went to France to his relative, the Field-Marshal Clarke, Duke de Feltre, who was also from the county of Kilkenny. In 1791, at the age of 16, he entered Berwick's regiment, and in 1809 was made a Colonel in the 13th Regiment of Chasseurs, and in 1817 was General of Brigade, and for his services was created Baron by the first Napoleon. During the Peninsular war he took the Marquis of Anglesey prisoner.' The sketch goes on to say that subsequently, during a debate on the Catholic question, the Marquis alleged the Baron's gallantry as a reason for throwing open the highest posts in the British army to Catholic Irishmen.

<sup>1</sup> His name was Reynolds, and while his irons were being knocked off in the press-yard of Newgate, he declared that he went to be hanged with as much satisfaction as if he were going to be married, and that he

was innocent. Probably many others, similarly engaged, escaped. A man was hanged the same month on Pennenden Heath, near Maidstone, for the same offence against the law.

"The Baron Redmond de Shee, Anglesey's friend, died about the year 1837 at St. Germain-en-Laye. His only surviving issue, the present Baron, who was recently created Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, spent some of his childhood in Kilkenny, at the late Mrs. Leech's school. He is married to Valentina, the daughter of the Marquis d'Anach, of the Chateau de la Cour Senlisse, Department Seine et L'Oire.

"So far, in substance, is the account tracing back the present Baron's pedigree to Henry Shee, third son of William Shee and the lady who was married to him "ye 1" of October 1732, by ye Bishop of Ossery.' The writer appears to have overlooked the fact, or not to have been aware of it, that there were two elder brothers of Henry Shee's, who had, apparently, settled in France, and from either of whom the distinguished legitimist, Count Dalton Shee, is most probably descended, as well as other Shees, besides the Baron, who hold high posts in the French army. This, however, may be, and probably is, a mere supposition, and, therefore, it is much to be wished, for the sake of our local biographical history, that the writer of the sketch of the Baron, which appeared in the 'Kilkenny Journal,' who appears to have peculiar facilities for the task, would apply himself to giving a detailed account of the connexion between the Irish and the French Shees, and that of their famous relative Clarke (Napoleon's Minister-of-War) with them. This would also include some notice of 'De Montmorency Morris (Hervé),' Adjutant-Commandant, whose name also is a Kilkenny one. The position which he held in the Imperial War Office under Clarke, would appear to show a connexion between them either of kindred or country, while the interest that they both displayed in providing O'Connor with materials for the history of the Irish Brigade from the archives of their department, evince their sympathy with his undertaking.<sup>1</sup>

"One thing is certain, that the military connexion between the Shees, of Sheepstown, and France did not commence with Redmond's departure in 1782, to join his relative, Marshal Clarke.<sup>2</sup> Either James or Francis, his uncles, will most probably be found on the muster-roll of the Irish Brigade as fellow-soldiers of Captain John Hennessy, 'of Bouklye's,' who was their mother's cousin.

"The allusion to the 'Carmilit Fryer, s<sup>d</sup> Prendergast,' baptizing the child in the neighbourhood of Knocktopher during the penal days, corroborates the statement that the Order has never been absent from that immediate locality since the suppression of the Abbey.

<sup>1</sup> The following attestation is appended to O'Connor's "Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation :"—

"His Excellency the Duke de Feltra, Minister of War, was so kind as to communicate to me the original memoir above cited, of which this is a perfect copy, which I attest.

"DE MONTMORENCY MORRIS (HERVÉ)

"Colonel

"Adjutant Commandant.

"Paris, 1st September, 1813."

<sup>2</sup> One of the ancestors of the Duc de Feltra was J. Clarke, Esq., who occupied a

somewhat similar position of trust under the Ormond family, to that held by the founder of the Smyth family in Ireland. The Rev. Dr. Brown, Master of Kilkenny College, in a highly interesting account of that famous establishment, contained in the "Transactions," vol. i., first series, p. 125, quotes a letter from Thomas Otway, Bishop of Ossory, to J. Clarke, Esq., dated on the 18th August, 1686. The letter indicates the approaching struggle between the partisans of James and William, and makes allusion to its effects on the interests of the endowed school of Kilkenny.

“The document under consideration was left at her death by Miss Anne Elliott, who recently died in Kilkenny, and who was a second cousin of the Duke de Feltre, with whom she had spent some time in France in her younger days. She also left two beautifully executed medallion portraits, in embossed bronze, of the Duke and his wife, besides a miniature on ivory of a young man in a hussar uniform, apparently of the early French revolutionary period, probably that of Redmond Shee.

“The original of the document, and also the likenesses, are now in the possession of Mrs. Croseyby, late of Johnstown, county of Kilkenny, sister to Miss Elliot.

“It may be added, that the old Castle of Sheepstown was only recently pulled down, to form a quarry to build an ugly dwelling-house, by a Mr. Kelly, who purchased the property in the Incumbered Estates Court. It had previously, however, passed out of the hands of the Shees into the possession of a family named Breathwicke.”

The following Paper was then submitted to the Meeting.

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THE FAMILY OF GALL BURKE, OF GALLSTOWN, IN THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, ESQ., LL.D., M. R. I. A., CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, BERLIN.

BRUDIN, in his account of the families of the county of Kilkenny, given in his “Propugnaculum,” published at Prague, 1668, states, p. 1001, that this illustrious family deduces its descent from *Walter de Burgo*, commonly called the Red Earl. Somewhat of a similar assertion is found in an epitaph on a broken tomb in the old chapel of Gallskill, to *Walter de Burgo*, who died in the year 1642, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. It is stated that he was—

“DESCENDED OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE . . . . .  
 CALLED THE READ ERLE . . . . . AND SIR WILLIAM  
 OF THE CASTLE AND MANOR OF BALLINDOWLIN AND OF OTHER MANNORS,  
 TOWNES AND LANDES IN CONNAGHT, ALL WHICH ARE CALLED THE FRY . . .  
 . . . . . KILDROMENERICKE WHICH LYES ABOVE . . . . .  
 . . . . . TO . . . . . AND FROM THE TOWNE OF GALWAY  
 IN THE SAID PROVINCE OF CONNAGHT—AND WAS ALSO LORD OF CASTLES,  
 MANNORS, TOWNES, LANDS, AND TENEMENTS IN THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY AND  
 WATERFORD.”<sup>1</sup>

“THIS SIR WILLIAM WAS VICE-CHAMBERLAINE TO KING EDWARD THE THIRD, JOHN FITZ WALTER TO EDWARD THE FIRST, IN THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY IN GAWLESTOWN.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On a stone, at Gallskill, measuring 4 ft. 9 in. in length, and 2 ft. 4 in. in breadth.

<sup>2</sup> On a stone slab, at Gallskill, 6 ft. long by 2 ft. 7 in. broad.

It will have been observed that the Christian or baptismal name of the Red Earl is not given in this broken epitaph, which is clearly only a family tradition. The name *Walterus de Burgo*, given as the name of the "Comes Ruffus" (the Red Earl) by Bruodin, is unquestionably incorrect, for no Earl of this family bore the soubriquet of Rufus (Red) except one, namely, Richard de Burgo, second Earl of Ulster of his family; this nobleman, who was educated at the court of King Henry III., and was esteemed, from his great possessions, the most powerful subject in Ireland, died in 1326; but, according to the Peerages, he himself became extinct in the male line in his grandson, William de Burgo, third Earl of Ulster of this family, who was murdered in the year 1333, near the Ford of Belfast, on his way to Carrickfergus. The wife of this William, the Lady Maud Plantagenet, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, grandson of Henry III., and his only daughter and heir, returned immediately to England. The great heiress of this last Earl, the Lady Elizabeth de Burgo, espoused Lionel Duke of Clarence (third son of Edward III.), who became fourth Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught, and this took away the Earldom of Ulster from the family of De Burgo for ever.

Other facts mentioned in the epitaph at Gallskill, viz.,—that Sir William de Burgo, of Ballindowlin, who was Vice-Chamberlain to Edward III., and John Fitz Walter, who was Vice-Chamberlain to Edward I., lived at Gallstown, in the county of Kilkenny, and had possessions in the counties of Kilkenny and Waterford,—look very like traditional family vauntings; but nothing has yet been discovered to disprove them, or show the exact period at which the Gall De Burgo family settled at Gallstown.

The notice of the possessions of the Red Earl in Ireland are given in several old English and Irish writers, too numerous to be here quoted. The celebrated Duaid Mac Firbis has transcribed some of them into his genealogical book (Lord Roden's copy, p. 798), where he gives the original of the following in the Irish language:—

"The country of the Clann William Burcke [extended] from the Forbach near the sea in Iar-Connacht to Baile-Mec-Sgannlain, near Dundalk, in the east of Erin, and from Luchuid in Thomond to Ballyshanny [now Ballyshannon] near the Erne, (and this country is one hundred miles in extent) and from the city of Limerick to Waterford, and from the sea at Waterford at the south side of Erin to the sea of Tonn Tuaidhe, which is called Eas Ruaidh mic Badbairn. And the Red Earl had four counties, called in English shires, as his inheritance, besides the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary."

"This account," he adds, "does not exactly agree with the fol-



lowing in the English language. Either of them must be incorrect:—

“The Red Earle was Lord in demayne and sarvice, for the more parte from Bealagh-Lughyd in Tuamond to Bailieshany, which is an hundred miles, and from the Norbagh by the sea-side to Bailie-mac-Skanlane, by Dundalke; and also, from Limbricke to Waterford, besides all his Lands in four shires, and in the counties of Killkenny and Tipperary.”

Here Mac Firbis adds in Irish: “Have thy choice of these accounts, O reader!”

That the De Burgos, who were at one period the most powerful of all the English families in Ireland, had possessions in the county of Tipperary as early as 1199, appears from the fact that Ardmayle on the Suir was conveyed by Richard de Burgo to Theobald Walter, the first of the Butlers who came to Ireland. The original document is preserved in Lord Ormonde’s Muniment Room, and is a grant by Richard de Burgo to Theobald Walter, in free marriage with his daughter Margery, of the manor of Ardmayle, to hold to him and his heirs begotten of the said Margery.

“His testibus: Dominus G. Limorensis Episcop.; Maur. Fitzgerald; Ric. De Cogan; Odo de Barry; Petrus de Bermingham; Hugo Purcell; Milo de Cogan; Ric. . . . . Ino. de Cogan; Ric [. . . . .] Hamond Irut.; Johan. de Hakesford, cleric; Andr. de Mandeville, . . . Philip [. . . . .] Geoffrey de Authon; Hugo de Sandford, cleric; et multis aliis.”

The date is evidently about 1199.

Tighe, in his “Statistical Account of the County of Kilkenny,” p. 637, states that it would appear from a monument in the church of Gaulskill that Gaulstown in that parish belonged to a branch of the De Burgos, and he writes in a note:—

“This inscription concludes thus—*Hic tumulantur corpora Walteri de Burgo Armigeri de Gawlestown ætatis sue . . . uxorisque ejus Alfsee Den.*”

“The monument,” he adds, “recites his descent from Sir William de Burgo, Vice-Chamberlain to King Edward III., whose estates are mentioned, and his relationship to the Red Earl, but it is mutilated.”

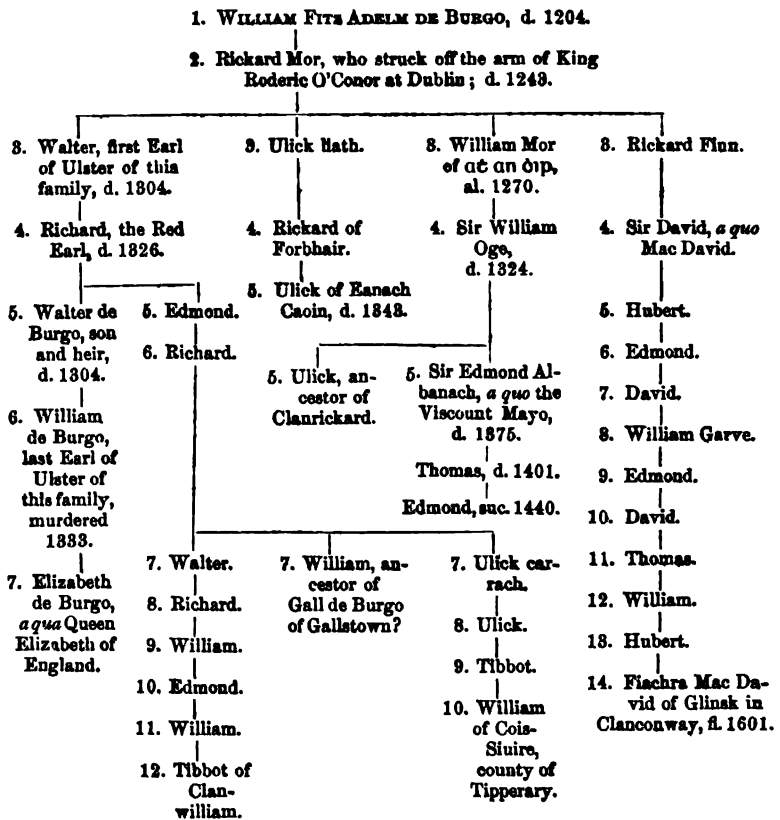
Mr. Tighe should have known that this fact appears not only from the broken monument, but also from the Inquisitions, from the Down Survey, and other public records.

That Bruodin is right in his statement that this family is descended from the Red Earl, though he gives him the name of Walter instead of Richard by mere inadvertence, is sufficiently evident from the Irish genealogists. Duaid Mac Firbis, who drew his ac-

count of the family of De Burgo from various ancient and modern Irish MSS., has the following notice, p. 804 :—

“ There are other septs of the Burkes descended from the Red Earl aforesaid, who are said to have sprung from him not IN COURSE OF MARRIAGE, viz., the Clann William of the C<sup>o</sup> of Limerick and of *Cois-Siuire*, and the Mac Davids<sup>1</sup> of Clann-Connmhaigh, whose pedigree you will find farther on.”

The following genealogical table will show where the different branches of this family branch off. It is compiled from the genealogical work of Duaid Mac Firis, p. 804–809, and from O’Clery’s, p. 268, and the “ *Historia familiæ de Burgo* :”—



<sup>1</sup> Mac Davids, of Clanconway.—This looks very strange indeed, for it appears from Mac Firis’s own pedigree of Mac David Burke [of Glinak] in Clanconway, near

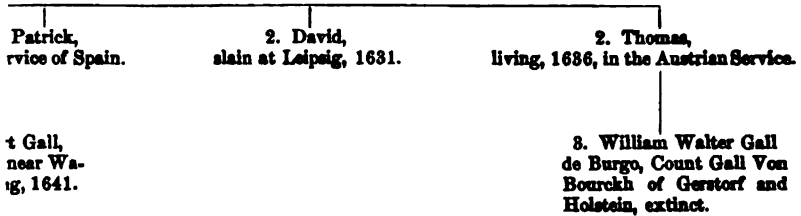
the Suck in the county of Galway, that he does not descend from the Red Earl at all, but from Rickard Finn, the Red Earl’s uncle!

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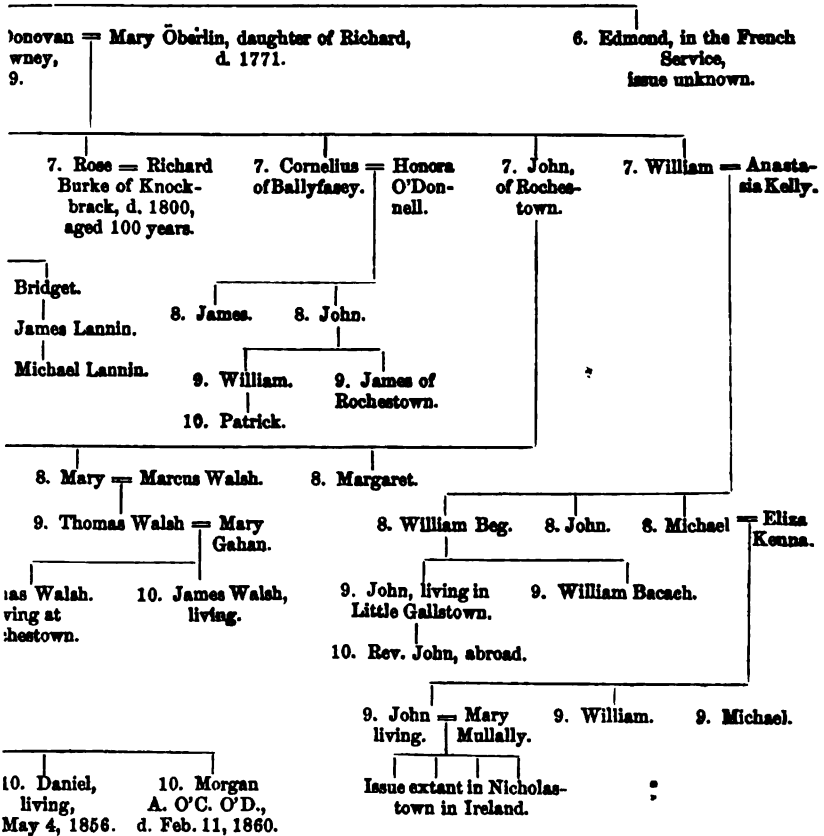
# JD IVERK, COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

"Territories of Ancient Ossory," p. 10.

0.



Carlow.



The first chief of this family of Gall De Burgo, of Gallstown, or Gaulstown, whose name I find on record, is Walterus Gall, who was one of the knights of Parliament elected to represent the county of Kilkenny in the year 1560. (See "Statute of Kilkenny," edited by Hardiman for the Irish Archaeological Society, p. 136.<sup>1</sup>) From him the pedigree of the family is pretty clear down to Cromwell's time, when they forfeited all their lands. The genealogical table on the opposite sheet will point out the number of these Galls De Burgo whose names are on record, and also the descent of the Gall-Burke Donovans of Ida and Iverk.

I have not been able to identify any of the descendants of the last proprietor of Gallstown as now living in the country. Persons of the name are still rather numerous in Gallstown and its vicinity, but all reduced to the condition of cottiers, or small farmers. Some respectable traders of the name of Gall are also living in Carrick-on-Suir, but I have not been able to ascertain with certainty whether they are Gall Burkes, or Stapletons, for the latter also went by the name of Gall among the Irish, as we learn from that singular little work, "The Life and Adventures of Captain James Freney."

The most distinguished man of this family that appears in history, at least since the period of their settlement in the county of Kilkenny, was William Gall von Bourckh, who was raised to the rank of Count of the Holy Roman Empire by Ferdinand II., to whom and whose father he had been Chamberlain. Several notices of him occur in Carve's "Lyra" and "Itinerarium," and in Bruodin's "Propugnaculum," wherein, p. 1001, he has the following notice of him in his list of the families of the county of Kilkenny:—

"*Gall de Burgo.*—Illustrissima hæc familia originem trahit a comite Waltero de Burgo vulgò Comes Ruffus dicto; ex quâ fuit illustrissimus Dominus Guilielmus S. R. I. Comes Gall De Burgo S. C. M., per tot continuos annos; duarum Legionum fortunatissimus Chiliarcha, necnon Camerarius actualis; sicut et ejus illustrissimus nepos Guilielmus Comes *Gall de Burgo*, hæreditarius Dominus Domini et arcis de Galls Towne in Hibernia et Dominorum Gorstorff et Holstein in Silesia."

His petition to the Emperor, and patent of Count of the Empire are preserved in the Imperial Royal Nobiliary Archives, Ministry of the Interior, Vienna, where they have been copied for me by my respected friend, Charles Count Mac Donnell. They are as follows:—

"Allerdurchleichtigist: Grossmächtigist: unnd Unüberwendlichister Romischer Kayser auch zu Hungarn unnd Böhaimb König,

"Allergnedigister Herr, Euer Kayl. May<sup>1</sup> seindt jeder zeit geneigt jenige so in Euer Kayl May<sup>1</sup> Diensten sich gebrauchen lassen, neben aller-

<sup>1</sup> His aunt was Abbess of Kilculleheen, to whom King Henry VIII. granted a pen-

sion at the Suppression of monastic institutions.

gnedigster satisfaction dern Verdienst auch mit Kay<sup>l</sup>. gnadt zubedencken unnd in hochstandt unnd wurde zu irheben. Nun werden Euer Kay<sup>l</sup> May<sup>l</sup>: meine deroselben von etlichen jahren hero geleiste getrewe kriegs Dienste allergenedigist bekhandt sein;

“ Die weillen denn mein geschlecht die Gall von Burckh ohne dem von alten gräfflichen Standt in Irrelandt herkhömen, dass landtss und Königreichs gewohnheit nach aber allein der Eltere dess geschlechts den Grafentitul und stand führet, hergegen die andere brüder in freyherrnstandt verbleiben, und ich mich nun in Euer Kay<sup>l</sup> May<sup>l</sup> Lande nidersezzen mochte, inmassen denn auch in Euer Kay<sup>l</sup> May<sup>l</sup> Dienste zu continuiren begehre:

“ Also gelangt ann Euer Kay<sup>l</sup> May<sup>l</sup>. mein allerunderthenigste Bitt, sie geruhen mir den graffen stand allergnedigist zu conferiern und die Ausfertigung dess Prädicats anzubevelchen.

“ Euer Kay<sup>l</sup> May<sup>l</sup> mich hiemit Aller underthenigist beurlaubend,

“ Euer Kay<sup>l</sup> May<sup>l</sup>

“ Aller unterthenigste

“ WILH GALL A BOURKE, *Oberster.*”

*Endorsed—*

“ An Sei Röm Kay<sup>l</sup> und zu Hungarn und Boheimb Königl Mtt, allerunterthenigstes memorial Fiat ut petitur. Anselmus Casimirus Archieps. Maguntinus. Wilhelm Gall a Borckh, freyherr Camerer und obrister.”

TRANSLATION.

“ Most illustrious, most potent, and most invincible Roman Emperor, King moreover of Hungary and Bohemia.

“ Most Gracious Lord, your Imperial Majesty is always inclined, besides your most gracious satisfaction for their services, likewise to care for with Imperial grace those who addict themselves to the service of your Imperial Majesty, and to raise them to higher rank and honour.

“ Now, my true service in war for some years past will be most graciously known to your Imperial Majesty.

“ Wherefore, in as much as my race, the Gall de Burckh, are already descended of ancient Countal-rank in Ireland, but, conformably to the usage of that land and kingdom, only the elder of the race bear the Countal title and rank, while the other brothers remain of baronial condition; and I now fain would settle in your Imperial Majesty's territories, as I also desire to continue in your Imperial Majesty's service,

“ Therefore my most submissive prayer reaches your Imperial Majesty, to be pleased to confer upon me the Countal rank, and to command that the *prædicate* be made out.

“ Herewith taking most submissive leave of your Imperial Majesty,

“ Your Imperial Majesty's

Most submissive,

W<sup>m</sup>. GALL A BOURKE, *Colonel.*”

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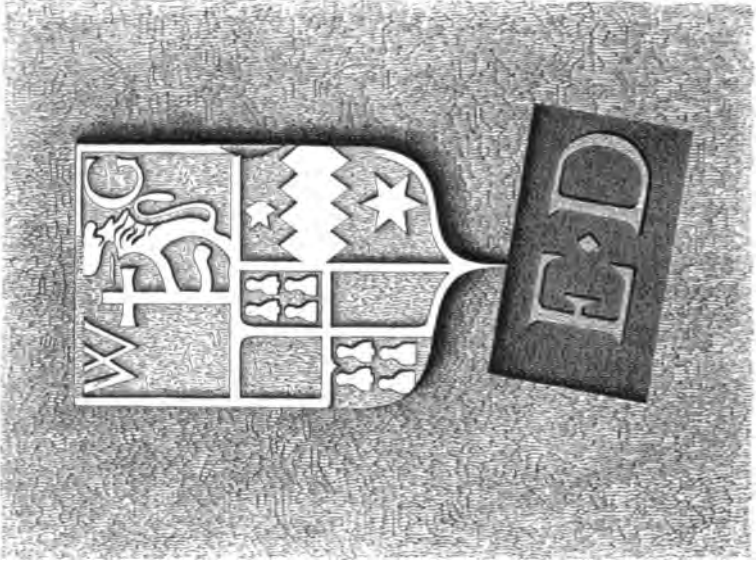


Fig. 2.

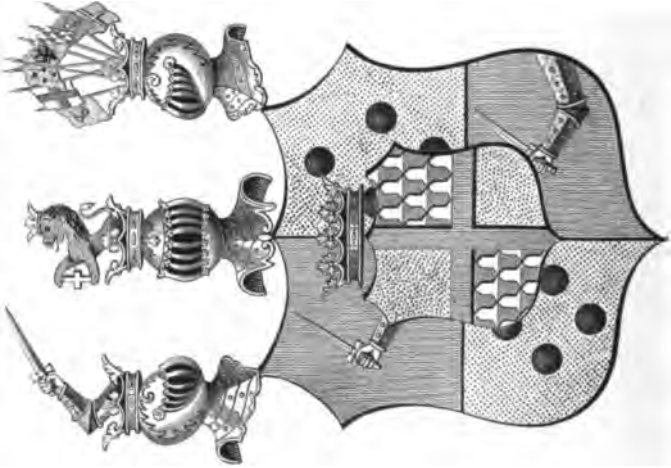


Fig. 1.



K. K. Adels-Archiv:

“ 2 June, 1637.

“ Diploma of Count and title of *wohlgeboren* for Wilhelm Gf. v. Gall, freiherr Von Bourgkh, Kais. Kämärer und Oberst, and, with augmentation of arms and right for want of issue male, to adopt one of his brothers—Baronial rank for Thomas Gall Freyherr von Bourgkh.”

The augmented ARMS are as follows: Quarterly: first and fourth, gules, issuing from the sinister side an arm embowed, armed, grasping in the hand a sword proper, hilted, and pommelled or. Second and third or; four roundels sable, one, two, and one (representing four deadly shots which passed through the bearer's body, as appears from his patent of nobility). Over all, the ancient arms of Gall Burk, namely, per cross gules, first and fourth or, second and third vair, surmounted by a ducal coronet.

CRESTS. First: over a nobleman's helmet issuing from a ducal coronet an arm embowed, armed, grasping in the hand a sword proper, hilted and pommelled or. Second: over a royal helmet, issuing from a crown a demi-lion azure ducally crowned, grasping in its paws a cross argent. Third: over a nobleman's helmet issuing from a ducal coronet seven banners, viz., 1, or, an arm embowed, armed, grasping in the hand a sword proper, as in first quartering; 2, argent a cross gules; 3, or, four roundels sable, one, two, and one, as in second quartering; 4, or an eagle displayed sable; 5, vair; 6, gules, an arm embowed, armed, proper, grasping a sword, as in shield; 7, azure a cross argent. The crown, which is placed over the ancient family coat of Gall Burke, dates from 1637. The engraving (Fig. I.) is from a copy made by Charles Count Mac Donnell from the original.

*Patent of Count of the Empire for Wm. Gall de Burgo.*

“ Wir Ferdinand der dritte, &c.—Wann wir dann gnädiglich anm . . . . . und betrachten das uralt Herrlich adelich und Rittermässige anfanglich in Teutschland entsprungene und fernerher in aussländische Königreich als Hibernia und Schottland augsgebreitete und in Historien wohlbekandte zwar fürneme Geschlecht, darinnen der edl unser und des Reichs lieber getreuer Wilhelm Gall von Bourkh, freyherr, unser Camerer und bestelter Obrister rumblich herkömen, Insonderheit aber die ansehnlichen Ritterlichen Dapfern Heroischen Thaten und Redlichen, gehorsamen treue erwilligsten und nuzlich Krieges Dienst, so er weyland unsern Hochgeehrten ersten Vorfahren am Reich Kaiser Ferd. II., &c., Christmiltesten angedenkens, zumahl bey dero schwerer und muhesamer Regierung, nunmehr in dass achte Jahr mit bedienung hoher charge in allen, zu dempfung dero und deroselbem assistirend getreuer Churfürsten und Stenden offener feindt, erclarten wühler und rebellirenden unterthanen, dann auch zu tranquillierung dahero beunruhigten Heyl. Röm. Reichs vorübergangenen veldzü-

gen vielfeltigen Schlachten, Sturmen, schweren Belagerungen und anderen mehr gefährlichen occasionen worinn das Hey<sup>l</sup> Röm. Reich in höchster gefahr und gleichsamb in præcipitio seines unterganges gestanden, seine bekannte Treue Ritterliche Valor und heroische Tapferkeit mit willigst und ungesparter Darsetzung seines Leib, Lebens, guet und bluetes (wie dann die an seinem Leib vielfaltige wunden, und 4 empfangene tödtliche Schüss, solches alles mit mehrerem contestiren und bezeugen) höchst gemeldter Ihrer K. und Kay<sup>s</sup>. Entschl. [?] auch dero assistirenden getreuen Churfürsten und Ständen zu erspriesslichem besten gnädigsten wolgefallen und belieben und seiner selbst sonderbarem ewig unsterblichen Lob und ruhm erzeuget und bewiesen.

“ Gestalten dann ebenmassige seine vier Gebrüder namens *Jacob, Patritius, David*, und *Thomas* de Gallen, frey-Herren von Bourgkh, Ihren Ritterlichen Valor und Dapferkeit in unterschiedlichen? Occasionen, darzue Obg<sup>t</sup> *Wilhelm* Gall Sie zu Unsers Hauses Oesterreichs Diensten selbten animirt, nicht wenig demonstirt . . . . . von denen obgemelter *Patricius* in Unsers . . . . . geliebten Vetter und Schwageres des Königs zu Hispanien [?] Krieges Diensten wider die Hollender: *David* bey der bluetigen Schlacht des verwichenen 1631<sup>er</sup> Jahrs vor Leipsig: und *Jacob* erst jüngstlich vor Torgaw, als die Schweden solchen Ort noch in Ihrer gewalt gehabt, Ihr leben ritterlich geendet und beschlossen haben, nicht weniger obgemelter *Wilhelm* Gall neben vorbemeltem seinem vierten noch in leben befindlichen brueder, *Thomasen* (welcher ebenmessig seine unerschrockne Dapferkeit in den Kay<sup>l</sup>. Kriegs Diensten im wurckl. dargestellt und erwiesen hat) solches auch noch ferner Unnselbsten auch ietzt regierendem Röm: Kaiser und Unserm löblichen Hauss Oesterreich ins Kunfftige und unaussgesetzter zuerweisen und also zu continuiren des underthenigesten anerpriens sein, auch vorters wol thuen können mögen und sollen:

“ Hierumben so ist mehr hochst<sup>er</sup> Unnsere . . . . . geliebter Herr und Vatter, auch negster Vorfahr am Reich lobseeligster gedechteniss auss diesen und oberzehnten, auch andern mehr stattlichen ursachen billich bewegt worden, ermelten *Wilhelmen* Gallen von Bourgkh, freyherrn, mit dero Kaiser: und Königl: gnaden zubegaben und zufürlehen [?] und auff [?] dem ietzt neulich zu Regenspurg gehaltenen Kaiser: und Churfurstl. Collegial: und Crönungs Tag, wegen obangeregter seiner wolhergebrachten ruemblichen Verhaltnus und langwierig getreuen verdienens, Ihme und seinen Erben den Reichs grafenstandt zuführen gnädigst bewilligt; die aussfertigung aber hierüber vornemblich wegen Ihrer Kön. und Kay<sup>l</sup>. Cath: Maj. [?] bald darauf geschehenen unverhofften tödtlichen hintrittes, so bald nit ins wurckh hat gerichtet werden können,

“ Alss haben wir als ietzt regierender Römischer Kaiser und negster Successor am Reich, deroselben bewilligung zu volziehen in sonderbare obacht genommen, Unnd demnach mit wolbedachten mueth guetem rath rechtem wissen, auch auss selbst eigener bewegnus obbenanten *Wilhelm* Gallen von Bourckh, freyherrn, diese besondere Gnad gethan und Ihme solchen erlangten Reichs Grafenstandt sambt dem Prædicat wolgeborn nit allein gnediglich confirmirt und bestettiget, sondern auch da von nach Ihm sambt allen seinen jezigen und künfftigen ehelichen Leibs Erben und deroselben Erbens Erben, manns und Frauen persohnen absteigender Li-

nien, für und für in ewige zeit in solche Standt, Ehr und Würde Unserer und des Heyl. Röm. Reichs auch Unserer Erblichen Königreiche, fürstenthumb und Lande Reichs Grafen und Grüainen von &c., &c.<sup>1</sup>

*Translation of Patent of Count of the Empire for William Gall de Burgo.*

“ We, Ferdinand the Third, &c.

“ We, having graciously WEIGHED AND CONSIDERED the very ancient, lordly, noble, and knightly family originally derived from Germany, and in later times extended into foreign kingdoms, as Ireland and Scotland, celebrated in history and truly distinguished, from which the noble, and to us and the Empire, dear and trusty, William Gall von Bourckh Baron, our Chamberlain, and appointed Colonel, is gloriously descended; but especially the eminent, knightly, brave, heroic actions, and honourable, dutiful, faithfully proved, and useful military service, which he whilome had done and proved to our highly honoured last predecessor in the Empire, Ferdinand the Second, of blessed Christian memory, particularly in his difficult and laborious government, now in the eighth year, with service of high charge in all things, to the extinguishing of the declared disturbers and rebellious subjects in open hostility to him and to his faithful Electoral princes and states aiding him; afterwards also in the past campaigns hitherto in tranquillizing the disquieted Holy Roman Empire, in the various battles, stormings, heavy sieges, and other equally perilous occasions, wherein the Holy Roman Empire stood in the highest peril, and, as it were, in præcipitio of its downfall, his known fidelity, knightly valour, and heroic bravery, with the most willing and unsparing exposure of his person, life, fortune, and blood (as the numerous wounds on his body, and the reception of the four deadly shots aforesaid testify and prove all this and more), to the profitable, best, most gracious sa-

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, 1740, l., p. 454.—After a notice of the old Karibthian family of Counts Gall von Gallenstein, whose seat was the Castle of Gallenstein, five German miles from Laybach, and of which they were possessed as early as 1388, Gauhen adds:—

“ Luce zehlet in der Schlesischen Chron. eine gräfliche Familie von Gall unter die Schlesischen ansehnlichen Geschlechter und meinet das sie aus Irland entprossen; er führt Wilhelm, Grafen von Gall, Freyherrn von der Burg und Herrn von Ballmontin an, welcher anfangs der Republik Polen, hernach aber dem Kaiser Ferdinando II. als Cammerherr und Obrister gedienet, und die Herrschaft Holstein im Fürstenthum Jauer besessen. Er starb an 1655 erblös, und verfallte seine Herrschaften Holstein, Gersdorff, Kirchleben, &c., auf seinen Vetter Walthern, Reichs-Grafen von Gall, der aber auch keine Erben, und seine Güter seiner Gemahlin durch ein Testament hinterlassen.”  
—(Gauhen, Des Heill. Röm. Reichs Genea-

logisch-Historisches Adels Lexicon. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig, 1740, 1747).

*Translation.*—“ Luce in his Silesian Chronicle puts a family Von Gall of countal rank among the eminent Silesian families, and his opinion is that it was derived from Ireland. He mentions William, Count von Gall, Baron von der Burg, and Herr of Ballmontin, who was first in the service of the Kingdom of Poland, afterwards in that of the Emperor Ferdinand II., as chamberlain and colonel, and who possessed the estate of Holstein, in the principality of Jauer. He died an. 1655, without heir, leaving his estates, Holstein, Gersdorff, Kirchleben, &c., to his cousin, Walter, Count Gall of the Empire, who, being also without heir, willed his estates to his wife.”

The Gall Burke family, however, was not German, and the name Gall was a mere agnomen, meaning Gallic, and, latterly, Englishman or foreigner. Gall in Ireland had the same meaning as Frank among the Turks.

tisfaction and pleasure of the most highly Royal and Imperial Majesty, as also of the assisting faithful Electors and states, and to his own special immortal honour and glory,—SEEN, that equally his four brothers, named James, Patrick, David, and Thomas de Gall, Barons von Bourghk, have no less demonstrated their knightly valour and bravery upon various occasions, whereunto the above-mentioned William Gall animated them to the service of our House of Austria . . . . . of whom the above-mentioned Patrick in the service of our dearly beloved cousin and brother-in-law, the King of Spain against the Dutch: David, in the bloody battle in the past year 1631 at Leipsig: and James very recently before Torgau, when the Swedes had that town still in their power, heroically ended their lives,—SEEN farther that the above-mentioned William Gall offers most humbly, with his before-mentioned fourth brother Thomas, still living (who likewise has actually shown and proved his intrepid bravery in the Imperial service) to devote and continue such service also still further to ourselves as present reigning Roman emperor, and to our worthy House of Austria, for the future and uninterruptedly—and that they also further can, may, and shall do this: Hereupon our repeatedly most highly mentioned much beloved Lord and Father and immediate predecessor in the Empire, of most praiseworthy memory, had justly been moved by these, the other already recited, and by other important reasons to enrich and raise the aforesaid William Gall von Bourghk, Baron, with his Imperial Royal Grace, and had at the Imperial and Electoral Collegiate and Coronation Diet now lately held at Ratisbon, on account of the above related his well-performed glorious behaviour and long faithful service to him and his Heir, most graciously granted him to bear the rank of Count of the Empire; but as the completion of this had not been able to be made on account of the unexpected death soon thereafter of His Imperial Royal Catholic Majesty: Therefore we, as now Reigning Roman Emperor and next successor in the Empire, have taken special care to fulfil his grant, and according to it with well considered resolution, hearty counsel, and right advice, and also of our own [free will and mere] motion, to the above mentioned William Gall von Bourghk Baron, this special favour have not only most graciously confirmed and ratified the said attained rank of Count of the Empire, with the prædicat [title appellation] of *Wolgeboren*, but also after him, with all his present and future lawfully begotten heirs of his body and their heirs descending in the male and female line for ever and ever to all time, in such rank, honor, and dignity of Counts and Countesses of ours and the Holy Roman Empire, and also of our hereditary Kingdoms, principality, and territories, &c., &c.”

This patent also contains a clause empowering adoption of any brother by deed or last will in case of want of male issue.

In the Archives of the Nobility in the Ministry of the Interior at Vienna, is also preserved a document with the following title:—

“Incolat or consent for *Wilhelm* Graf von Gall, freyherun von der Burgk, [of Chürsdorff i. e., Gierstarff], and Gallstein [first written Hollstein, and then corrected ‘Gall Stein’], late colonel to His Imp. Rom.

Majesty: to purchase estates in Schweidnitz, in the Principality of Jauer, and in the county of Glatz.

“Granted in consideration of his true and dutiful service and valiant behaviour in the service of the Emp” predecessors.—(Adels Archiv. K. K. Minist. des Innern. Wien., Prague, 11 August, 1652).”

The following notices of this celebrated man are extracted from Carve’s “Lyra,” p. 327; also Carve’s “Itinerary,” p. 22 of new edition:—

“1642. Jacobus Septimus *Ormonia* et *Ossoria* Marchio, Caroli Regis decreto Prorex Hiberniæ substituitur, sub quo crudele bellum inter Catholicos et Puritanos in *Hibernia* inceptit. Defuncto Bannerio, Leonardus *Dorstenonius* Suecico exercitu præficitur, qui priùs, occupatâ *Glegovia*, Ducem Laneburgicum copiarum Cæsarianarum Generalem juxta *Schvvenitzium* cecidit, ipsumque lethaliter vulneratum cum aliis belliducibus intercept, sed paulo post ipse Laneburgicus *Glogovia* obiit. Hac victoriâ potitus Olæmucium *Moravia* Metropolim, nullâ factâ resistantiâ, occupavit: dein post has felices progressus Leopoldum Wilhelmum Archiducem Cæsaris Generalissimum in *Misna* juxta *Lipsiam* debellavit, qua in pugna ala sinistra Cæsarei exercitus haud strenuè se gessit, quamvis enim Archidux non desineret suos verbis, minis, pollicitationibus ad prælium incitare, ac animare, tamen Suecici resumptis viribus Cæsareum militem prorsus fuderunt ac fugarunt.

“In hac pugna quidem Hiberni sese strenuè gesserunt: ex quibus Robertus Purcellus, Comitis *Gall* excubiarum equitum præfectus, qui in *Læva* Cæsarei exercitus ipso die pugnare non destitit, donec in manus hostium venit, ut videre licet in litteris Commendatitiis, quas ob suam magnanimitatem, et strenuitatem Archidux Leopoldus ipsi in Hiberniam redeunti unâ cum torque, et *Icone* ex purissimo auro donavit. Non minori animositate, ac dexteritate invictum animum in ea ostendit Joannes Brasileus equitum tribunus in *Legione* Colonelli *Ramhsdorf*, donec postremo capitur, ac fraudulente in ea captivitate a Suecis interficitur. Tertius fuit Oliverius Walseus tum locum tenens Chiliarchi *Moneady*, nunc verò ob præclara sua facinora Colonellus *Legionis* pedestris clementia *Sacræ Cæs. Majest.* factus, nec non *Liber Baro*, et *Oppavia* commendans, qui suam dexteritatem, et invictum animum in eo prælio sat ostendit, donec ultimò mortiferè læsus in hostiles manus devenit, postmodum soluto lytro dimissus. Cæterum quod dum Hibernorum valorem et generositatem in hoc bello Germanico considero video bis quatuor legiones Hibernicas pro domo *Austriaca* fortiter et strenuè dimicasse, quarum tribunos hic recensere licet, nempe *Jacobum*, *Walterum*, et *Edmundum*, ex familia *Butleriana*. *Wilhelmum Gall*, *Malachiam Kelly*, *Hugonem Tyrellum*, *Walterum Devereux*, *Robertum Giraldinum* et *Oliverum Walseum* qui omnes fere in bello *Ferdinandorum Imperatorum* extincti sunt, quorum *Capellanus* multis annis extiti.”—P. 328.

I append a further reference to him, which is extracted from a German work of great authority:—

(*Henzl ab Henefeld S. C. M. Consil. jurici Silesiographia Renovata. Wratislaviae et Lipsia, 1704-5. Cap. viii., pp. 360-361.*)

## GALL.

“Comites de Gall primam et antiquam suam originem ex Hibernia trahere quidam volunt. Wilhelmus, S. R. I. Comes de Gall L. Baro de Burg, Dominus in Balmontin et Gallston, signis Poloniæ Regis militaribus valedicens ad aquilam Imperatoris Romani bicipitem advolavit et sub Ferdinando II. et III. Cæsaribus gloriossissimis Legionum Cataphractorum chiliarcha factus, virum esse ad labores belli impigrum, ad pericula fortem, ad usum, ad disciplinam peritum, ad consilia prudentem, ad cursum fortunamque felicem, per annos circiter viginti exhibuit. Ditionem et arcem Holsteinensem in Ducatu Javoriensi emptam aliquamdiu possedit, donec A. 1655 ibidem fatis cedens et—Waltherum S. R. I. Comitem de Gall, in heredem relinqueret: qui tamen et ipse sub finem superioris sæculi prole mascula carens, vitam amisit, et conjugem suam ex ultima voluntate heredem scripsit.

“Wilhelmus in Ecclesia Grissoviensi memoria sepulchro inscripta hodie recolitur à lectoribus:

Hic jacet

Illustrissimus DD. Wilhelmus S. R. Imperii Comes à Gall  
Lib. Baro à Burgo, Dominus de Ballmontin & Gallston,  
Hæreditarius Dn. in Holstein, Kirchleben et Girsdorf, &c.  
SS. Cæs. Majest. Ferdinandi II. Camerarius  
et super Legiones Cataphractorum & Dragonum Colonellus,  
qui toto vitæ decursu

pro

Deo, Fide Catholica, et Cæsare  
Pius, Fidelis, & Bellicosus  
stetit.

Mortuus nona Augusti Anno 1655.  
Requiescat in Pace.<sup>1</sup>

## HOLLSTEIN.

“Castrum in rupe elevatori semimillari Leoberga situm, a lapidibus cavis, qui infra rupem inveniuntur, denominatum, anno 1426 ab Hussitis obsidione cinctum, et non tantum expugnatum, sed et potiori sui parte dirutum: quod tamen A. 1513 à Perillustri D. Adamo de Lest quadantenus resuscitatum: a Lestiis ad Illustrissimum D. Wilhelmum S. R. I. Comitem de Gall, in Sac. Cæs. Maj. Ferdinandi II. militari exercitu Chiliarcham capite sequenti celebrandum pervenit, in cujus posterorum Illustrissimorum potestate etiamnum perseverat.”—*Ib.*, cap. vii. p. 725.

<sup>1</sup> Luca, Schlesiens Denkwürdigkeiten oder vollkommene Chronica, &c., Frankfurt am Main, 1689, 2 vols. 4to, p. 987, gives the same epitaph, to which he prefixes the remark:—“Gegen der Sonnen Auffgang hängt an der Kirche eine gewölbte wohlgezierte Capelle darinnen man ein zierliches Begräbnis mit

der Ueberschrift siehet,” &c.

*Translation.*—Luca, “Memoirs of Silesia, or Complete Chronica,” &c., p. 987.—On the morning side there is joined to the Church an arched, beautifully ornamented chapel, in which is to be seen a fine tomb with the epitaph, &c.

“*Luca*, Schlesiens Curiose Denwürdigkeiten oder Volkommene Chronica (Frankfurt am Mayn, 1689. 4to, 2 vols., p. 1725) says:—

“Die Grafen von Gall halten etliche für Irriklädischer Nation. Der erste Wilhelm Graf von Gall, Freyherr von der Burg, Herr von Balmontin und Gallston, trat aus Polnischen in Kayserliche Kriegsdienste unter Kayser Ferdinando II, als Obrister über ein Regiment Cürassirer, und war auch Kayser Ferdinandi III. Cämmerer und Obrister. Er erkauffte das Schloß und Herrschafft Holstein, im Jaurischen Fürstenthum residirte daselbst und starb Anno 1655. Herr Walther gleichfalls des heil. Röm. Reichs Graf von Gall ererbte, als desselben Vetter, die Herrschafft Holstein, in dem er aber vor etlichen Jahren die Zeitlichkeit gesegnete, ohne männliche Erben, überlies er im Testament seiner gemahlin die *succession*.”

TRANSLATION.

“The Counts of Gall are considered by some to be of Irish descent. Wilhelm, first Count von Gall, Baron von der Burg, lord of Balmontin and Gallston, passed from the Polish into the Imperial service under Emperor Ferdinand II., as colonel of a regiment of cuirassiers, and was also under Ferdinand III. chamberlain and colonel. He purchased the Castle and Barony Holstein, in the Principality Jaur, where he resided; and he died A. D. 1655. After him the barony Holstein devolved upon his cousin Walter, likewise *Count Gall* of the Holy Roman Empire, who departed this life without male heirs some years ago, and left the succession to his wife by testament.”

The following references are also worth inserting:—

(*Sinap. II. Bd. p. 87.*)

“DIE GRAFEN von Gall.

“*Luca* und *Henel*, *Silesiogr.* halten sie für Irriklädischer Nation.

“An. 1165 war bey dem zehenden Thurniere zu Zürich einer von Gall.

“Der erste in Schlesien, Wilhelm, des Heil. Röm: Reichs Graf von Gall, Freyherr von der Burg, Herr von Balmontin und Galston, Erbherr der Herrschafft Holstein, Kirchleben, und Giersdorff, trat aus Pohlischen in Kayserliche Kriegs-Dienste unter Kayser Ferdinando II. als Obrister über ein Regiment Cürassier und Dragoner, war auch Kayser Ferdinandi III. Cämmerer und Obrister; unter diesen zweyen Kaysern liess er sich 20 Jahr nach einander in blutigen Feld-Schlachten dermassen gebrauchen, dass dessen Helden-Brust viel Wunden als Merckmable beständiger Treue verzeigen können. Er erkauffte das unweit Lemberg in Jaurischen Fürstenthum auf einem Felsen gelegene Schloß und Herrschafft Holstein, residirte daselbst, und starb 1655, 9 Aug. Liegt in der Closter-Kirche zu Grissau, woselbst seine gewölbte wohlgezierte Begräbniss-Capelle, nebst dem Epitaphio zu sehen, *vid. Luca*, p. 937, 1725; *Henel*, *Silesiogr. Renov. c. viii. p. 360*; *Naso*, p. 300.

“In seine Güter trat sein Herr Vetter, Walther, des Heil: Röm: Reichs Graf von Gall, Herr der Herrschafft Holstein, welcher erbloss verbliehen, und die Succession seiner Gemahlin im Testament überlassen.”

## TRANSLATION.

(Sinap. vol. ii., p. 87.)

"The Counts *Von Gall*.

"*Lucæ und Henel*, in his 'Silesiographia,' take them to be of Irish extraction.

"There was one *Von Gall* at the 10th Zurich tournament, A. D. 1165. The first belonging to Silesia is Wilhelm, Count *Von Gall* of the Holy Roman Empire, Baron von der Burg, lord of Balmontin and Galston, hereditary lord of the barony Holstein, Kirchleben and Giersdorff. He passed from the Polish into the Imperial service under Ferdinand II., as colonel of a regiment of cuirassiers and dragoons; he was also chamberlain and colonel under Emperor Ferdinand III. Under these two emperors he allowed himself to be put to such service in bloody battles during 20 continuous years, that his heroic breast boasted many a wound, the mark of his unflinching faithfulness.

"He purchased the Castle and Barony Holstein, situate on a rock near Lemberg, where he resided. He died Aug. 9th, 1655, and was buried in the convent chapel at Grissau, where is to be seen the vaulted and well ornamented chapel of his tomb, with the epitaph. See *Lucæ*, p. 937, 1725; *Henel*, Silesiogr. Renov., c. viii., p. 360; *Naso*, p. 300.

"He was succeeded in his property by his cousin, Walter, Count *Von Gall*, of the Holy Roman Empire, who died without heir, and left the succession to his wife by his will."

[*Carte*, vol. i. p. 370.]

"Agents appointed abroad by the Confederate Assembly in 1642.

"Father Mat. O'Hartegan and  
Geoffry Baron. } to the King of France.

"F. Luke Wadding, O. S. F., to the Pope.

"COUNT GALL  
and  
F. Hugh Burke } to the Emperor, the Archbishop of Mentz and Salzburg, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Roman Catholics of Holland.

"same F. Hugh Burke  
&  
Nicholas Shea } to the Bishop of Liege, and to the Governor, the General and Admiral of the Low Countries, who had contributed to the succours that were arrived."

Carte's authority is the "Register of Letters of the Council of Kilkenny."

[*Id.*, vol. i., p. 529.]

"1644.—The Confederates sent as Agents for Succours for the coming Campaign.

"F. Hugh Burke to Madrid, to the King and Spanish Clergy.



“ their Sec. Rich. Beling, he was charged to bring back ‘in a decent way’ their previous agent, O’Hartegan, from Paris } to the Court of France, the Pope, all the Italian Princes, and to the Marquis of Cashel Rodrigo Governor of the Low Countries.”

The following deeds, belonging to Walter, the elder brother of this Count Gall, are at present in the possession of the writer :—

“ Whereas Walter Gall of Gallstowne, in the Countie of Kilkenny, Esquire, Richard Gall of Rathnesmolaghe, in the said County, Gent., sonne and heire apparant of the said Walter, Richard Strange of Dunkitt, in the same Countye, Esquire, John Leonard of Waterford, Esquire, and John Walshe of Ballinge, Gent., by their deed indented and bearing date the eighth day of November, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred, thirtie and two, have given, graunted, and confirmed to William Cleere of Waterford, marchant, an annuities or yerely some or rent charge of fortie pounds sterling currant and lawfull money of and in England, issuing, growing, and accruing of and out of the manors, townes, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of and in Gaulstowne and Kill alias Kiltoccheghane in the aforesaid County of Kilkenny and Barrony of Igrine, payable the two usuall feastes of Easter and Michellmas by euen moyties and equal porcions: To HAVE AND TO HOULD, receive and perceave to the said William Cleere, his heires and assignes, for ever, with clause of distress for default of paiement, and other clauses, articles, and covenants there contayned and specified. And whereas the aforesaid Walter Gaull and Richard Gaull have acknowledged and recognized themselves to owe and to bee indented to the aforesaid William Cleere by Statute Staple taken before the Mayor and Constables of the Staple of the City of Waterford, and bearing date the eighth day of November, one thousand, six hundred thirty and two, of and in the soome of eight hundreth pounds Sterling Englishe. THIS INDENTURE of defezance, made the aforesaid eight day of November, and the aforesaid last recited yeere of our Lord, Betwixt the aforesaid William Cleere of the one part, and Walter Gall and Richard Gall of the other part, witnesseth the intent of the aforesaid statute, and accordingle it is covenanted and agreeede that yf the aforesaid William Cleere his heires and assignes shall quietly and peaceably enjoy, hould, possess, receive and perceave the aforesaid annuity yerly rent or rents of forty pounce Sterling, accordinge to the form and efect of the aforesaid first recited deed and in default of payment, shall be permitted to take, leade, drive, carrie away, sell, use and dispose such distress as they shall find for the same without replevy, question, or impeachment. And if the aforesaid Walter Gall, Richard Gall, and their heires and feoffees shall observe, fullfill, and accomplish and cause and suffer to be observed all such furthur clauses, covenants, articles, provisoes, and agreements, as of their part are to be kept, fullfilled, and accomplished, that then the said statute shall be void and of no force, otherwise to remaine in full firmness and vigour.

“ RICHARD GALL.

“ WALTER GALL, alias BORK.”

“ Being present, &c., Thomas Sherlock, Andrew Wyse, Thomas Sherlocke, Peter Morgan, Peter Strange.”

“Pateat universis per presentes nos Walterum Gall de Gallstowne in comitatu Kilkennie armigerum et Richardum Gall de Rathnesmolagh in comitatu predicto, generosum, filium et heredem dicti Walteri, recognovisse coram Thoma Sherloke milite marc. stapuli Domini rugis civitatē, Waterford, Nicholauo Browne et Andrea Wise constabulos ejusdem Stapuli, et per statutum stapuli firmiter obligari Willelmo Cleere de civitate Waterford mercatore, in octingentis libris bonæ et legalis monetæ currentibus Angliæ pro lanis, coriis et aliis mercibus Stapuli predicti tangentibus, et ab eo emptis et receptis solvend eidem Willelmo Cleere aut suo certo atturnato executoribus vel assignatis suis ad libitum et voluntatem dicti Willielmi, et fideliter faciend modo et formâ predictâ absque aliqua fraude obligamus nos et utrumque nostrum per se conjunctim et divisius pro toto et insolido heredes executores et administratores nostros ac omnia bona, catella, terras, redditus, decimas, tenementa et hereditamenta nostra et utrumque nostrum, tam presentia quam futura ubicumque fuerint inuenta per et secundum vnis formam, cursum et effectum et subpena in articulo statutū stapul de debitis pro merchandiziis in hujusmodi casu editi et provis. firmiter per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium sigill' officii stapuli predicti per majorem et Constabulum predicti ad apcial' rogatum nostrum una cum sigillis nostris sint appensa, datum in stapulo predicto octavo die mensis Novembris anno Domini, millesimo sexcentesimo tricesimo secundo, annoque regni nostri Caroli Regnorum suorum Augusti Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Octavo.

“RICHARD GALL.

“WALTER GALL, alias BORKE.”

“Signed, sealed, &c., in the presence of Thomas Sherlock, Mayor of the Staple, Nicholas Browne, Constable of the Staple, Andrew Wyse, Peter Strange.”

“Whereas Walter Gall of Gallstown in the countie of Kilkenny, Esqr., Ellice Gall alias Den, his wife, Richard Gall of Rathnesmolagh in the said countie, gent., sonne and heyre apparent to the said Walter, Richard Strange of Dunkitt, in the said county, Esqr., John Leonard of Waterford, Esqr., and John Wailshe of Ballinge in the said county, gent., by their deed indented and bearing date the tenth day of March in the yeere of our Lord one thousand six hundred thirtie and foure, have demised, sett, and to fearme lett to James Wailshe of Waterford aforessaid, merchant, the towne and landes of Kilaspuge in the said county, with the appurtenants. To have and to hold to the said James, his executors and assignes, for tearme of four score and nyne yeere from the feaste of Easter then next following, without rent or other reservations, with proviso that whensoever the aforessaid Walter Gall, his heyres or assignes, after the expiration of throe yeeres from the aforessaid date, should in one entyre summe on any of the feasts of Phillip and Jacob, commonly cauled May Day or Allhallowtide Day, pay to the aforessaid James the summe of one hundred pounds Ster., english at the dwelling house of the said James, together with such interest as should appeare to be due, that then the aforessaid lease should be void, with other clauses and covenants as by the said deed may appeere. Now this indenture made the fourteenth day of Aprill in this yeere of Our Lord one thousand six hundreth thirtie and eight, Be-

twixt the said Walter Gall of the one parte and the said James Wailshe of the other parte, witnesseth that the aforesaid Walter for and in consideration of the further summe of one hundred and ten pounds more of the like currant and lawful money of and in England received by the aforesaid Walter at the hands of the said James hath remitted, released and quite claimed for him, the said Walter, his heyres and assignes, to the said James, being in the full, actual, and peacable possession of the townes and landes of Kilaspuge aforesaid, his executors and assignes; all conditions and entries hitherto growen or hereafter to growe to them in over and to the townes and lands aforesaid. And if in case his wife Ellice Gall, als Den, might survive the aforesaid Walter, and after his death should withdraw the rent and profits of the aforesaid towne and landes of Kilaspuge from the aforesaid James Wailshe, and molest and hinder him therein, his heyres or assignes, it is therefore given, granted, and provided by the aforesaid Walter Gall, that then it may be lawfull for the aforesaid James Wailshe, his heyres or assignes to enter and take possession of the Mill cauled Gall's mill, and of the towne and lands of Tynwillin, containing two great acres of the county of Kilkenny measure, adjoyninge to the towne and lands of Gallstowne aforesaid in the Barony of Igrine, in the aforesaid county of Kilkenny, with all and singular the easments, moluments, profits, and commodities belonging or in any wise appertayning, expected or taken to be as parte parcell or member thereof: to have and to hold to the aforesaid James, his executors or assignes, for and during the tearme, tyme, and space of fourscore and nyne yeeres from the feast of Easter last past, fullie to be expired and ended without rent, service, or reservation. Provided allwaies, and it is conditioned and covenanted, that whensover the aforesaid Walter, his heyres or assignes, shall satisfie, content, and pay to the aforesaid James, his executors or assignes, on any of the above mentioned feasts the iust and complete summe of two hundredth and ten pounds ster. currant and lawfull money of and in England, in pure silver coyne, equall in weight and value with the silver coyne now currant under the stampe and impression of Elizabeth Shillings, that then as well as now releases . . . . . shall terminate and be of no effect. And it is further agreed and concluded that all fines . . . . . at anny tyme heerafter shall be made of the premises shall be to the use of the aforesaid John, and after to the use of the aforesaid Walter, his heires and assignes . . . . . the premises shall warrant, acquitt, and defend against all men . . . . . to these indentures interchangeably have subscribed their names, and have laid their seals the day and yeere first above written.

“ WALTER GALL.

“ Being present, James Hare, Clement Woodlock.

“ Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of us whose names ensue, viz., Jeffrey Lombarde, John Grant, Frances Wailshe, Robert Gall, John Wailshe.

“ This Indenture, made the twentieth day of June in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred thirtie and eight, betwixt Walter Gall of Gallstowne, in the countie of Kilkenny, Esquire, and Ellise his wife, of the one parte, and Peter Strange of Waterford, Esq., of the other

parte. Witnesseth that where the said Walter Gall and Ellise his wife are to levie a fine in his Majesties Court of Common Pleas to the said Peeter Strange and his heires of twentie messuages, ten cottages, twentie gardins, seaventeen acres of land, fortie acres of meddowe, eightie acres of pasture, fortie acres of moore, eightie acres of wood, and twentie acres of underwood, with their appurtenances in Killtokeghan, in the aforesaid countie of Kilkenny, for the better assuringe of the said messuages, to James Woodlocke of Waterford, Esquire, and his assignes, according the intent, purport, and true meaning of a paire of Indentures of demise made of the premises to the said James Woodlocke and his assignes, bearing date the three and twentieth day of May in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred thirty and eight aforesaid, as by the said deed more at large may and doth appeare. That now the said Peeter Strange for him, his heires and assignes, doth by these presents covenant, graunt, and declare that the true meaninge of the said fine was and is that the said Peeter shall stand seized of all and singular the said towne and lands of Kilitoekghan aforesaid to the use of the said James Woodlocke, his Executours and assignes, according the effect, purport, and true meaning of the said deed Indented, and upon the conditions and covenants herein expressed and contained during the said terme and tyme that the said lease shall continue, and after, to the use of the said Walter Gall and his heires for ever. In wittnes whereof to his parte of these Indentures remayning with the said Peeter Strange the said Walter Gall and Ellise his wife subscribed their names and fixed their seales the day and yeare first above written.

“WALTER GALL B.

ELLISE GALL.”

From the preceding documents, signed by Walter Gall Burke, Richard his son and heir, and Ellise his wife, it is quite clear that this family was in possession of the Castle of Gallstown and its appurtenances at the time that his brother was created Count of the Empire by the Emperor Ferdinand III. (who succeeded in 1637, and died in 1658). Richard, the son and heir of Walter, must have died young and unmarried, for it appears from the Down Survey, which was finished in 1657, that Gaulestowne, Ballymontin, Gauleskill, Licketstowne, Rath[ne]smuloghe, and Ballahomoge, were forfeited by William Gaule, an Irish Papist, while Killaspucke (now Killaspy) was forfeited by Robert Gaule.

The cause of this forfeiture by William, who was the second son of Walter, was his having opposed the Peace of Ormonde, and his having fought against Ormonde in the battle of Ballinvegga, on the 18th of March, 1642-3, in which he was slain. See Carte's "Ormonde." It appears from the Depositions in Trinity College, Dublin, volume for Waterford, that Robert Galle, of Killaspy, was also deeply implicated in the rebellion—

“John Collins of Ballirobert, and Elizabeth his wife, depose that on the 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1641 came the servants of one Redmond Fitz-Nicholas

of Waterford, merchant, together with the servants of one Robert Galle of Balliescobb [*recte* Killescobb] in the C<sup>o</sup> of Kilkenny, Gent., and their confederates, to the house of the said John Collins, and there did robb and despoile the said John and Elizabeth of all the goods, corne, and cattle that they could meete with.”

The tradition in the country states that Gall Burke originally possessed the barony of Igrine, now included in the barony of Ida, of which it formed the southern third portion, and that he was a feudal Baron; but though this traditional rank was acknowledged and acted upon in Austria, no notice is taken of it in any of the Anglo-Irish records, in which the head of this family is styled simply Esquire.

My ancestor, Edmond O'Donovan, traditionally called “Edmond of Bawnlahan,” was married to Catherine, daughter of William Gall Burke, the last chief of this family, but I could never learn from records, or even tradition, whether William Gall Burke had any son, or whether his race still remain. When I was living in the county of Kilkenny, I knew many persons of the name of Gall, who were believed to be of this race, and the senior of whom was commonly called the *Righ* Gall, or chief of the Galls.

The late eccentric Captain Michael Gall (son of Thomas, son of Walter, who was son of Richard), well known to the gentry of the barony of Ida, was unquestionably of this family, but whether he was descended from William, the last Gall Burke, or from Robert Gall of Killaspy, I could never learn.

The following extracts from the letters of a learned old gentleman of the neighbourhood of Gallstown (who devoted his whole life to the reading of Irish books of genealogy, antiquity, and history), to the writer of this paper, will show the vivid tradition in the country about the connexion of the O'Donovans with this family:—

“*Nicholastown, June 16th, 1841.*”

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—It is now years since the Rev. Francis Donovan, at that time chaplain to my father, told me that the *eldest* [sic] son of Donell O'Donovan, of Bawnlahan, in the county of Cork, in some affray, had killed a man,<sup>1</sup> and that he was so hotly pursued in consequence of it, that he was obliged to fly from his native county. He fled for shelter to

<sup>1</sup> *Killed a man.*—The tradition among ourselves is that he killed the eldest son of O'Sullivan Beare, nicknamed the *Iarla Beg*. The Rev. James Hampston, in a letter to the writer, dated Hermitage, Newtown Beare, September 8th, 1848, states that the tradition among the O'Sullivans of Beare is that this fugitive had killed the eldest son of Sir Owen O'Sullivan of Reendehart, near the river Meallagh, not far from Bantry. He adds—“I have this from a lady, whose maiden name was O'Sullivan, but is now a Mrs. Mac Carthy, of Brandy Hall, in Beare.

This lady is one of the last of the O'Sullivan Beare line, descended lineally from Donell Crone. She is near ninety years of age, and heard this tradition from her grandfather, the eldest brother of Morty Oge the *murdered*. The homicide—if I may so call him—was the eldest son of O'Donovan, and after his flight into the county of Kilkenny was followed by his father, who, tradition tells, was more displeased at his marriage in that country than for having committed the—ahall I call it—murder.” It was only manslaughter unintentional, or without malice prepense.

Gaul Bourke's, of Gaulstown, in this neighbourhood, one of whose daughters he was said to *have seduced* [sic], but soon after married. Another daughter of his [Gaul Burke's] was married to the Baron or Earl of Upper Ossory. This is the tradition in this neighbourhood.

"Yours truly,

"RICHARD O'SHEE."

"Nicholastown, May 24th, 1841.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Edmond, of Bawnlahan, your ancestor, was, most positively, married to Miss De Burgo, or Gaul Bourke. About the year 1763 your grandfather Edmond, and, I believe, his brother William, took the lands of Attateemore, in this neighbourhood, from Colonel Dyas, of Melville, but he sold the property soon after to Richard Kearney, of Waterford, in whose family it still remains.

"The Gaul Bourkagh possessed, amongst other estates, the following in this neighbourhood:—Gaulstown, Ballincree, Killaspy, Licketstown, Rathnasmolagh, Ballyhoomoge, Ballymontina, Davidstown, Little Gaulstown, Ballyhubbuck, Ballinlammy, Coolnaleen, Marterstown, and Ballinclare. It is said that a great part of this property was in your family by the marriage of Edmond, of Bawnlahan, with Miss De Burgo, and that it remained in their possession until the confiscation made by Cromwell of the fortunes of the old Irish families to enrich his followers. The Duke of Ormonde, on joining Cromwell, usurped several properties, and amongst the rest Ballinclare, Ballyhubbuck, and Ballinlammy. Other parts of the Gaul Bourkagh's property were given to two of Cromwell's officers, Bisshopp and Dyas. Bisshopp established himself at Gaulstown, part of which he called Bisshopp's Hall; Dyas, a little further on; his place was called Melville.

"Edmond O'Donovan, the French officer (of whom you are so anxious to learn some particulars), was your grandfather's uncle; he came here to enlist 'Wild Geese,' and was taken prisoner at Waterford in the year 1738 or 1739. He had a brother [William] living in the country, whose son [Edmond], then aged nineteen years, happened that day to be in Waterford, and, with others, followed the crowd. He observed the prisoner make various signs to him, all of which passed unnoticed at the time, but that night he dreamed that the Captain he had seen that day was his uncle, and he found on inquiry that it was true. He never was heard of more by his family, and was probably killed at Fontenoy.

"Yours most truly,

"RICHARD O'SHEE."

The exact year in which Edmond O'Donovan, commonly called of "Bawnlahan," settled in the county of Kilkenny, has not yet been determined, and must remain for future research.

I made every effort in 1841 to fix the date of his flight, but I could get no monument of his race older than a tombstone, showing that his grandson, John Donovan of Ballynearl, in Iverk, was born in 1672. The tradition, which is very vivid, and truly romantic, is that he was killed at Ballinvegga, 1643. My uncle Michael,

who was born in 1766, could give me no clue whatever to the year of his flight. The following is an abstract of his most artless letter on the subject :—

“*Drumdowny, Sept. 20, 1841.*”

“DEAR NEPHEW,—Edmond O’Donovan, the first of our family who settled in this neighbourhood, was the son of the chief of our name in Munster. He and O’Sullivan [Beare’s son] had a dispute about the boundary between their estates, and they walked out together on a certain day to settle this dispute; but as there were no bounds those times but hills and rocks, the dispute between them became warm. O’Sullivan’s son gave Edmond the lie; and Edmond, who could not bear the insult, gave him a stroke of his fist, which caused his death. He fled on horseback, and came here, bringing with him a store of gold in a driving bag. He came to Gallstown, and made friends with Gall Burke. There are, you must know, three kindreds of Galls here: Gall, Gall Burke, and Gall Duve, or Black Gall. Edmond married Catherine, Gall Burke’s daughter, and had three sons by her. One of them went to sea; and, as Father Donovan, the Friar, *relates*,<sup>1</sup> he was the [maternal] grandfather of Buonaparte. The other brother built [repaired?] the Castle of Ballinlaw, and the third settled at Balmonteen.

“I remember my grandmother, Mary Hoberlin, although I was but five years old when she died. The fortune that was got by her was Knockbrack, Ballybraghee and Bawnageloge. I could not tell you where the house of my grandfather stood on this townland [of Drumdowny], unless you were on the spot.

“John O’Donovan, of Ballinearl, was the priest’s father. He had three other sons ordained priests, who died in France. All John’s children of Ballinearl were my father’s first cousins; my father’s brothers were John, Cornelius, William, and Richard.”

In another letter, dated Waterford, October 13, 1842, he writes :—

“All the account I can give now by tradition is that I heard my father say that Edmond O’Donovan was the first man of our family who came here from the County of Cork. He was the chieftain’s son. He married Gall Burke’s daughter, and had three sons by her; two of them went ‘beyond seas,’ and the third remained at home, and had sons and daughters, one of whom was John of Ballinearl, and the other my grandfather, who married Mary, daughter of Richard Hoberlin, who fell in love with him. He got three townlands as a fortune with her.”

It would appear that this fugitive, Edmond O’Donovan, had three sons, Richard, William, and Cornelius. In the letter just

<sup>1</sup> *Relates*.—I made every search for Father Donovan’s MSS., but in vain. He was of the Order of St. Francis, and lived at Kilmacow for many years. He spoke Irish and French fluently, and was well acquainted with the history of Ireland and the genealogies of Irish families, particularly those of Munster. He was so intimately acquainted

with the characteristics of his own clan, that he was in the habit of stating that he could know any of the name by feeling his hands in the dark. He was related to my grandfather by the mother’s side, but was of a different sept of the Clan-Donovan. He was educated in France, and spoke English with a foreign accent.

quoted, of my late uncle Michael, it is stated that two of these sons went "beyond seas," but I incline to think that this is not accurate; for Richard, his eldest son, who lived in the Castle of Ballinlaw, was certainly shot by the people of the county of Waterford at Snow-hill, opposite Cheek Point, near the Meeting of the Three Waters; William, as it would appear, encouraged by the Count Gall von Bourckh, went into the service of the King of Poland,<sup>1</sup> where he attained the rank of Colonel, about A. D. 1670; and Cornelius, the ancestor of the Clan-Donovan of Ida and Iverk, remained at Bal-montin [baile M6imc6in], and married Rose Kavanagh, of the Bally-leigh family, in the county of Carlow,<sup>2</sup> and is the ancestor of all the Gall-Burke Donovans, that are now extant in the barony of Ida and Iverk, in Ireland, as well as in New York, and other parts of the United States of America, and in the British service in the East Indies, &c.

Of the Castle of Gallstown, and the armorial bearings of the Gall Burke family, the following particulars may be added:—

The Castle of Gallstown, which stood near the southern margin of Loch Cuillinn, now Holly Lake, in the old barony of Igrine, in the south of the county of Kilkenny, was standing in the year 1798, but it was, shortly after, pulled down, and the stones thereof used to build the house of a farmer named Griffin, in the immediate neighbourhood.

The sculptured stone which formed the keystone of the archway of the castle gate, and which exhibited the armorial bearings of Walter Gall de Burgo, impaled with those of his wife Ellise Denn, was mutilated, and placed as a corner-stone in the gable end wall of Griffin's house, where I saw it in 1822; but when I visited Gallstown in the summer of 1841, I found that Griffin's house had been pulled down, and that no account of the stone exhibiting the Gall Burke's

<sup>1</sup> The following extract from a letter addressed to the Rev. William Reeves, D. D., by Count Charles Mac Donnell, dated Palais Lubienki à Worsovia (Pologne Russe) 12th Feb., 1852, renders this very probable; but none of the race would appear to be now extant in Poland:—

"Will you have the kindness to send the hue and cry after O'Donovan. I have several *O'Donovaniama*—among others, a seal about 100 years old, with his family arms, crest, motto, and supporters, which I picked up in Cracow, where it was made. Only imagine, too, I caught some of them interlopers among the Polish *Rioghdamhnas* (all Polish nobles were *Rioghdamhnas* in the old times) in the seventeenth century. A brave Col. John Wm. Donovan and his son John were naturalized among the Polish nobility in 1684 by the Diet. If I could unearth him, I would send him [an account of] all his wandering relations [of Gallstown]. Tell him they were

all very creditable, proper people. I give you as the most certain address, the town residence of my friend, the Lubienki Palace. I am passing the winter with him in the country, about 150 miles south of Warsaw, a few miles from the Austrian frontier. There are but two or three nobleman's houses within visiting distance, and visiting distance is here pretty much what it is in a new colony, some twenty-five or thirty miles. But to compensate, we have a numerous and interesting neighbourhood of wolves, bears, and wild boars, that inhabit the recesses of a vast forest, which encircles the cleared land of the estate to the distance of some twenty miles of slope and dale on every side.

"With great sincerity,

Very faithfully yours,

"CHARLES MAC DONNELL."

<sup>2</sup> See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1585, p. 1839, and A. D. 1600, p. 2156.



arms was to be had. I inquired of the old inhabitants who were present when Griffin's house was being built what had happened it, but those who were then present could tell me nothing of the fate of the stone, and I left the spot in despair of being ever able to find it. My belief was that it had been destroyed.

A few days after my visit to Gallstown, I was told by one party at Waterford that the stones of Griffin's house had been purchased by a blacksmith named Mullowney, who burned them into lime, but others said that they had been purchased by Mr. Jones, of Mullinabro, who used them in building a stable, and Edmond Murphy (nicknamed Ned the Man) the mason who built Mr. Jones' stable, stated that he could point out the very part of the wall where he put the stone exhibiting the Gall Burcagh's arms, which was then covered with rough casting. I wrote to Captain, now General Larcom, R. Engineers, requesting of him to ask the officer, who was surveying this district for the Ordnance Survey, if he could get this stone removed to the old Church of Gallskill; and Captain Henry Tucker, who then presided over the Ordnance Survey of this district, most promptly complied with my request, as appears by his letter, dated 3rd Aug., 1841, in which he writes:—

“I called on Mr. Jones; he will let me remove the mortar, and I think it is probable he would let me take down the stone if I were to ask him. Will Mr. O'Donovan like to have the stone placed up in the wall of the old chapel, which is situate about one and a half miles north of Mr. Jones's house?

“*To T. A. Larcom, &c.*”

To which I replied—

“Captain Tucker will for ever oblige me by removing this stone to the old chapel of Gaulskill. But should Mr. Jones be unwilling to let it be removed from the wall, I will be well pleased by getting a careful drawing of the arms, letters, and date upon it. I hope the masons have not mutilated it. Mr. Patrick Donovan, of the Ferrybank, builder, &c., will remove the mortar for Captain Tucker, and also remove the stone to Gaulskill, if Mr. Jones will allow it to be removed.”

To this Captain Tucker replied:—

“*Waterford, 15th Sept., 1841.*”

“I send a copy of the coat of arms on the Gallstown stone for Mr. O'Donovan, and request you will have the goodness to forward it to him.

“The stone is built into the wall of the out-offices of Mr. Jones's house (Mullinabro), about thirty feet from the ground, and Mr. Jones *would not allow it* to be removed.

“The stone is now on one side, i. e. the length, or nineteen inches side, is with the horizon. It is now a corner-stone.

“There is not any date on it; the stone was formerly a keystone of an arch, and the mason states that the date which was inscribed, as in the sketch, was knocked off in squaring the stone.

"The letters E. D. are evidently of a more recent date<sup>1</sup> than the coat of arms.

"The different depths of shading show proportionally the depth to which the parts of the stone have been cut away.

"Yours very truly,

"HENRY TUCKER."

It will be observed that the De Burgo arms and crest<sup>2</sup> on this stone, Fig. 2, (see Plate facing page 103), exactly agree with the central shield in the arms of the Count Gall Von Bourckh of Austria, who was the brother of this Walter Gall Burke, who was married to Ellise Denn. The crest of this family, a lion rampant holding a cross, is different from that of every other branch of the Burkes, for they bear the catamountin. I have not seen the arms of Den on any tomb or castle in the county of Kilkenny. A branch of this family of Denn possessed Tory Hill (*Sliabh Ua g Cruinn*), and several townlands adjoining it. The last head of this branch was Edmond Denn, the Tory, whose bed is shown in a cave in this hill. I am also descended from this Tory, so that my Milesian blood is very much mixed with that of the invaders. The late Amias Denn, of Garrandarragh, Esq., was the senior representative of a branch of this family. His son, Dr. Denn, who lived at Carrick-on-Suir in 1840, 1841, was the only member of this family I could hear of, the last time I visited my native county.

<sup>1</sup> *Recent date.*—The original letters, E. D., standing for Ellise Denne, were struck off by the mason who built Griffin's house, about the year 1798; but, after he had them struck off, the parish priest was passing by, who, observing how the antiquarian value of the stone was destroyed, told the mason that he had acted wrong in mutilating the stone, and he ordered him to cut the letters E. D. as well as he could, which the rude tradesman complied with, and hence the difference between the letters E. D. at the bottom of the shield, and W. G. at the top. The date was struck off at the same time, but never restored.

<sup>2</sup> The sculpture is very rude, but the intention was evidently to represent the well-known De Burgo bearing (per a cross gules or and vair counterchanged) impaling that of Denne (a fesse dancette between two mullets). The first of the Den family who came to Ireland was Sir William Denne, who was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1260, but no consecutive pedigree of the family has been compiled by any of our genealogists. The Denness of Grennan, near Thomastown, the best known family of that name in the county of Kilkenny, would seem from their armorial bearings to have had no connexion with that of Ellise Denne, the wife of

Walter Gall Burke, of Gallowtown. The Grennan Denness, according to the volume of "Kilkenny Heraldry," compiled *temp.* Jac. II., and purchased by the writer at the recent sale in London of the Heraldic and Genealogical MSS. of the late Sir William Betham, bore "gules, three lions rampant sable, a chief of the last;" above this shield is written "Den of Greanan Coim Kilken," and underneath, where the page is much worn away, may be read "M<sup>rs</sup> Marg<sup>t</sup> Lawless al's Den dyed the 1<sup>st</sup> of . . . 16 . . . ." We learn from Fitzpatrick's "Life and Times of Lord Cloncurry," p. 7, that Richard, son of Walter Lawless, of Talbot's Inch, near the city of Kilkenny, married Margaret, daughter of Patrick Den, of Grennan, and died in 1670. It is plain that Ellise Denne's descent cannot be traced from this stock. The Denne arms, most like those on the Gallowtown shield, are those of Dene or De Dene, of the county of Essex, which are given by Burke in his "General Armory," as argent a fesse dancette gules. Morant, also, in his History of that shire (vol. ii., p. 278, n.) gives a somewhat kindred shield as that of Deane, viz., sable a fesse ermine between three chaplets argent, crest on a wreath ermine and sable, a boar's head coupé or, muzzled gules.—ED.

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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**GENERAL MEETING**, held in the Society's Apartments, Williamstreet, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July 4th, 1860.

**THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY**, President of the Society, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

The Right Hon. Lord Carew, Lieutenant of the county of Wexford, Castleboro', Clonroche; Sir James Power, Bart., D. L., J. P., Edermine, Enniscorthy; the Rev. Nicholas Devereux, D. D., Ballyrankin House, Ferns; John Richards, Esq., J. P., Macmine Castle, Enniscorthy; W. K. Farmar, Esq., J. P., Bloomfield, Enniscorthy; John Cullen, Esq., Enniscorthy; and Hercules Ellis, Esq., Barrister-at-law, 15, Granby-row, Dublin: proposed by George C. Roberts, Esq.

John C. Deane, Esq., Sydney-place, Onslow-square, Brompton, London: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Richard Creed, Esq., Cloyne House, Cloyne, county of Cork: proposed by the Rev. S. O'Halloran.

Patrick Tobin, Esq., 17, Merchant's-quay, Dublin: proposed by John G. A. Prim, Esq.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society: their "Original Papers," vol. vi. Part 1.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for May and June, 1860.

By the Publisher: "The Dublin Builder," vol. i., and Nos. 17 and 18.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 899-906, both inclusive.

By G. H. Lowe, Esq.: a gun money half-crown of James II. (March, 1690).

Mr. Graves remarked that he had a correction to make with regard to the coins described at page 46, *supra*. The London groat given by Mr. Barton was of Edward III., as was also that given by Mr. Graves himself. That given by the Rev. Thomas Green was a groat of Edward IV.

The Secretary said he had received the following observations relative to a passage in Mr. Fitzgerald's notice of the "Duiuin Deglain," pp. 51-53, *supra*. As the writer was one of the highest living authorities on the question of seals, he thought it well to place his opinion on record:—

"The duivin, I have no doubt, is a moiety of a stone-mould for small pendant objects of metal; but being only the reverse, it is puzzling to say what they were—I don't think crucifixes. Is it not a pity to let Mr. Gillespie's assumptions mar the sound criticism and discernment of your 'Journal,' which has done so much to relieve us from the purely-speculative and bold-conjectural style of handling archaeological facts? It is mere darkening of knowledge to affirm that there exist 'several ecclesiastical seals somewhat similar.'"

The Secretary announced that steps had been taken by the Committee to free Jerpoint Abbey from some of the encroachments which disfigured it, and also to take down a wall that blocked up the nave of the building. This wall had formed part of an alteration in the structure, made with the object of converting the abbey into a private dwelling house, shortly after its suppression as a monastic institution. Although it thus illustrated the comparatively modern history of the abbey, and as such had been spared when the Society was repairing that ancient building some years since; still, as it obstructed the view of the architectural beauties of the nave so much, it was deemed proper now to remove it. Mr. Blake, of Ballinamona, a Member of the Committee, had kindly undertaken to superintend the carrying out of the work.

The Rev. James Graves stated, that he was happy to report the progress of a good work with regard to the tomb of the Fitzpatrick family in the Abbey of Fertagh. This tomb, erected to John Fitzpatrick, and his son Bernard first Baron of Upper Ossory, *temp.* Henry VIII., bore the effigies of a knight in armour, and of a lady wearing the horned head-dress and long kirtle usual on Irish monuments of that period. It had been much dilapidated within a recent period; and, from the uninclosed state of the ruins, was subject to daily injury. However, during the past spring, at the suggestion of the rector of the parish, the Rev. Thomas Uniacke Townend, funds were supplied by the munificence of John Wilson Fitzpatrick, Esq.; and not only was the monument restored as far as

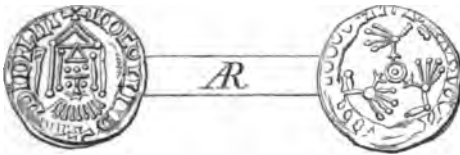
possible, but the ruins were also enclosed, and an iron gate erected, to exclude mischievous intruders. The conduct of Mr. Fitzpatrick in the matter, afforded a good example to our resident gentry; and the Rev. Mr. Townsend deserves much credit for his part in the transaction.

Captain Edward Hoare presented to the Society an engraving of a Hiberno-Danish coin in his collection, accompanied by the following observations :—

“ In a former number of the ‘ Journal’ of the Kilkenny, and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society (vol. iii., First Series, pp. 179, 180), I had much pleasure in affording an example of a very interesting Hiberno-Danish coin, the reverse of which is evidently imitated from a penny of Henry the First, of England; and at the same time, also, of then presenting a woodcut of the coin, for the acceptance of the Society.

“ I have now the increased pleasure of producing a second example of a similar kind, and, also, of again offering an engraving of another unpublished Hiberno-Danish coin, for illustration in the ‘ Journal.’ The coin, which is now in my cabinet, is of a somewhat earlier period than the former one, though not very much so; and the obverse is evidently imitated from the well-known canopy-type penny of William the Conqueror, of England, as represented in Hawkins, ‘ On the Silver Coins of England,’ Plate. xviii., No. 236.

“ This coin, as will be seen by the accompanying figure, is, like most



other Hiberno-Danish coins, with its legends on each side, as yet unknown and mysterious; and therefore I am unable to appropriate it with certainty to any particular personage of those enterprising and roving seakings. It weighs 14 grains. The fact, however, of these Hiberno-Danish coins having been copied and imitated from contemporary English coins, is of much interest, and shows that the intercourse and communication between each country was frequent at the time, and the moneys known to each other; perhaps, also, there may have been some connexion between the engravers of the coins, though of this there is hardly any evidence, even as represented in the coins themselves. I regret I am unable to afford any particulars regarding the discovery of this coin. I purchased it in May, 1859, at the sale, at Sotheby's, in London, of the well-known and extensive collection of the coins and medals of the late Rev. Joseph William Martin, Rector of Keston, in Kent, where it formed part of lot 511 of that sale catalogue, among other Hiberno-Danish coins.

“ As I considered this coin of much interest, and most probably very useful to future Hiberno-Danish numismatists and writers on the subject, I have only felt it my duty to place it on record in the Proceedings of the Society.”

Dr. R. R. Madden, to whom, by the permission of the Rev. James Mease, the curious document presented by the latter gentleman at the May meeting of the Society had been submitted for his opinion as to its authenticity, contributed the following paper, giving his reasons for supposing it to be in part a forgery. The paper was accompanied by a photograph of the hand-writing and signature of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and of the signature of J. Napper Tandy, neither of which bore much likeness to the signatures of these individuals on the document presented by Mr. Mease:—

“In *re* document purporting to be an original certificate of appointment of Theobald Wolfe Tone to the rank of general of division in the forces of the United Irishmen, signed, J. N. Tandy, and countersigned Fitzgerald—the latter name preceded by some remains of an initial, possibly, of an E.

“This document, if authentic, would be of some importance; and even if spurious, would be not without value, if the date of the forgery of the names affixed to it could be shown to be anterior to Tone’s trial, the proceedings in Parliament on the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, or the later trial of James Napper Tandy, in Dublin,—inasmuch as the fabrication of such a treasonable document might have been made with a view to production in evidence of guilt of one or other of the parties named therein on the occasion of either of the trials, or of the parliamentary proceedings above referred to. I have, therefore (duly considering its importance), taken a good deal of trouble to put myself in a position of judging of the genuineness or spuriousness of this document. I have felt much difficulty in coming to a conclusion; and it is only by bringing together all the concurrent circumstances that tend, in one direction, to give a preponderance to the evidence that bears on the subject of inquiry, that I have been able to come to a conclusion. There is, certainly, no single fact in connexion with the names to this document, the purport of it, or the purpose that may be presumed of its being perfected, that would enable me to pronounce an opinion on the authenticity of this document. The weight of evidence, and those concurring circumstances, in numerous particulars, in connexion with my inquiries, have led me to the conclusion, that this document is a spurious one; and that the two names affixed to it, purporting to be those of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and of James Napper Tandy, are forgeries. I would observe, the printed parchment form of certificate is certainly an impression from the plate of the genuine form of certificate of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, and is an exact fac-simile of the form of certificate of the Society of United Irishmen of Belfast, with the exception of the word Belfast being substituted for that of Dublin. The admirably engraved device of the harp on both certificates is the same, and the motto surrounding it—‘It is new strung, and shall be heard.’ Of this fact, I can speak with confidence, having compared the certificate in question with others of whose genuineness I have a certainty. But an important document of this kind, if authentic, ought to be dated. The document in question is not dated, although there is a printed line in the certificate where the date ought to be written in when the document

was perfected and issued. I have seen no genuine certificate of either of the Societies of United Irishmen that was not dated.

“ There is another matter to be observed with respect to the document in question—the counterfoil has not been filled in, nor cut off in a zig-zag way of separation from the certificate form; as, in all genuine certificates of this kind that I have seen, the counterfoils are so filled in and cut.

“ 2. The number of the certificate in question is 70,000. The certificate purports to be of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, and consequently we are to suppose that 70,000 Dublin men, or people in Dublin, had been enrolled in the Society. This could not have been the case. In a publication now before me, entitled, ‘ Population Tables of the 19 Parishes and two Deaneries of the City of Dublin, A. D. 1798,’ from an actual survey taken by the Rev. James Whitelaw, and republished by him in 1805, I find the total population, in 1798, set down at 172,091, exclusive of the garrison, hospitals, and Trinity College inmates. Now, of this population, the number of males constituted 81,300, and the number of females 90,792. It may be taken for granted, that of the 81,300 males, estimating children under sixteen, aged men over sixty, sick and maimed, or otherwise incapacitated for fighting, the actual number of men fit to bear arms, or to be enrolled in the lists of men able and ready to fight, could not exceed, in round numbers, 25,000 men; yet the certificate bears the number of 70,000, representing, as it may be presumed to do, so many Dublin United Irishmen, or United Irishmen of the Dublin Society.

“ 3. The want of a date to this document involves the question of its authenticity in great difficulty, and makes many inquiries necessary, with a view to ascertaining, if possible, the time of its origin, and the place where it was drawn up. Now, James Napper Tandy had certainly no personal communication with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in *Ireland*, from the latter part of the year 1793. J. N. Tandy was arrested, on a charge of distributing a seditious paper, the 14th March, 1793. Bills were found against him at the assizes in Dundalk, on charges of treason, as well as of seditious libel, the 20th March, 1793; and hereupon Tandy fled from Ireland, and never returned to it *while Lord Edward was in existence*. Tandy proceeded to America, and fixed his abode at Wilmington, in the State of Pennsylvania. But previously to Tone’s arrival in America, and taking up his abode in the above-mentioned town, Wilmington, in August, 1795, Tandy had taken his departure for France. He must have been in France (most probably in one of the southern provinces) in 1796, when O’Connor and Lord Edward Fitzgerald were on their secret mission to the French Government, and had a conference with General Roche. This is the only period at which such a document could have been prepared and perfected, supposing that Lord E. Fitzgerald and Tandy then met, of which, however, we have no information. But Tone was not then in France, and at that period had never been in communication with Lord Edward or A. O’Connor, though he had been known in Ireland to Tandy.

“ It may be said this document was in the possession of Tone when he left Ireland, in July, 1795. To that, I answer, Tandy could not have signed it in Ireland, for he had not been there from 1793; and Lord Edward could not have then signed it, for he was not a member of the Society of United Irishmen till the year 1796. That Tone could have no such

document in his possession when he left Ireland (7th or 8th August, 1795), or while he was in America, is certain from his own statement in his diaries. Therein he tells us, that, in the month of August, 1795, when he opened his mission to the French Minister at Philadelphia, M. Adet, he carried with him, in proof of the functions assigned to him by certain leaders of the Society of United Irishmen, of a representative of the Irish nation—'such credentials as he had brought with him, which were two votes of thanks from the Catholics, and his certificate of admission into the Belfast Volunteers, engrossed on vellum, and signed by the chairman and secretaries.'—See 'Tone's Memoirs,' also the second series of Madden's 'Lives and Times of United Irishmen,' page 31. Under date 16th of February, 1796, an entry in Tone's diary informs us of his recent arrival from America, in Paris. On the above-mentioned day he met at the Foreign Office an old Irish employé, named Madgett, who asked Tone 'did he bring any credentials from Ireland,' when Tone replied, as to credentials, the only one he had 'he had shown to Adet in Philadelphia.'

"In July, 1797, Dr. Macnevin was sent to France on a secret mission to the French Government, but he had no communication with Tone, nor Tone with him. There is no account in 'Tone's diary of any intercourse or interview with J. N. Tandy in France previous to February, 1798, and then he refers to Tandy in disparaging terms. Speaking of Irish refugees in Paris, he says, 'We all do very well, except Napper Tandy, who is not behaving correctly.' Tone adds, that Tandy and the priest Quigley had been 'caballing against him;' that Tandy and Quigley had summoned a meeting of Irish refugees, at which Tone and Lewins were to be arraigned; and that when he, Tone, presented himself at the meeting, it appeared all thoughts of charges against him were abandoned. Tone says: '*In consequence of this manœuvre, I have had no communication with Tandy.*'

"I think this statement of Tone's opinion of Tandy, and of estrangement early in February, 1798, shows evidently how improbable it was that subsequently to this period, when the expedition under Hardy, against Ireland, was preparing at Brest, in July, 1798, Tone should have had any communication with Tandy, or any necessity for the document in question from him. The first time Tone was in communication with Buonaparte, the latter spoke of a certain Irishman in Paris, 'un ancien militaire,' a gentleman, moreover, 'tres riche.' This ancien militaire of a Dublin volunteer corps obtained a commission in the French service, and eventually, in the autumn of 1798, the grade of a general of division. The end of May, 1798, the expedition under Humbert, for Ireland, was dispatched, which Mr. Tone and other Irish refugees accompanied. The 20th September, 1798, the small Brest expedition under General Hardy put to sea. T. W. Tone accompanied that expedition. A fast-sailing vessel, the Anacreon, connected with the above-mentioned expedition, a few days previously had been dispatched from Brest for the west coast of Ireland. This vessel reached the island of Rathlin. Here, Tandy, with the other Irish refugees who were on board, landed, and spread some proclamations; but, hearing of Humbert's defeat, immediately embarked, and steered for Norway, where the Irish refugees landed, and proceeded to Holland. There Tandy and others were delivered up to the English Government, sent to England,



and thence to Ireland, and were tried there, but their *acquittal* was permitted by the Government. Tandy got back to France, and died at Bordeaux, 24th August, 1803.

"T. W. Tone was captured, sent to Dublin, tried, convicted, and put an end to his life. He died 19th November, 1798.

"His brother Matthew was captured, tried, convicted, and was executed on the 29th of September preceding.

"Before any of the vessels of Hardy's expedition, or the expedition under Humbert sailed from Brest, Lord E. Fitzgerald was not in existence. He died on the 4th of June, 1798.

"Fourthly, and lastly, I have to notice the signatures to the document in question—those of James N. Tandy and Fitzgerald; and to express my opinion that they are both forgeries. I have taken a great deal of trouble to obtain authentic signatures of both, for the purpose of comparing with those of the document. The signature of Lord Edward, on which I place most reliance, having a perfect knowledge of its history, is that which I send you a photograph of; it is a presentation book autograph to Lord Edward's godson, Mr. Joly (from whose son I had the use of it), given by Lord Edward, while in concealment in his house, in the month of April, 1798.

"The signature of Tandy, of which I send you a tracing, I procured from the solicitor of the Dublin corporation, who has charge of all archives connected with accounts. This signature is to a pipe-water account, as a member of committee, i. e. of examiners of accounts, in 1782. Further, I have to refer you to a fac-simile of a signature of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, prefixed to the 'Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald,' by Moore. In the photograph I send for your inspection, above the autograph, you will observe, there is a fac-simile of a miniature likeness of his lordship, set in a valuable snuff-box given by Lord Edward Fitzgerald to Mr. Joly."

Dr. Elliott, Waterford, presented to the Society copies of two curious original documents. One was a petition presented by the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Waterford to the corporation of that city, about 150 years ago, with a view of removing a prejudice excited by the re-erection of one of the four Roman Catholic chapels there, which had been suppressed after the defeat of the Jacobite party, in 1690. This document was highly characteristic of the times and people—of their relative civic, social, and political, as well as religious positions, about a century and a half ago. Dr. Elliot obtained it from Mr. John Harris, formerly mayor of Waterford; but the original, from which Mr. Harris made his copy, was no longer preserved amongst the muniments of the corporation. The other document was an Irish elegy on Robert Elliott, the great grand-uncle of its presenter, and which he sent as he considered it desirable to preserve the compositions of the later Irish poets of Iverk. The music, which was on the original manuscript, was also copied for the Society by Dr. Elliott. It was a simple plaintive air.

*" The humble Petition and Remonstrance of y<sup>e</sup> Roman Catholique Inhabitants of this city.*

*" To the Worshipful the May, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council of Waterford, Humbly sheweth,*

" That yo<sup>r</sup> Petitioners, finding that by y<sup>e</sup> promotion of som particulars, a considerable number of the Aldermen and Council have been excited to prosecute your Petitioners, in order to hinder them from the convenient and accustomed exercise of their religion in the City, have with strictness and great concern of mind examined what should be the cause thereof, and what misbehaviour of their's has raised that unkindness and severity in their neighbours against them, now after half a score years elapsed, that was not practised heretofore, not even in the heat of their resentments upon account of y<sup>e</sup> late unhappy revolutions. That yo<sup>r</sup> Petition<sup>r</sup> doe understand the only cause to be the setting up or building of y<sup>e</sup> Chapple whereof they make use at present. Wherefore yo<sup>r</sup> Petition<sup>r</sup> doe humbly pray the liberty of laying before yo<sup>r</sup> Worships what they hope may excuse their attempting to build the said Chapple, and make appeare that there is no inconveniency to the City or Govern<sup>t</sup> thereby. But rather less than ever before, which they hope will remove the concepts or displeasure, at least, of the moderate Persons to whom this Chapple is represented an extraordinary nuisance. In the first place, they humbly offer it to yo<sup>r</sup> consideration that there have been, in the time of King Charles the Second, to which the articles of Limerick doe referr, foure Chapples in this City. That in conformity to their Protestant neighbours they have reduced the same to one Chapple, in a bye streete of the City. That the said Chapple, happening to be exposed to the Collector's, and after to Capt<sup>n</sup> Harrison's house, and being so ruinous that some part of it fell, wounded some, and like to kill others, yo<sup>r</sup> Petitioners held it so far from giving offence, that they expected it might be rather grateful to the City to provide themselves, in a bye corner or lane, as they did, and in a place where there was such a dunghill, and so much dirt and nastyness, that it was presented at a Quarter Sessions some time past for a nuisance. Whereupon yo<sup>r</sup> Petition<sup>r</sup> were induced to make up the present Chapple, partly by the Proprietor of the ground, who, being one of the Congregation, gave the same freely, at a yearly rent, for the common convenience of the Inhabitants; partly that it was upon the wall of one of the foure Chapples in King Charles y<sup>e</sup> Second's time; and chiefly that it was in a remote corner, soe as not exposed to any Protestant family; or to the view of the Right Reverend Lord Bishop or y<sup>e</sup> Protestant cleargy, or to y<sup>r</sup> Worships in yo<sup>r</sup> accustomed walks or stations. That the inconveniency heretofore practised by the coming in of the Country men hath been redressed, and will be more hereafter, for that two of the Congregation are appointed every Sabbath day at y<sup>e</sup> door of the Chapple to keep them out, soe, few or none of them do now come in, but doe tarry abroad in the little Cabbin house Chapple made for themselves. That the better to please the Protestant cleargy and Govern<sup>t</sup>, there is that course taken that the doore of this Chapple is shut up, and all service ended, by the time they go to church on y<sup>e</sup> Sabbath. That having thus far endeavoured to conform themselves to the pleasure of their Protestant neighbours, and not imagining that

they would have taken offence, whatever one or a few private persons may doe on some private peeke to some particular, they tooke into consideration the solemn articles of Limerick, whereof his Ma<sup>ty</sup> and Govern<sup>r</sup> have been always very tender and carefull to keep them inviolable, and were confirmed by Act of Parliament. That it is one of the express articles that all the Roman Catholiques, not only those adjudged within them, but all the kingdom over, shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their Religion as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second. And that they are to be preserved from any disturbance upon account of their religion. The clause of the Article is hereto annexed, which they pray may be perused. That they always hoped that his Ma<sup>ty</sup> and Govern<sup>r</sup>, who were graciously pleased to allow them the exercise of their Religion, doe intend the same to be with some decency and conveniency, as it was in King Charles' time. That if forced to goe out of gates, there is no house or Chapple but such as are too narrow for theyr own parishioners, nor can the old, sickly, gouty, or decrepitt go thither, who cannot be served at theyr houses; the number of the cleargy who heretofore might have been spared to serve particulars being reduced to the respective Parish Priests since y<sup>r</sup> banishment of the Regulars. That in Dublin, under the eye of the Government, they have divers Chapples in the City, and are graciously permitted. That Corek is no presedent, for there are no Romans within that City but doe live in the suburbs, which are there, and in other Cittys, as convenient for y<sup>r</sup> inhabitants, and neare as good as the very Cittys. Whereas, here there are no such suburbs, and such as are, they are so remote, and beyond such a height, that the old, weak, and decrepitt cannot frequent thither. That experience shews no Turbulency, Riott, or disorder did ever happen or arise in the City by reason of any Chapple, when they were more numerous; and, therefore, much less reason for supposing any such at this time that God and his Ma<sup>ty</sup> were pleased to send us peace and quietness, and y<sup>r</sup> memory of past injuries is almost effaced, and partly expiated these ten years past by som punishment on the offenders.

“The Premises considered,

“It is humbly prayed, that as a matter in itself inoffensive to the Protestant Inhabitants, and suitable in that liberty of conscience the Govern<sup>r</sup> is pleased to allow them, and as suitable to the saide Articles, whereof his Ma<sup>ty</sup> and Govern<sup>r</sup> have been always regardfull, not mentioning the article of this City, of Liberty and Property, granted by his Ma<sup>ty</sup> on his Royall Person, that they may not be hindered from the exercise of their religion with some conveniency whilst they behave themselves as dutifull subjects, and without offence to y<sup>r</sup> Govern<sup>r</sup>, and they will Pray.

“[Endorsed] The humble Petition and Remonstrance of y<sup>r</sup> Roman Catholique Inhabitants of this City.

“LIMERICK ARTICLES.

“Articles agreed upon y<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> day of October, 1692, between y<sup>r</sup> Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir Charles Porter, Kn<sup>t</sup>, and Charles Coningsby, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Lords Justices of Ireland, and his Excellency Baron de Ginkle, Lieut.-General and Commander in Chief of the English Army, of the one part, and my Lord Lucan, &c.

"Imp. That the Roman Catholiques of this Kingdom shall enjoy such privileges, in y<sup>e</sup> exercise of theyr religion, as they did in the reign of King Charles the 2<sup>nd</sup>; and they<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup>, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this Kingdom, will endeavor to procure y<sup>e</sup> Roman Catholiques such farther security in that particular as may preserve them from any further disturbance upon accompt of their said Religion, &c.

"CHARLES PORTER,  
"THO<sup>s</sup> COMINGSBY,  
"BARON DE GINKLE.

"GRAMORE,  
"H. MACKAY,  
"J. TOLMACHE.

"Confirmed by y<sup>e</sup> late Act of Parliament."

*Verses in fav<sup>r</sup> of Mr. Rob<sup>t</sup> Elliott of Clonmore.*



Droic ort a fuaire sír ír uairle ríur bhríthar cáil  
na ndéigbírte véaracach rúaghbach a muar éion don pearla ír  
pearr  
can péile ab érpúchtea rúaire a nduagar o cpoorbhe go enaí.  
ír a tceaghlach gléúrta clúanach beó dúain gaobhlige epiochna  
um déaig.

Ír fába me ár do éúairírg an cuaran a eplébh go hárb.  
ír andéoirgh mo lsbhar cúairbe eugh rúabar mo glaoó éoir  
cpaighe  
ón cpaoi ghlan síor éapre úaral ír búan ceirb agcléim go bneagh  
ír a Roibeapre cluanaó muairpe ír buic rúagraim an péile ír pearr  
A íne an aéar ínúinte nar éurpaig a íáon bug elach  
neach cabapreacach bpoiteach cúnacach an úmleab do époirbe don  
éaprb  
ír aínla bí do íhubar an upbean nárb éláoirce cail  
ciallmár píallmár píuítach ráríuínce ó eliab go bárb.

Nír feacúim rípe a geuínéscíh an duééar do cpíall na enám  
[Now effaced, but partly legible when the translation was made.]  
ríur flacha éapre ó dúrlar dá díuice ír na coriab an nar  
ír ríeárb do érb na cpuíérb nar díulcaig a ghíar don íar.

Ír epúag zan me um éleiriod ír caol píofa fínd um laim  
ír a líbar go labartach tpeunbearca an deag-tharcag ír  
omparach caí

Bí baíra ír peáíra ad tpeudhca ír laoépar na laí ad édnám  
ír rgoeíg ar fátaigh a zcupzreaba á leirbulla a meabír don  
baír

Ír an iuir bñcíg éoir e-Síurpe ca úrmae na bfeal zan bñón  
ír é cinte éuirgísr cúrpa fele ugdár a ríapar gíór  
gach elar eallmár múnce éig éughac á élíab a róio  
deogair pion zan éfach pa éumacae aolrum ua bíad 7 ceól

A'Ruibire Elíoc féime ír no aozraé pa leaíca an rzeedl  
aip bream na bpanb bñacéiba do ceile beíe a zcoíra a bñéoch  
préamí don gñeepuil leirba an maorza bugh afíra rceóp  
Cpíochna a ngrípe a zcáobbfíre ír a beulcaír zan éainte zan  
gíor.

Zabaim coimrge feim leac ír éirbuz lem raicé beoil  
go molpaíff éáoin do éleibcaírpa dá bñeuchaimn a mall porz beo  
aicím ar an degníac do ceuraé a zcpann na nbeop  
zradam ríleacéba ír tpeún ach ár haobruingaeall zrlnd ír oz.

Fírrim aip a maigbim do raogal leabair búan  
a énu beir éú éar ceuda do réir ar zac ních a zelúain  
plaitz zan gñúaim le heigrpe ríchb bñeile na rparh na mbúab  
go raímlaim cpeobaire an degbere le tpeun múir a acéhb a  
zcuán.

Teirp zan éeile am béul ope ír éirrim do bíac zan érnádainn  
ír le peape an arbaíl tpeunmaír éá'n deígmíac a pparbal uail  
bpeacé zan éeare nír léizír a ngréirbpuio ár lag na epúag  
ír nil éfor a níoc na eilín ár baentpeacé pa fír pan n-uaié.

Siub an peap ír úipe ná bpuédb maione ár íhpe bfeúr  
Ná tuile tuinne bpuiz míra a tuzbar pa linn go tpeíe  
ír buaire a rzeul pa duéab tpeáé murzleatp do éling pan éuz  
ír ina poza fáziam fuibíre ma bubrar mo cainte a mbreíg.

Ír ar halla bfeíraíff éléipeacé can deágníac naé éláioce bíre  
plataé pñrtead féarpeacé a ndaonache pa zcpeoibe úr-caír  
ba deizédb fír e7 éúgádb pa caozz do bíb ár rparh  
Mar Eocha bñoñ a aon porz ár éigrpe zur b'áoir don bplaité.

Nár mllcar tu le hézgon na Rexaibh ca a bpuigim le ríl  
ír má ézigíu ríud go 'Éiríonn beb éncerep na raioíe leac  
peobhe an pparpa reibfélbh na bpaizoe ba bíobh a nglar  
ír ar gáil má zealcar éríh ípo Zaeal-tpeib do do pñeám a leacé.

'Sé Roibeard puaire aozár-mac éárnsír na ráníe a nzeón  
go beerpíil fíonuil failefch a ná arup go hoimídb mír  
leabap érnáob an bíacé gíl ag cal ope o ríoz na neamí  
ír aipríuib fílibe Fáil é ír ní nar liom mo laioíe leacé.

Ír iomha buíbean ír cóip gílan ír eol dom go beapda érom  
 ír epíoch dá éabhb na Féorach ír do róthaitc nír éarla liom  
 bíora a beig líla bóna ír mo gíorta do ríriobad a leabap  
 ír barr zac árb platha rógpaím go leógan mac lílárpe boupp.

Tomár ua huallaáin ece october 1747.  
 Agus Tomar ua Tuatail do aicreíob'ran  
 Abraon 1860.

## TRANSLATION.

“Permit this freedom, O! man of gay and gentle manners, most noble and of best repute, noted for charitable and compassionate deeds, and much beloved of that pearl of goodness. Generosity is intermixed with thy composition, even in thy heart and bones; nor disdain now the tribute which I shall offer in the commodious house of Clonmore, a verse of Irish strain.

“Long have I been studious of thy good fame; distant on the lofty mountains, and having finished my wide excursion, with kindest cordiality was I received by the truly generous and noble man, whose good fame shall never fade. To thee, O! Robert of Clonmore, I decree the Palm of kindest generosity.

“Thou son of the gentle father, whose tender heart never spurned the weak or helpless, still bountiful, and inclined to succour their distress: and such was thy mother, the generous woman of unblemished repute, gifted with wisdom, friendship, and goodness, of extreme gentleness even from her cradle to her grave.

“Nor degenerated she from the virtues of her race, the fair O[rmonde] of generous deeds; the affectionate chieftain, the fine mild-beaming eyes—dear relative she of a truly noble chief of Thurles, and two dukes, and the nobles who dwell at the race; and a branch was she from the worthy stock whose kindred race disclaimed not the Papal authority.

“O! that the gift of learning were mine, and in my hand a fair and slender pen, and a book which should set forth the mighty deeds of this goodly Horseman of best repute; whose limbs were adapted to the dancing and fencing arts, and whose sinewy arm poised the martial lance; and oft on the green would he engage in hurling sport, quick impelling the restless ball to the disputed goal.

“On the fair bank of Suir dwells in joy the generous son of Hospitality, to whom are best known the merits of the Author and Bard. Should the travelling stranger, possessed of good sense and manners, approach thy abode, a splendid apartment was theirs in safety, the choicest of food and wines, and the joys of music.

“O! Robert Elliott of gentlest manners, lamentable through the vale to the white-robed tribe is the sad story, that thy spouse is consigned to earth; the lovely branch of gentlest mind and noble descent, laid in the hollow of the narrow tomb, and the voice of her gentle lips no more.

“ I will now claim thy protection, and hearken thou to my strain; fain would I praise thy dear person, if the beams of light enlivened my eyes. I beseech that Son Divine who suffered on the tearful cross, to bestow the joys of a flourishing progeny, wealth, and pleasure on thine only maid.

“ I beseech the Virgin to procure for thee length and fulness of days, O! thou man of generous heart, and fame exceeding thousands, wont to relieve every victim of distress. To the learned thou art nobly courteous; more generous of thy store than the milky kine. I would compare thy bounties to the overflowing of the swollen ocean, as it rushes into a harbour.

“ Thy character I will not conceal, and gratefully shall I proclaim thy renown—through love of the great Apostle thou art ever inclined to deeds of benevolence. Thou hast never suffered an unjust judgment to consign the weak and wretched to cruel confinement; nor rent nor tribute is yours from the sad widow whose spouse is laid in earth.

“ Such is the man whose bounties flow around, copious as the morning dew on the river’s fertile bank, or the ocean-like flood descending into the settled lake. Sorrowful through the land shall the sad knell of thy death be heard; and to all I appeal, whether my words are spoken in truth.

“ In a church-land villa’ dwells the good son, stained with no ignoble deed; his abode is the seat of princely hospitality, and soft humanity possesses his heart. Should thousands approach thy dwelling, all may partake of the streams of thy bounty. Generous as Echo, the bestower of his only eye—mayest thou be blest with length of life.

“ Fear not the force of the now contending monarchs. Should the land of Erin be invaded, thy welfare will interest every worthy man: thou, who wert wont to free the enthralled wretch from the horrors of confinement; or, if reputed of foreign race, yet thou art by one-half of Irish descent.

“ Robert the gay and good is he who collects the worthy around; in his mansion, with kindest cordiality, he gives the wine-inspired feast. May the beneficent hand of the Almighty bless thee from heaven—it is the wish of the Bards of Erin, nor am I ashamed with theirs to mix my lay.

“ Many have I known of good repute, far as the sluggish Barrow, and on either side the Nore, yet never among these thine equal. In the house of Idrone [Borris Idrone] my words have been committed to writing, and thus I decree the Palm of worthiness to the noble son of Mary Bowers.”

---

The following Papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

<sup>1</sup> Clonmore Castle—in the barony of Iverk, county of Kilkenny, held under the bishops of Ossory, the mansion of the Elliott family

until within the last thirty years—was roofed, and converted into a residence by the subject of the above poem.

MONEY OF NECESSITY ISSUED IN IRELAND IN THE REIGN  
OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

BY AQUILLA SMITH, M. D., M. R. I. A.

(Concluded from page 20.)

SECTION V.

That the Confederate Catholics intended to issue silver coins, is quite clear from the following words in their Proclamation of the 15th of November, 1642:—"And we doe further order, publish, and declare, that the *plate* of this kingdom be coined with the ordinarie stamp used in the moneyes now currant."

The only coins of silver hitherto believed to have been coined by order of the Confederates are the rebel crown and half-crown (see Section VII.); but these pieces do not present "the ordinary stamp used in the moneyes now currant," and therefore, the only coin which, from its "stamp" and peculiarities, affords such evidence as will suffice, if not to prove, at least to render it very probable that it was issued by order of the Confederates, is the piece commonly known as the "blacksmith's half-crown." This appellation seems to have originated with Snelling, who, in his account of the coins from "unknown mints," in the reign of Charles I., observes that—"amongst the very great variety of this king's money, although we meet with many very rude, and of bad workmanship, yet we think none of them comes up to the half-crown, No. 13, Plate XIV., the barbarous work of which was certainly that of a smith, and not of an engraver."<sup>1</sup>

In Folkes's "Table of Silver Coins," published in 1763 by the Society of Antiquaries in London, Snelling's engraving seems to have been copied in Plate XXVI., Fig. 5, and is described as follows: "very poor workmanship: whether the mark on the front is a flower-de-luce or a cross, must be left to the curious to determine. No account has yet occurred of its place of mintage." Its weight is said to be 231 grs. Ruding, who republished Folkes's plates, observes on the mint-mark on the front: "Is it not more properly a quatrefoil?" and adds: "It is called the blacksmith's half-crown from its rude workmanship."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Hawkins, in his account of the "Uncertain Half-Crowns" of Charles I., describes the following varieties:—

"1. Exceedingly rude imitation of the half-crown type 2 c. [Fig. 482] but M. M. obv. cross, M. M. rev. harp (499) M. B." [The harp mint-mark does not appear in the engraving referred to.]

<sup>1</sup> "View of the Silver Coins," &c., fol. 1762, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Second edit., 8vo, vol. v., p. 167.



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MONEY OF NECESSITY.

PL. V.



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"2. Similar, but the housings very slightly indicated, M. M. obv. cross, rev. harp, Rud. xxvi., 5; Sn. 14, 13, M. B. It is called the blacksmith's half-crown on account of its rudeness."

"3. Similar, but without any housings on the horse. Sir H. Ellis."<sup>1</sup>

In the foregoing extracts, which, I believe, comprise all that has been published respecting these coins, no attempt is made to appropriate them to any particular mint.

**OBVERSE.**—The king on horseback to the left, sword resting on right shoulder; the horse with housings marked with a broad cross over the hind quarters, and a small plume on his head. Mint-mark, a cross; legend, CAROLVS·D·G·MAG·BRI·FRA·ET·HIB·REX., the defects in the legend supplied from a duplicate. Reverse, royal arms on an oval shield, garnished, between the initial letters, C. R. Mint mark, a harp; legend, CHRISTO·AVSPICE·REGNO; weight, 227·5 grs. Fig. 1, Pl. V. The initial letters C. R. are transposed and reversed, a peculiarity which distinguishes this coin from others of the same type.

Another, with housings on the horse, has the legend, CAROLVS·D·G·MA·BR·FR·ET·HI·REX.; it weighs 231·4 grs.; it is similar to the coin published by Snelling and Ruding.

The variety of type without any housings on the horse has the legend CAROLVS·D·G·MAG·BR·FR·ET·HIB·REX. Fig. 2 weighs 211·3 grains; the defects in the legend have been supplied from duplicates.

It was ordered by the proclamation that a "half-crown peece doe pass henceforth for 10 groats," no mention being made of the crown; and it was further ordered, "that the plate of this kingdome be coined with the ordinariē stampe used in the moneys now currant." From the mention of *plate*, it is clear that a silver coinage was intended, and in proof of the professed allegiance of the Confederates, the "stampe" or type of these coins is almost identical with some of the English coins of Charles I., which were then current in Ireland.

The obverse of Fig. 3, Plate V., is from the same die as the obverse of Fig. 1.

The cross—the only mint mark which occurs on the obverse—is similar to the cross on the rebel crown and half-crown. See Plate VI.

The harp mint mark, which is always on the reverse when the coin is in good preservation, is similar to the harp mint mark on some of the Confederate's copper halfpence, Plate IV., Figs. 1 and 4.

The peculiar form of the bow of the harp in the arms on Figs. 1 and 3 is remarkably like the harp on the reverse of the halfpenny, Plate IV., Fig. 1, and the resemblance between the harp in the arms

<sup>1</sup> "Silver Coins of England," 8vo, 1841, p. 176.

on Fig. 4, Plate V., and that on the halfpence, Plate IV., Figs. 2 and 3, is very striking.

The letters have been cut with a graving tool, like the copper coins, and not made with punches, as on the English half-crowns of Charles.

I trust that the preceding observations will suffice to establish my opinion, that blacksmith's half-crowns were minted in Ireland by order of the Confederate Catholics.

#### SECTION VI.

The class of coins next in chronological order is the Ormonde money, which was made current by proclamation, on the 8th of July, 1643. I have nothing to add to the description of the Ormonde money, published in 1854 in the "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society," vol. iii., (first series) p. 16.

#### SECTION VII.

The coins next to be described are known to collectors as the "rebel" crown and half-crown.

**CROWN.**—This piece, when in perfect condition, has on the obverse a large plain cross within a linear circle, outside which is a beaded circle, and between the circles a small star opposite one arm of the cross. Reverse, a large Roman numeral "v," with the letter "s" above, within two circles like the obverse. Fig. 1, Pl. VI., weighs 16 dwts. 4 grs.; and Fig. 2, only 14 dwt. 20 grs. Ruding's Fig. 2, Plate XXVIII., which is from a different die, weighs only 14 dwts. 17 grs.

**HALF-CROWN.**—The type of the obverse is the same as the crown; reverse, *ii<sup>o</sup>vi<sup>o</sup>*, with the star and circles like the crown. Fig. 3, Plate VI., weighs 8 dwts. 12·3 grs.; and Fig. 4, which is from a different die, weighs only 7 dwts. 9·5 grs. Simon's Fig. 173 has only a beaded circle, and the numerals for the pence are smaller than those for the shillings.

Bishop Nicolson, speaking of the "Crown-piece," says:—"Whether this was coin'd at the siege of Dublin, 1641,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thoresby, who has one of the pieces, cannot surely inform us; but it is certain that soon after the rebellion there were some coined of a different stamp from those that afterwards had C. R. under a crown." Harris says there is another Irish crown supposed to be minted about the same time as the Ormonde money; it has on one side a plain cross, and on the other *v<sup>o</sup>*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The siege of Dublin took place in 1647; the city was surrendered on the 18th of June to the Parliament Commissioners.—Borlase,

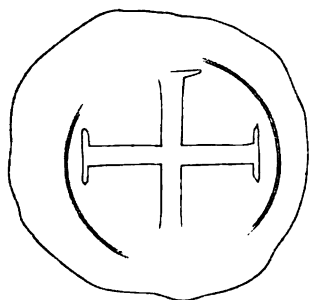
"Reduction of Ireland," 8vo, 1675, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Irish Historical Library, 8vo, 1724, p. 170.

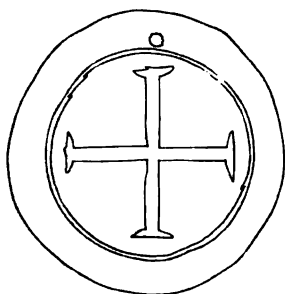
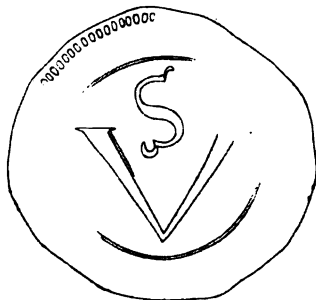
<sup>3</sup> Harris's Ware, fol. 1745, vol. ii., p. 219.

MONEY OF NECESSITY.

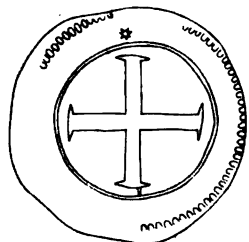
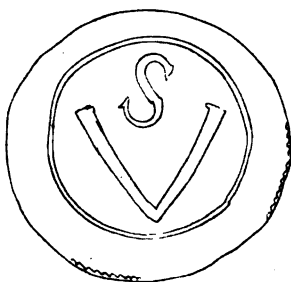
PL. VI.



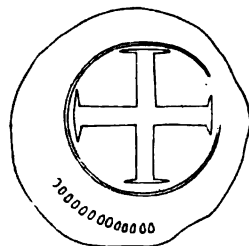
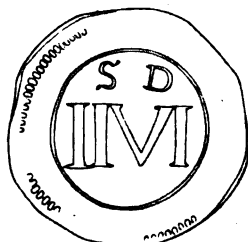
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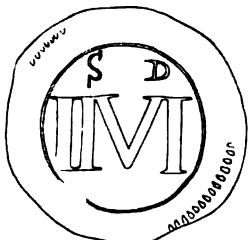
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Simon, who refers to Nicolson's opinion respecting the crown, adds:—

“But from the cross imprinted on it, I should rather think that it was coined in imitation of, and opposition to the last mentioned [the Ormonde money], and much about the same time, by the chiefs of the rebels, who pretended to act under the king's authority; as appears by several of their petitions to the king, in Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*.”

Simon's conjecture, that these coins were issued “about the same time” as the Ormonde money, is supported by the resemblance of the type of both coinages in almost every particular, except the substitution of the large cross for the letters “C. R.,” surmounted by the royal crown. The peculiar form of the letter “s” over the “v” on one of the crowns is almost identical with the letter “s” on one of the varieties of the Ormonde crown, and the numerals on the reverse of the half-crowns, Figs. 3 and 4, Plate VI., are of the same size, like those on the Ormonde half-crown, Fig. 3; while the inequality of size of the numerals on the half-crown published by Simon may be noticed also on the Ormonde half-crowns, Figs. 4 and 5, and the half-crown, Fig. 7, Plate III.

That the rebel money was coined in imitation of the Ormonde money, is not only probable from the resemblance of type already noticed, but derives further confirmation from the substitution of the cross for the crown and letters “C. R.,” which implies that the king's enemies were no longer disposed to coin money “with the ordinatīe stamp,” as on the coins described in Section V., or of the standard weight of the coins made current by proclamation issued from the Castle of Dublin in 1643 under royal authority.

#### SECTION VIII.

Mr. Lindsay, in 1839, in his “*View of the Coinage of Ireland*,” published the first notice of a few coins which, from their square or polygonal form, rude workmanship, and simplicity of type, appear to belong to the period of the Civil War in Ireland, and within a few years many of the same class have been discovered, which I shall endeavour to appropriate.

Smith, in his “*History of Cork*,” informs us that in 1642 “Except Cork, Youghall, Kinsale, and Bandon, every other town in the province [of Munster] was now possessed by the rebels.”<sup>2</sup> And from Cox we learn that “on the 10th December [1646], Mr. Annesley, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir John Temple, and Sir Hardress Waller, being then in England, made a report of the state of Ireland to the Parliament,” in which it is stated, “that in Munster the

<sup>1</sup> Edit. 1749, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii., p. 133, second edit., 1774.

Parliament hath Cork, Kinsale, Youghall, and Bandon, and in them 400 foot and 300 horse."<sup>1</sup>

These extracts furnish clear evidence as to the only towns in the south of Ireland which were likely to require a local coinage during the existence of the Civil War.<sup>2</sup>

#### BANDON.

I have no hesitation in assigning to this town a copper piece of an irregular octagonal form, having on one side the letters B. B. within a circle of small lozenges; on the other side, three castles within a similar circle; it weighs 31 grs., Plate VII., Fig. 1. The letters B. B. signify Bandon Bridge, the ancient name of the town of Bandon, and the same letters, indented, occur as a counter-mark on some of the tokens issued in Bandon in 1670, which have on the obverse three castles in the field; and the legend, BANDONE · ARMES · 1670 ·; reverse, a bridge, and CORPERASION · PENIE.

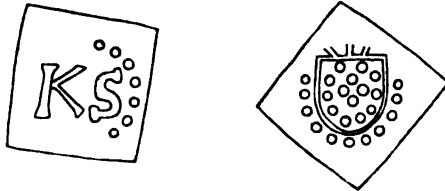
#### CORK.

A quadrangular piece found along with several others some years since at Fountainstown, in the county of Cork, is published in Mr. Lindsay's "View of the Coinage of Ireland," Fig. 149. Obverse, CORK, within a beaded circle; reverse, a castle which represents in part the arms of the city, viz., a ship sailing between two castles. A square piece, apparently from the same die, is in the British Museum; the small square piece engraved in Plate VII., Fig. 2, is also in the British Museum; it weighs 40.1 grs.

#### KINSALE.

A rectangular copper piece, with the letters K. S. on one side, within a circle of pellets, and on the other side a shield, rudely chequered, Plate VII., Fig. 3; weight, 55.3 grs.

Another of the same type, but from a different die, weighs 49 grains, and another, which has pellets instead of chequers on the shield, weighs 44 grs.



No. 1.

<sup>1</sup> History of Ireland, vol. ii., page 190.

<sup>2</sup> Since this paper was written, a description of the "Money of Necessity" issued in Youghal has been published by the Rev.

Samuel Hayman, in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, vol. ii., new series, p. 195. I am indebted to my learned friend for the woodcut of the Mayor's seal at the end of this section.

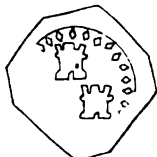


MONEY OF NECESSITY.

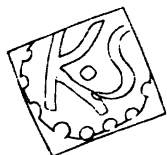
Pl. VII



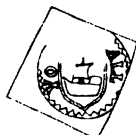
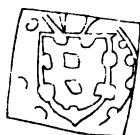
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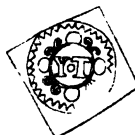
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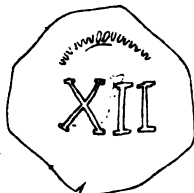
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There can be no doubt that the letters  $\kappa \cdot s$  signify Kinsale, as the corporate seal of that town bears a chequered shield, and a similar shield occurs on the Kinsale token of 1659 (Lindsay, Plate IX., Fig. 11), and on the penny of large size published in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, Fig. 3, the date of which coin is 1677, and not 1672.

#### YOUGHAL.

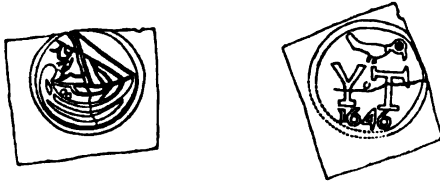
There are several varieties of the Youghal tokens. One has on the obverse a galley on a shield, and the word **YOUGHALL** within a dentated circle; reverse, the letters  $\gamma \cdot \tau$  within a small circle, garnished on the outside, like the shield on the reverse of some of the English coins of Charles I.; it weighs 26 grs., Plate VII., Fig. 4.

A second variety has on the obverse a galley; reverse, a bird over the letters  $\gamma \cdot \tau$ , and below the letters the date 1646; weight, 15 grains.



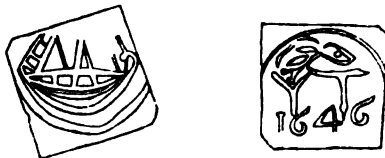
No. 2.

A third variety is very similar to No. 2, but from a different die; weight, 14 grs.



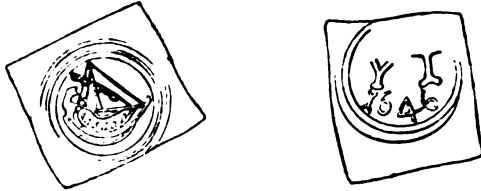
No. 3.

A fourth has a branch (?) over the letters; it weighs 22 grains.



No. 4.

A fifth has neither bird nor branch over the letters; it weighs 55 grains.



No. 5.

A sixth has on the obverse a galley on a shield; reverse, Y · T within a beaded circle; weight, 20 grs.



No. 6.

A seventh, which is nearly circular, has only the letters Y · T on one side, and a fish on the other side; it weighs only 9 grains.



No. 7.

The date on these coins is important, as it indicates the period at which the copper money of necessity was issued in the city of Cork, and towns of Kinsale and Bandon, and it accords with the report made to the Parliament in 1646 (see p. 137); besides, the galley which occurs on them resembles the arms on the silver corporate seal of the mayor, presented to the Royal Irish Academy by the late Robert Ball, LL. D., a native of Youghal.



## SECTION IX.

The coins in this section are of silver, and are distinguished from the silver coins described in the preceding sections by having on them the name of the place where they were issued, and the year in which they were struck.

**SHILLING.**—Obverse, the date 1647 under *CORK*, within a linear circle, outside which is a beaded circle, in the centre a dot or point; on the other side the value expressed in Roman numerals, within a linear and a beaded circle; the letter *D* is not over the numerals, as it is on many of the coins already described. Fig. 5, Plate VII., weighs 2 dwts. 15 grs. Fig. 6 weighs 2 dwts. 20 grs. There is a greater distance between the two circles than on the other coin; the reverse appears to have been struck from a die which was intended or had been used for striking sixpences. A shilling in the British Museum weighs 3 dwts. 17 grs.; the coin published by Ruding, Plate XXVIII., Fig. 11, weighs 2 dwts. 21 grs.; and Snelling, in his first additional plate to Simon, Fig. 30, has published another. In both these engravings, the point in the centre of the obverse is omitted.

**SIXPENCE.**—The obverse is similar to the shilling; it has on the reverse the numerals *VI*. Fig. 7, Plate VII., weighs 1 dwt. 9.5 grs.; Ruding's Fig. 12, Plate XXVIII., weighs 1 dwt. 8 grs. Simon's description of these coins is not given with his usual accuracy; he says they "have on one side the word *CORK*, and under it the year 1645, or 1646, and on the other side the value *XII*" and *VI*". See Plate VII., Numb. 143. The shilling weighs seventy-five and one-fourth grains (3 dwts. 3.25 grs.), and the sixpence, thirty-seven grains three-fourths (1 dwt. 13.75 grs.)"—Edit. 1749, p. 49.

The error respecting the dates is corrected by the engraving of the sixpence; the perfectly circular form of the coin leads me to believe that it was engraved from a drawing supplied by some contributor, who also described the coins. It is not likely that Simon, having mentioned the weight of the coins with so much exactness, would have engraved the sixpence, and omitted the shilling, if he had seen the coins, or had them in his possession.

Forgeries of the sixpence are not uncommon; they were manufactured by the same persons who made the clumsy imitations of the coins described in the first section, and, like them, they were blackened by exposure to the fumes of burning sulphur; one which I possess weighs 1 dwt. 8.5 grs. They are readily distinguished by the sharp outline and well-defined form of the numerals, which are of *equal length*, and by the circle of detached and perfectly round pellets, which is very different from the beaded circle on the genuine coins.

There is another spurious sixpence which may be known by the

absence of the inner linear circle, and of the point in the centre of the obverse; it appears to have been cast in the mould of a genuine coin, and subsequently tooled, for the defects in the beaded circle have evidently been restored by a punch; the outline of the numerals and letters is sharply defined, and the tail of the  $\kappa$  is detached by a groove from the vertical line of the letter: I possess one which weighs 1 dwt. 5·6 grs.

I have already stated my reasons (p. 2) for dissenting from the common belief that the pieces of silver stamped with only their value expressed in pennyweights and grains, were coined by order of Lord Inchiquin; but I do not altogether reject the tradition that money was coined by order of his Lordship during the period he was in authority as President of Munster.

In May, 1647, he took Dungarvan, and he then intended to besiege Clonmel, but the want of provisions and other necessaries for his troops compelled him to retire to Cork.<sup>1</sup>

The date of these pieces, which corresponds with the fact of Lord Inchiquin being compelled to retire to Cork in 1647, in some degree supports the tradition that money was coined by order of his Lordship; and if the name of "Inchiquin money" is to be retained, it may with more probability be applied to the Cork shillings and sixpences than to any other money issued during the Civil War in Ireland.

## EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

### PLATE I.

Fig.	Value.	Weight.		Reference.
		dwt.	grs.	
1.	Crown.	19	7	Dr. A. Smith.
2.	"	19	6·9	R. Sainthill, Esq.
3.	"	19	4·6	Dr. A. Smith.
4.	"	19	3·5	Royal Irish Academy.
5.	"	20	2·5	Rev. J. W. Martin.
6.	"	16	5·5	Dr. A. Smith.

### PLATE II.

1.	Half-crown.	9	14·5	Dr. A. Smith.
2.	"	9	8·5	Rev. J. W. Martin.
3.	Shilling.	2	22	Dr. A. Smith.
4.	"	3	11·8	Dr. A. Smith.
5.	Ninepence.	2	16·7	R. Sainthill, Esq.
6.	Sixpence.	1	21	Rev. J. W. Martin.

<sup>1</sup> Cox, Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 196.

Fig.	Value.	Weight. dwia. gra.	Reference.
7.	Sixpence,	1 20·3	Dr. A. Smith.
8.	Fourpence.	1 10	British Museum.
9.	„	1 5·7	Dr. A. Smith.
10.	Gold Pistole.	4 6	Dr. A. Smith.

## PLATE III.

1.	Ninepence.	2 18	Alfred Wigan, Esq.
2.	Sixpence.	1 20	Royal Irish Academy.
3.	Fourpence.	1 10·5	British Museum.
4.	Threepence.	0 22	British Museum.
5.	Crown.	18 20·2	Royal Irish Academy.
6.	„	16 6	British Museum.
7.	Half-crown.	9 17·1	Royal Irish Academy.
8.	„	9 13	Royal Irish Academy.

## PLATE IV.

1.	Half-penny.	2 5·3	Dr. A. Smith.
2.	„	3 8·4	Dr. A. Smith.
3.	„	2 10·6	Dr. Robert Cane.
4.	„	2 9·4	Dr. Robert Cane.
5.	„	2 3·5	Dr. A. Smith.
6.	Farthing.	1 17·6	Kilkenny Museum.

## PLATE V.

1.	Half-crown.	9 11·5	Dr. A. Smith.
2.	„	8 19·3	Dr. A. Smith.
3.	„	9 3	Dr. A. Smith.
4.	„	9 11·5	Dr. A. Smith.

## PLATE VI.

1.	Crown.	16 4	British Museum.
2.	„	14 20	British Museum.
3.	Half-crown.	8 12·3	Alfred Wigan, Esq.
4.	„	7 9·5	Dr. A. Smith.

## PLATE VII.

1.	Penny (?).	1 7	Dr. A. Smith.
2.	„	40·1	British Museum.
3.	„	2 7·3	Dr. A. Smith.
4.	„	1 2	R. Sainthill, Esq.
5.	Shilling.	2 15	Alfred Wigan, Esq.
6.	„	2 20	Royal Irish Academy.
7.	Sixpence.	1 9·5	Dr. A. Smith.

## WOODCUTS.

No.	Weight.	Reference.
1.	44 grs. . . .	Crofton Croker, Esq.
2.	15. . . .	Dr. A. Smith.
3.	14. . . .	R. Sainthill, Esq.
4.	22. . . .	Dr. A. Smith.
5.	55. . . .	Dr. A. Smith.
6.	20. . . .	Dr. A. Smith.
7.	9. . . .	R. Sainthill, Esq.

I have designated the gold piece, Fig. 10, Plate II., a "Pistole," because the weight of the Spanish and French pistoles, which were current in Ireland by proclamations issued in 1660, 1683, and 1687, was 4 dwts. 8 grs. See Simon, pp. 51, 56, and 57: Edit. 1749.

THE PLANTATION OF THE BARONY OF IDRONE, IN THE  
COUNTY OF CARLOW.

(Continued from page 80.)

BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ.

AMONG the proprietors forfeiting in the Barony of Idrone, of course, Colonel Walter Bagenal figures as principal; but there are certain of the Kavanaghs who were possessed of estates, being those so generously confirmed to them by Sir Peter Carew, when he recovered the Barony by Order or Decree of the Council, on the 17th December, 1568. According to this Survey, "Walter Bagenall, Irish Papist," is found to have been possessed, in the year 1641, of various denominations of land, including most of those enumerated in the "Book of Homage Tenures,"<sup>1</sup> and containing in the whole 9168 acres, plantation measure, (being equal to 14,846, say 15,000 acres, statute measure), which, of course, were all forfeited. The other proprietors in that Barony who forfeited estates on account of the Rebellion of 1641, were "Mr. Bryan Kavanagh, Protestant," who held in this Barony 1406 acres, plantation measure, that is to say, in the parish of Cloneygoosh, the lands of "Burrish," 210 acres, and Old Bogg, 565 acres, and 631 acres of the lands of Kilcallerim, in the parish of Kilshynall. Edmund Kavanagh, Ballytagleigh, in the parish of Lorum, and other lands, 352 acres. Morgan Byrne, part of Siskinrean and Kilmalopoge, 226 acres, in the same parish. Richard Tomyne, the lands of Ballytomyn, and other lands, 176 acres, in the same parish. Henry Warren, "Protestant," 1665

<sup>1</sup> P. 77, *supra*.



acres (names omitted) in same. Art Kavanagh, "Irish Papist," the lands of Corribeg and Corrimore, 381 acres in same. Murtagh oge Kavanagh, the lands of Ballinloghan, Ballinree, and other lands, in the parish of Slegoff, 1895 acres. Murtagh Kavanagh, the lands of Milltown, Drumfea, Rangreagh, and others, 1801 acres, in the parish of Feenagh. The Earl of Ormond, the lands of Loughlin-bridge, 261 acres, in the parish of Acha; and in the parish of Arnie Oldtown, and other lands, 1081 acres, (without including Cloghgrennan in West Idrone, and extensive estates in other parts of the county). Gerald Kinselagh, the lands of Kynogh, Kiledmond, Kilcomney, and other lands, 1420 acres, in the parish of Kilshynall.

On the 14th of October, 1653, there issued forth the order to transplant. All the late owners of these forfeited estates, with their wives and children, their flocks and herds, were, under penalty of death, to withdraw themselves to Connaught, by the 1st of May, 1654. It is a mistake to suppose that the Irish were driven in a disorderly crowd pell mell across the Shannon. It was arranged that proprietors, with all such friends as chose to transplant with them, might set themselves down together on lands having a likeness (so far as could conveniently be provided), to the nature of the land they had lately occupied.

As there was no time, however, for erecting a fit tribunal for discriminating their degrees of guilt, according to which they were to receive their proportions of land in Connaught, they were to proceed, in the first instance, to Loughrea, to Commissioners there, who would set them out a temporary provision of land, such as they could graze and till with their stock, until there should be leisure to erect a proper court for the orderly trial of their several qualifications, which was to sit at Athlone. Their tenants might, if they would, go with them. But they were not obliged to do so; they might leave them, and sit down elsewhere in Connaught, as tenants to the State, or under other transplanting proprietors. It is plain, by the exception in the Ordinance of the 12th of September, 1652, "of artificers, husbandmen, labourers, and those not possessed of property to the value of ten pounds,"<sup>1</sup> that the State were not so anxious for the removal of the common Irish as of the gentry. Indeed, if we are to believe a cotemporary, it was part of the scheme of the Commonwealth Parliament to send the nobility and gentry into Connaught deprived of their tenants, in order that they and their descendants might sink into the rank of peasants. The authority for this is one Maurice Morison, a Missionary of the Order of Friars Minors in Ireland, who, in spite of the dangers that followed detection, dwelt, one would almost think, in the very household of Colonel

<sup>1</sup> "Scobell's Acts and Ordinances of the Parliament of England."

Henry Ingoldsby, Governor of Limerick,—a circumstance of non-frequent occurrence in those days, when the priests assumed the garb of soldiers, and labourers, and even of domestic servants, in order to minister in secret to the scattered members of their flocks.<sup>1</sup>

His book, which he entitles “The Wail of the Irish Catholics,” he published in Latin at Innspruck, in the year 1659, addressed to his excellent patron, Don Guidobald, Archbishop of Salzburg, and to the Dean and Canons there. It contains some very curious details, that could only have been acquired by some one about the person of Colonel Ingoldsby; and amongst others, a conversation that took place in his presence between a Protestant statesman of high rank (“*magnus hæreticus consiliarius*”), and some other person, concerning the transplantation to Connaught, when, the latter expressing his surprise that the Act of Proscription excepted the common Irish, this statesman gave three reasons for it. First (he said) they are useful to the English as earth tillers and herdsmen; secondly, deprived of their priests and gentry, and living among the English, it is to be hoped they will become Protestants; and, thirdly, the gentry, without their aid, must work for themselves and their families to support life, and thus must either die, or in time turn into common peasants.<sup>2</sup>

It was not only the Kavanaghs, therefore, “mere Irish” gentlemen, and the farming class, that were required to transplant, but men of English descent, like the Bagenals. A brother of Colonel Walter Bagenal’s, Colonel Thomas Bagenal, underwent the common fate—as appears from a petition he presented to the Commissioners of the Government, when they were on one of their progresses at Athlone, by which he besought them for permission to come back to the neighbourhood of his former seat on business for a limited time; a request, however, in which he failed, as appears by the following order made on his petition:—

“16th June, 1655.

“Upon consideration had of the within petition of Coll. Tho’ Bagnall, It is thought fitt that the said Colonell reside in Connaught conforming to

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Lynch’s “*Alithinologia*,” vol. i, p. 1. 2 vols. Small 4to. Printed at St. Malo’s (in Latin), 1667.

<sup>2</sup> “*Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica, Sive Planctus Universalis totius cleri et populi regni Hiberniæ: In quâ veridice et sincere recensetur Epitome inaudite et transcendenti Cruditatis quâ Catholici Regn. Hibern. ab Angl. Atheistis tyrannice opprimuntur subarchi-tyranno Cromwellotrium regnorum nempe Angliæ Hiberniæ et Scotiæ usurpatore et destructore. Per F. M. Morisonum Min. Strict. Observantiæ. S. Theologiæ Lectorem, Prefatæ crudelitatis test. ocularem. Ænipoñti. Typis Michael Wagner. Anno 1659.*”

Which may be thus translated:—

“The Wail of the Irish Catholics: Or, the Groans of the whole clergy and people of the kingdom of Ireland, in which is truly set forth an epitome of the unheard of and transcendental cruelty by which the Catholics of the Kingdom of Ireland are oppressed by the godless English under the archtyrant Cromwell, the usurper and destroyer of of the three realms of England, Ireland, and Scotland. By F. M. Morison, of the Minors of Strict Observance, Lecturer in Theology, an eye-witness of those cruelties. Innsbruck. Printed by Michael Wagner. A. D. 1659.” 12mo.

rule, Butt upon application made to the Governor of Athlone he may have libertie from the said Governor for one of his servants to return to Leinster (iff a real necessitie thereof appeare for the ends ment<sup>d</sup> in the Petiçõn) and for such tyme as shall by s<sup>d</sup> Governor be thought expedient thereto, provided good securitie be given for the said servant's returne att the expiraçõn of the s<sup>d</sup> terme allotted him. Dated att Athlone the 16th of June, 1655."

The condition of the gentry driven into Connaught with their wives and families was sad enough. Deprived of their accustomed accommodations, many went mad, or died. Some hanged themselves, and hundreds throwing up their allotments, or selling them for a mere trifle to the officers of the State, fled in horror and aversion from the scene, and embarked for Spain. Those that were forced to stay, through want of means to transport themselves, or from having helpless families, endured miseries, compared to which a Russian exile's life in Siberia is an Arcadia.

" Good heavens, what sorrows gloomed that parting day,  
That tore them from their native walks away;  
When the poor exiles, every pleasure passed,  
Hung round their bowers, and fondly looked their last,  
And took a long farewell, and sighed in vain  
For seats like these beyond (*beside*) the western main."

The sad fate of Colonel Walter Bagnal had yet this compensation, that he and his family were spared the misery of the transplantation to Connaught. At the time of his death, he left his widow and three children surviving, the latter of tender years, viz., two sons, Dudley and Henry, and one daughter, Katherine.

His wife was an English lady, Elizabeth Roper, daughter of John, third Lord Teynham, who, previous to her intermarriage with Colonel Bagnal, had been married to Mr. John Plunkett, by whom she had a son, Nicholas Plunkett. The cruel death of her husband, the destitution of her fatherless children, and the calamities of the time, overthrew her reason.

She and her children had lost, together with their protector and parent, their great estate in the county of Carlow, and were deprived of a home. But by her marriage settlement with Mr. Plunkett she had jointure lands, which her son, Nicholas Plunkett, sought to make available for her use; and on the 9th of May, 1653, he presented a petition to the Council, setting forth that his mother was distracted, and prayed for the management of those lands for her support. But these, too, were seized for the soldiery; and all that was allowed her out of them was £40 a year, to be paid to her son Nicholas for her and her children's support.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Upon reading the Petition of Nicholas Plunkett on y<sup>e</sup> behalfe of his Mother

Eliz<sup>th</sup> Roper alias Bagnal widow setting forth her title to certain towns and lands settled

In a short time, however, she ceased from troubling. In less than two years she sank, broken-hearted as well as distracted, into her grave, leaving her children, now orphans, to the mercy of the Puritan Government.

Fortunately for them, they had not only powerful friends, being connected with the branch of the Bagnals, settled near Newry, still Protestants, but the hard fate of their father seems to have touched the Commonwealth rulers with remorse.

Their first act, however, after Elizabeth Bagnal's death, towards the orphans, was a kindness in their own way, viz., to take them from their natural relations, in order to bring them up to Dublin, to be educated under their own eye in the Protestant faith. On the 27th of March, 1655, after their mother's death, the Council made an order continuing the allowance of £40 a year to Elizabeth Bagnal's children; but in about a fortnight they revoked it, and made the following:—

“Upon consideration had of the allegations of the above Petition of Kathrine Bagnall desiring the benefit of the late order for the enjoyment of the Profitts of part of her mother's jointure for her and her two brothers' maintenance the Council have thought fitt to recall the same and have Ordered that the s<sup>d</sup> Kathrine Bagnall be provided for in same good family att Dublin and that the s<sup>d</sup> two brothers should be educated and provided for in the free schoole at Dublin.

“Dublin 17th of April 1655.

“THO' HERBERT,

“Clerk of the Council.”

In the following year, Dudley having attained the age of eighteen, Lord Henry Cromwell, who was then Lord Lieutenant, and whose goodness of disposition has been much praised, seems to have interested himself greatly in his fate, and to have had a wish that Dudley should be brought up (to the bar?) in England; and with this view, he directed Colonel Herbert, the Clerk of the Council, to make a proposal to Mr. Hampden to take him as his apprentice, offering to pay one hundred pounds as his apprentice fee:—

upon her by her former husband John Plunkett for her joynture and desiring the management of the s<sup>d</sup> Estate by reason his said mother is distracted and incapable of managing y<sup>e</sup> same; and upon p<sup>'</sup>usall of a Certificate made by Mr. Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup> to whom the Examination of the matter was formerly referred, It is thought fitt and ord<sup>d</sup> that the said Elizabeth bee allowed y<sup>e</sup> yearly sum of Forty pounds out of the rents arising out of the s<sup>d</sup> towms and lands (over and above the

contribution) and that the same bee paid unto her or whom the said Plunkett shall appoint for and towards the maintenance of herself and children till further order; whereof the Commissioners of Revenue respectively and all others whom it may concerne are to take notice.

“Dublin, 9th May, 1653.

“Chas. Fleetwood, Ed. Ludlow.

“Miles Corbett, John Jones.”

—*Irish Council Books, Dublin Castle.*

TO MR. HAMPDEN.

" 16 April 1656.

" There is a youth now in Dublin whose father Colonel Bagnall suffered about ffour years since at Kilkenny by sentence of the High Court of Justice, whereby his estate which was considerable became forfeited to the Commonwealth. Hee left divers young children behind him whom the Commonwealth are mindful of, both on consideration of their distressed condition, and of their extract which is English. The Council here are desirous that this young man should be bound an apprentice to some person in London where hee may be virtuously trained up, and by benefit of good education and distance hence be wholly estranged from his Popish relations, and also be enabled when he hath served out his full time to live of himself honestly and with reputation.

" This youth is about eighteen years old, of good stature for his age. He is ingenious, and hath lost no time to better his understanding being hitherto continued at School. He was nursed up in Popery until the Council took care of him, and by boarding him in a godly family he hath of late constantly repaired to the publique and private assemblies of good people who report well of him. I have given you this short account of him by command of the Lord Henry Cromwell and the rest of the Council, and to let you know That it is their desire hee may be bound Your apprentice. They are free to give you One Hundred pounds with him for the usual term apprentices are bound, hoping that he may be serviceable unto you, and by his course of life lay a hopefull foundation for his future livelihood. When you have considered this proposition you are desired to return your answer with all convenient speed unto

" Your affectionate friend and servant,

" THOS. HERBERT.

" Dublin Castle, 16 April, 1656."

Whether Mr. Hampden refused to take Dudley Bagnal as his apprentice, or not, does not appear. But the scheme did not take effect. For in the following year Dr. Gorges, a person of considerable note in Ireland in those days, interfered to obtain a Fellowship for him at Oxford, whither Dudley Bagnal proceeded to prosecute his studies, as appears by the following order:—

" HENRY CROMWELL,—Upon consideration had of the Certificate of Mr. John Price in the behalf of Dudley Bagnall, whereby it appears That the said Bagnall hath lived in the said Price's house neare Three yeares: And since the said Bagnall was convinced of the Truths held forth in the Protestant Religion (which was about two years ago) hee hath attended the Ordinances both publicque and private, and hath often expressed an earnest desire of a being in England, where he might improve his studies to his future welfare here, and be also freed from the visits of Papist Relations whom he cannot tell how to avoid. It is Ord<sup>d</sup> that J<sup>r</sup>. Standish, Esq., Receiver General, do (out of the public monies that is or shall come

into his hands) issue forth and pay unto D<sup>r</sup>. Rob<sup>t</sup>. Gorges or Mr. John Price the sum of £50, to provide necessaries for the said Mr. Bagnall in order to his going to the University of Oxford to follow his studies there; and his former pension being to cease upon his entering into the Fellowship which the said Dr. Gorges has provided for him, for payment whereof this with their or either of their receipts at the back thereof shall be a warrant. Dated at the Councill Chamber at Dublin, the 20th of July, 1657.

“ W. S. C. [Wm. Steele, Chancellor.]

“ R. P. [Richd. Pepys].”

Notwithstanding the attempt, however, to render the country safe for the new settlers, by removing the ancient inhabitants, it was found impossible to do it so effectually, but that their security was greatly troubled by numbers that betook themselves to the woods, the mountains, and other fastnesses, whence they often came down and took the cattle, and occasionally the lives, of the English planters. The kind of agrarian law under which the lands had been so lately distributed among the Adventurers and Soldiers of the Commonwealth army, took from property its sanctity, which depends much upon the antiquity of possession, and upon forgetfulness of its original, and gave rise to agrarian crimes. The counties of Kildare and Carlow, lying under the Wicklow mountains, were particularly liable to the attacks of these outlaws. Bands of desperate men formed themselves into bodies, under the leadership of some dispossessed gentleman, who had retired to the wilds when the rest of the army laid down arms, or “ ran out again,” as it was called, after submitting, and resumed them, rather than transplant to Connaught.<sup>1</sup> He soon found associates, for the country was full of “ swordmen;” though forty thousand took conditions from the King of Spain, under the terms of the Leinster (or Kilkenny) articles, and were transported with their officers within the year after submitting.

Others came back from Spain.<sup>2</sup> These were the Tories. The great regions left waste and desolate by the wars and the transplantation gave them scopes for harbouring in, and the inadequate number of the forces of the Commonwealth to fully control so extensive a country as Ireland left them at liberty to plan their surprises.

<sup>1</sup> “ 27th Aug<sup>t</sup>, 1656.—Notwithstanding the sev<sup>l</sup> orders wherein sev<sup>l</sup> days and times have been prefixed by which Papiast proprietors of lands were to remove themselves, as also their wives and child<sup>n</sup> to Connaught whereto some have yielded obed<sup>ce</sup> and many others in sev<sup>l</sup> parts do refuse, and from thence have taken occasion to run out again into the boggs, woods, and other the fastnesses and desert places of the land to committ murders,

&c., upon the well affected, &c.”

<sup>2</sup> “ 24<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup>, 1655-6.—That Irish Papiasts who had been licensed to depart this Nation, and of late years have been transplanted into Spain, Flanders, and other foreign parts, have nevertheless secretly returned into Ireland, occasioning the encrease of Tories and other lawless persons.”—*Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland, Dublin Castle.*

These outlaws were so daring and desperate, that they attacked the new English tenants, or purchasers, within hail of the garrisons.

In the month of March, 1655, a sad case occurred in the neighbourhood of the garrison of Timolinn, in the county of Kildare. John Symonds and his family, who had lately come out of England with all their substance to plant in Ireland, by advice of friends settled at Kilnemarne, and had engaged twenty more families very suddenly to come and plant there, being encouraged by hopes of receiving protection from the garrison of Timolinn adjacent thereto; soon after his arrival, he and his two sons, being about repairing of houses upon the premises, in the daytime (the deserted abodes, no doubt, of Irish gentlemen and their families, lately transplanted to Connaught), were waylaid, and set upon by three Irishmen, being bloodthirsty and wicked persons, who fell upon him and his two sons, and cruelly murdered one of them, and dangerously wounded the other. Both these sons had faithfully served the Commonwealth in England, as soldiers, since the beginning of the war; and the one murdered left behind him a poor distressed widow, an honest sober person, in an extraordinary poor condition, with very small children, for whom a charitable subscription was encouraged in the parish churches by order of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Rigorous orders were immediately issued and enforced for transplanting all the Irish inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Timolinn to Connaught, as a consequence of this murder.

Six months afterwards, notwithstanding this signal chastisement, another murder took place in the townland of Lackagh, in the same county. On the 22nd October, 1655, Dennis Brennan and Murtagh Turner, Protestants (persons lately in the service of the State, and pay of the army) were barbarously murdered. All the Irish of the townland of Lackagh were seized; four of them, by sentence of court-martial, were hanged for the murder, or for not preventing it; and all the rest, thirty-seven in number, including two priests, were on the 27th of November delivered to the Captain of the Wexford frigate to take to Waterford, there to be handed over to Mr. Norton, a Bristol merchant, to be sold as bond-slaves to the sugar-planters at the Barbadoes.<sup>2</sup> Among these were Mrs. Margery Fitzgerald, of the age of fourscore years, and her husband, Mr. Henry Fitzgerald, of Lackagh, although (as it afterwards appeared) the Tories had, by their frequent robberies, much infested that gentleman and his tenants—a discovery that seems to have been made only after the King's restoration.<sup>3</sup>

Part of the same system was the law for levying satisfaction

<sup>1</sup> Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland, Dublin Castle.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> "Continuation of the Brief Narration,

and the Sufferings of the Irish under Cromwell," p. 7. Printed in the year 1660. Small 4to. Pp. 11 (by Father Peter Walsh, author of the "History of the Irish Remonstrance").

for damages done by Tories. If a band of these outlaws—some of the Tooles, Byrnes, or Kavanaghs—came down from the Wicklow hills at night, and drove off the cows of some English planter to fastnesses where none dare follow them, after putting the settler to flight and burning his haggard, the satisfaction was to be made by the Irish inhabitants in the following manner :—The damage was, in the first place, to be levied off the goods of any of the kindred of the Tories, i. e., of any Tooles, Byrnes, or Kavanaghs, who might be found in the barony where the robbery was committed, or in any barony through which they passed. These levies were called, in English, “kindred monies,” in Irish, “Kincogues,” signifying the liability of kindred, according to the Brehon system.

In default of the kindred making good the damage, all the Irish inhabitants within these baronies were to contribute, all being held bound for their default in not raising hue-and-cry, or giving speedy notice to the nearest garrison. These latter levies were called “prey monies.” The conquerors, though possessed of all the power, and bound to provide for the security of the Irish, no less than English, within their protection, laid the whole burthen on the native race, and let all the English go free. These very laws were found to add to the numbers of the Tories :—

“For though the protected Irish (says one Englishman who even in those days was found to protest against the system) were bound by law to discover and resist enemies on pain of death, and to make good all damages done to the English settlers by Tories, they neither had nor were allowed arms to enable them to resist, nor could the law-givers protect them either in their estates or lives from that enemy to whose malice and fury the observance of these laws exposed them: so that both the contempt of and obedience to them, exposed these poor people to be punished with death, either by the English or the Irish. They, therefore, used to turn Tories in self-defence.”<sup>1</sup>

It will, perhaps, be admitted that this sweeping off of a whole neighbourhood to Connaught or the West Indies on suspicion, or making them repair damages they possibly could not prevent, was but a rude and wholesale justice, a rough sort of work, that must necessarily punish a certain proportion of wholly innocent persons with the guilty. It was the jurisprudence of conquerors. And the injustice of it was not discovered, or at least admitted, till the levies began to eat up the rent and contribution payable to the Government, when they began to restrict them as much as possible; or till there was an opportunity, after a change of rulers (as in the case of the Fitzgeralds, of Lackagh), to set forth the hardships involved in every exercise of such a law.

<sup>1</sup> “The Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland Discussed,” p. 26. Small 4to. London, 1655.



The penalties against the Tories themselves were to allow them no quarter when caught, and to set a price upon their heads. The ordinary price for the head of a Tory was forty shillings; but for leaders of Tories, or distinguished men, it varied from five pounds to thirty pounds.

In a proclamation of 3rd Oct., 1655, there was offered to any that should bring in the persons hereafter-named, or their heads, to the governors of any of the counties where the said Tories should be taken, the following sums, viz., for Donnogh O'Derrick, commonly called "Blind Donnogh," the sum of thirty pounds; for Dermot Ryan, the sum of twenty pounds; for James Leigh, the sum of five pounds; for — Kelly, the sum of five pounds; or for any other Tory, thief, or robber, that should be hereafter taken by any countryman, and brought dead or alive to any of the chief governors of any county or precinct, forty shillings; and if taken and brought by any soldier, twenty shillings.<sup>1</sup>

Under a similar proclamation, there appears paid, by a treasury warrant, to Captain Adam Loftus on the 12th of May, 1657, the sum of £20 for taking Daniel Kennedy, an Irish Tory; his head being sent to Catherlough, to be set up on the castle walls, to the terror of other malefactors.<sup>2</sup>

And in April, of the same year, to Lieutenant Francis Rowlestone the sum of £6 13s. 4d., the same being in consideration of the good services by him performed in December last, in killing two Tories, viz., Henry Archer, formerly a lieutenant in the Irish army, then a chief leading Tory, and William Shappe, brogue-maker, then under his command—whose heads were brought to the town of Kil-

<sup>1</sup> "Order of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland for taking Tories, 3rd Oct., 1655. Whereas many murders, robberies, spoyles, and other mischiefs are dayly committed by Tories and other loose and idle persons in severall parts of this nation upon the English and Protestants and other good people of this land, and especially by those Tories that most commonly harbour themselves in the great fastnesses within the Co<sup>s</sup> of Wick-  
loe and Wexford, and are the ringleaders of those and other lewd and dangerous persons. For the prevention whereof for the future and for the due encouragement held forth to all such persons as shall be instrumentall in apprehending of the Tories hereafter ment<sup>d</sup> It is hereby Ord<sup>d</sup> and Declared that whoever shall bring in the persons hereafter-named or their heads unto any of the Governors of the garrisons of the respective counties where the s<sup>d</sup> Tories shall bee taken shall receive for the same the following sums specified, viz., For Donnogh O'Derrick, commonly called Blind

Donnogh, the sum of £30; for Dermot Ryan the sum of £20; for Art McKreen, otherwise called Kavenagh, the sum of £20; for Jas<sup>s</sup> Leigh the sum of £5: for — Kelly, the sum of five pounds; Or for any other Tory Thiefe, or Robber that shall bee hereafter taken by any countryman and brought dead or alive to any of the chief Governors of any Co<sup>s</sup> or Precinct, such countryman shall be paid the sum of Forty Shillings. And if taken and brought in by any souldier, such souldier to receive the sum of Twenty Shillings, which is forthwith to be paid by the respective Receivers of the Revenue of the different Precincts, upon Certificate under the hand of the s<sup>d</sup> Governor concerning the taking of such a Thiefe or Robber within that Precinct. Dated at Wexford, the 3<sup>d</sup> of Oct., 1655.

"THOS. HERBERT,  
"Clerk of the Council."

<sup>2</sup> Treasury Warrants. A. D. 1657, Dublin Castle.

kenny, unto Major Redmond there, as appears by his certificate, dated 9th April, inst.<sup>1</sup>

But there were other modes of dealing for the suppression of Tories. The English, whether as soldiers or planters, were inadequate to cope with these wild and lightfooted outlaws, who knew each togher (or foot-path) through the quaking bogs, and every pass among the hills and woods. They were, therefore, under the necessity of calling in the aid of some of the countrymen of the Tories, who were equally skilled in the knowledge of the country, and were familiar with the habits and secrets of these outlaws. They either dealt with some Irish gentleman for the guarding of some district, and pursuing of the Tories within it, on the terms of his being spared from transplantation for his services; or they found means to agree with any Tory, not guilty of any actual murder, to kill by treachery any two of his comrades, as the price of his own pardon, the latter being a measure that was found so advantageous, that it was afterwards introduced among the Parliamentary enactments,<sup>2</sup> and was continued from the period of the Commonwealth down to the year 1776; with this improvement made in the reign of George I.,<sup>3</sup> that it should be enough to kill one Tory only in order to secure a pardon, considering how scared and wary they grew of each other, when once they became conscious of having a traitor among them, and how difficult it was to kill a second after the first had been taken off. As an instance of a gentleman obtaining his dispensation from transplantation to Connaught by engaging to hunt Tories, there is the case of one of the Kavanaghs of this district of Idrone.

To reduce the Tories in the county of Carlow, the Government, in the year 1656, came to an agreement with Major Charles Kavanagh to dispense with his transplantation to Connaught, and with that of thirteen Irishmen, of his own selection, as his assistants, for the purpose of prosecuting and destroying Tories in that county, and in the adjoining counties of Wicklow, Wexford, and Kilkenny.<sup>4</sup> Major Kavanagh selected the stump of the old Castle of Archagh

<sup>1</sup> Treasury Warrants, A. D. 1657.

<sup>2</sup> 7th W. III. (Ir.), c. I. A. D. 1695.

<sup>3</sup> 4 G. I., c. 9. A. D. 1712.

<sup>4</sup> "Upon reading a letter of y<sup>e</sup> 8th inst., from Major Boulton, certifying that the fourteen persons, hereafter named, are the most capable and fittest of any that he can learn in the county of Catherlough, and the counties adjoining, for the assistance of Major Kavanagh in the prosecuting and destroying of Tories in the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Kilkenny, and Catherlough, and therefore desiring that they may be dispensed with from transplantation for that

purpose It is hereby Ordered that Walter Byrne, Donnogh Byrne, Garrett Walle, Symon Wattle, John Nowlan, Morris Kavenagh, Murtagh Byrne, Christopher Fitzgerald, James Kavenagh, Edward Byrne, Art Oge Bryan, Robert Fforstal, Wm. Doeran and John Buoy Roche, in y<sup>e</sup> said letter mentioned, be dispensed with from transplantation into y<sup>e</sup> province of Connaught and county of Clare until further order. Dublin Castle, 15th May, 1656.

"THOS. HERBERT,

"Clerk of the Council."

—*Irish Council Books, Dublin Castle.*

(otherwise Agha), a waste place lying in the barony of Idrone, as the post for him and his band to inhabit, as being situate in the centre of the three counties of Wexford, Carlow, and Kilkenny; and a lease was made of it by the State to Major Boulton (who seems to have been the medium of communication with Major Kavanagh), in order that he might assign it over to him for his residence and habitation.<sup>1</sup>

This place lay about four miles due west of Leighlin Bridge, and in some degree may have watched the approaches against the advance of any Tories from the Wicklow hills, which lay still more to the west.

Major Charles Kavanagh was the son of Gerald Kavanagh, who appears as forfeiting the lands of Donore, in the parish of Wells, in that part of the barony of Idrone that lies beyond the Barrow, adjacent to the county of Kilkenny, in the Survey of 1653; and who, though he had hitherto avoided transplantation, had certainly not turned Tory. He had possibly been educated as highly as any Englishman, and, like many of his name, was connected by blood and marriage with the best old English families in the neighbouring counties.

But others, wilder and more desperate, "ran out." Amongst these was Gerald Kinsellagh, who appears, in the Survey of 1635, as forfeiting a large estate of 1420 acres, consisting of the lands of Kynogh, Kiledmond, Kilcoursey, and other lands in the barony of Idrone. He became "a leading Tory," and with him the Government entered into terms for pursuing and destroying his fellow-Tories. The same Lieutenant Francis Rowlestone, who was paid for the heads of two Tories killed by him, and who, probably, in his frequent conflicts with them, had earned their respect and confidence (for the brave respect the brave), had a warrant from the State in 1659 to treat with this Gerald (or Garrett) Kinsellagh and two other Tories of the neighbourhood, "then abroad and on their keeping," and to promise them their security and liberty, on condition of their hunting down other Tories, who were abroad disturbing the

<sup>1</sup> Upon reading a letter of the 8th Inst. from Major Boulton, setting forth that in pursuance of an order of this Board upon the petition of Major Charles Kavanagh of the 1st of April last, hee certified that the Castle of Archagh, being a waste place in y<sup>e</sup> Barony of Idrone and C<sup>o</sup> of Catherlough, is the most convenient place for the s<sup>d</sup> Major Charles Kavanagh to inhabit, there being thereon an old stump of a Castle, situate in the center of y<sup>e</sup> Three Counties of Wexford, Catherlough, and Kilkenny: And upon consideration had thereof It is thought fitt and Ord<sup>d</sup> that it bee and is hereby referred to

the Commissioners appointed to let lands and houses belonging to y<sup>e</sup> Commonwealth in y<sup>e</sup> C<sup>o</sup> of Catherlough to permit the s<sup>d</sup> Major Boulton to become tenant to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> castle and lands to be forthwith sett over by the s<sup>d</sup> Major Boulton unto the s<sup>d</sup> Major Charles Kavanagh for his residence and habitation, he performing duly y<sup>e</sup> conditions engaged into by the s<sup>d</sup> Major Boulton, and to be performed betweene him and y<sup>e</sup> state for the said lands. Dublin Castle, May 19, 1656.

"THOS. HERBERT,

"Clerk of the Council."

—*Irish Council Books, Dublin Castle.*

public peace.<sup>1</sup> But, in order to show that they had not been themselves engaged in any murders, it was also made a condition that they should be ready to render themselves to the Governors of Wexford, Waterford, Roese, and Kilkenny, and submit to any charge of murder that should be brought against them, as the State did not intend to employ such Tories as had been guilty of actual murder.

But national hatred, as has been remarked, is the firmest bond of secrecy and conspiracy.<sup>2</sup> The Irish—who had seen their country desolated, and their ancient gentry driven off to Connaught to make way for strangers of a new creed and new manners—would give no assistance to the law.

Those that would not themselves deal a blow against the new proprietors and their tenants, yet saw them with silent satisfaction, terrified and bewildered at the sudden and secret attacks upon their neighbours.

They gave private intelligence to the Tories, to aid them to escape, or were simply passive; and no penalties could force them to betray those whom they looked on as avengers of the wrongs of gentry and people alike. There was no security for the new settlers. There remains a very graphic account of the constant danger in which they lived.

<sup>1</sup> "Ordered that Lieutenant Francis Rowlestone bee and he is hereby empowered by and with the assistance of the Gov<sup>r</sup> at Wexford, Waterford, Ross, and Kilkenny (or any of them) to treat with Garrett Kinselaugh, John Walsh, and James Roe (who with other Toryes are now abroad upon their keeping), and to conclude with them or any of them upon publique service by them to bee done for their libertie and securitie upon rendering themselves to the said Lieutenant or any of the governors at the places beforement<sup>d</sup>, and submitting to any charge of murder that shall or may be exhibited against them, or any of them, and giving securitie for their future good behaviour, and afterwards to be amenable to the Law for y<sup>e</sup> time to come, And y<sup>t</sup> they will not act anything against the publique peace, It being hoped this favour will engage them to discover and endeavour a speedy redcement of such other Toryes as are now abroad and disturbing the publique peace: And y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Lieut. Rowlestone is from time to time to acquaint this Board with his proceedings herein.

"Dated att Dublin, 15th Sept., 1659.

"THOS. HERBERT,

"Clerk of the Council."

—*Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland. Dublin Castle.*

It is worthy of remark that Charles Rollestone, Esq., Q. C., of the Leinster Circuit, the descendant of this Lieutenant Francis Rowlestone, so noted for his conflicts with the Tories of two hundred years ago, has been for twenty years the eloquent and trusted defender, in the Assize Courts of Wicklow, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel, and Nenagh, of the Whiteboys, Whitefeet, Terry Alta, &c., the lineal representatives of those outlaws, in conflict with whom his ancestors won honours.

<sup>2</sup> "The conspiracy (of the Greeks, A. D. 1205, against the Latins, then in possession of Constantinople) was propagated by *national hatred, the firmest bond of association and secrecy*. The Greeks were impatient to sheath their daggers in the breasts of the victorious strangers; but the execution was prudently delayed till Henry, the Emperor's brother, had transported the flower of his troops beyond the Hellespont. Most of the towns and villages of Thrace were true to the moment and the signal; and the Latins, without arms and without suspicion, were slaughtered by the vile and mercenary revenge of their slaves."—Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. x., c. 61, p. 263.

So sudden and so frequent were the murders of the English planters, that it was stated that no person was able to assure himself of one night's safety, except such as live in strong castles, and these well guarded, and they (adds the reporter) very liable to surprise too. And after referring to the instances of the several horrid murders lately committed in the counties of Wexford, Kildare, and Carlow, &c., he continues—

“Of which number one gentleman living in a strong castle, and sitting by the fire with his wife and family, in the evening heard some persons, whose voice he knew, call him by name to come to his gate to speak with him; the poor gentleman, supposing no danger in a country where no enemy was heard of, presently went to the door and was there murdered, when he was taken up dead off the place. Another of them walking in his grounds in the daytime about his business, was there found murdered, and to this day it could never be learned who committed either of them. . . . And when these horrid murders are done, the poor English that doe escape know not what means to use. . . . For his Irish neighbours, it's like he may not have one near him that can speak English; and if he have an hue and cry (or Hullaloo as they call it) to be set up, they will be sure to send it the wrong way, or at least defer it until the offender be far enough out of reach, and not unlike but the persons that seem busiest in the pursuit may be them that did the mischief.”<sup>1</sup>

All this was particularly grievous to the Government, who had reserved the counties of Kildare and Carlow (with Dublin and Cork) for setting out amongst their chief republican friends.

But the people of England have a boast that there is never a wrong without a remedy; and as neither the sweeping off of all the people of a parish, where a murder was committed, to Connaught, nor the selling them as bond-slaves into the sugar-plantations, could secure the new English planters, nor hanging many of them on sus-

<sup>1</sup> “England's Great Interest in the well-planting of Ireland with English people.” p. 7.

“After the Norman Conquest (in times when it was a disgrace, as Matthew of Paris says, to be called an *Englishman*, ut Anglum vocari foret opprobrio, B. i., c. 12), many of the dispossessed English nobles took to the woods, and lived there like wolves, and thence used to come down and murder the French gentlemen (id., ib.); and as none of the English peasantry would turn informers, there was a law for fining the vill or townland where a Frenchman was found to be murdered, and the perpetrators could not be discovered. To evade this fine, the English peasantry used to cut off the nose, and gash the poor gentleman's face, that it could not be told whether it was the corpse of a

Frenchman or not—a practice we find alluded to in the ballad of Robin Hood and Sir Guy of Gisborne. Thus this gallant representative of the early English yeomanry has no sooner slain Sir Guy (in the words of the ballad)—

“Than Robin pulled out an Irish knife,  
And nicked Sir Guy in the face,  
That he was never of woman born  
Could know whose head it was.”

To meet this device, it was enacted that the townland should still be fined, unless the jury found that the corpse was that of an Englishman, which was technically called Presentment of Englishry, which continued for 300 years after the Conquest, being abolished only in A. D. 1312.—“Blackstone's Commentaries,” vol. iv., p. 195.

picion of complicity because of their not resisting, nor the reducing them to ruin by levies for the kind of damages called kincogues and prey-monies, the Commonwealth rulers projected another measure, to the understanding of which a little regard to the geography of Ireland is needed.

Connaught, as bounded by the Shannon, including the county of Clare, had been reserved by Parliament, as already mentioned, from being set out to the adventurers and soldiers, and was appointed for the habitation of the Irish nation.

The reason of this selection was its peculiar suitableness for the purpose of imprisonment. It is, in fact, an island, surrounded (all but ten miles) by the Shannon and the sea; and the part not so surrounded easily made into one line, and the province securely closed by the erection of three or four forts.

On the eastern side of the kingdom will be found a similar scope of land, rendered nearly an island by the Boyne and Barrow, and the sea. These two rivers, rising within four or five miles of one another in the Bog of Allen, and flowing respectively north and south, make their issue to the sea,—one at Drogheda, and the other at Waterford,—the distance between their head-waters being at the period of the Commonwealth Settlement of Ireland an impassable bog, except in a few spots, easily secured. The statesmen of Henry the Eighth's day projected the closing of this pass, which was called the door of the English pale, by building the four castles of Kinnefad, Castlejordan, Ballinure, and Kisshavan. They suggested, also, that the part of this territory lying to the south of Dublin, as far as Wexford, within the Barrow, should be cleared of all Irish within one year, and inhabited at once with twelve thousand English planters.<sup>1</sup>

The same plan had been projected, as has been already shown, about 140 years before, by King Richard II., who compelled the Kavanaghs and other Irish to engage to transplant, and win for themselves other homes beyond the Barrow.

This project was now again revived; and it was suggested to clear the entire country within the Boyne and the Barrow, in order that the new English planters might enjoy security upon their allotments.

“There would thus be (says the author of this project) a pure English plantation, without any mixture at all of Irish as tenants or servants, in the scope of land compassed by the Boyne and the Barrow; a pure Irish plantation, already determined, on the west side of the Shannon; the rest of the nation to consist of a mixt plantation of English landlords and masters, with a permission of Irish tenants and servants, being only such as were not included within the rule of transplantation.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Memorial, or a Note for the wyning of Leynster,” p. 418. A. D. 1586. State

Papers of H. VIII., paper clxx., vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> “England's Great Interest in the Well-

The greatest part of this country, within the Boyne and the Barrow, was already waste, and the Irish generally removed; it was the ancient English pale (it was said), and was

“The place that proposeth most securitie in case of future troubles, it being near England, as before ment<sup>d</sup>, and surrounded within five miles by the sea and two rivers before ment<sup>d</sup>, which rivers in winter are in very few places passable; and in summer the-foords there are either soon spoiled or guarded, and that little space betwixt the heads of the two rivers, a continued fastness through which there is no passage, but through such passes as are easily secured with little charge.”<sup>1</sup>

But it seems, on final consideration, not to have been thought necessary to clear the part of this district lying north of Dublin, being a plain, without any of these mountains or other fastnesses that gave shelter to Tories. The Government, accordingly, confined the plan to the five counties lying south of the River Liffey, declaring that the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, and Carlow, as they are bounded with the Barrow, together with the whole county of Kildare, and also that part of the county of Dublin which lieth south of the River Liffey, should be cleared of Irish and Papists.

Lands, however, without people to till them, are of little value; and there arose such remonstrances from the new planters against removing their tenants and servants,—who set forth that they were necessitated to employ Irish in their tillage and husbandry, to make some profit of their lands, which had long lain waste by the rebellion,—that the Government had to further modify their scheme, and to declare, by their order of 1st May, 1655, that to the intent that the Protestant proprietors and planters might have time to provide themselves with English and Protestant tenants, and in the meantime might have tenants and servants to reap their harvest, they would sanction their stay till the 20th of October next following. But that they should be such only as should be specially licensed by Commissioners appointed for that purpose. And as the late proprietors had, in many instances, become secretly tenants under the soldiers of part of their ancient estates, and were by them sheltered from transplantation, no licenses were to be granted to them, nor to any Irish that dwelt near woods, bogs, or mountains, or whose houses lay scatteringly, not contiguous, or near to other houses. And all Irish not licensed were to withdraw on or before the 1st of August following, on pain of being dealt with by Court-Martial, as spies and enemies, as appears by the Order as follows:—

planting of Ireland with English people.”  
By Colonel R. Lawrence. Addressed to the  
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Henry

Cromwell, Commander-in-Chief. Dublin,  
1656. Small 4to.

<sup>1</sup> Id., ib.

*By the Lord Deputy and Council.*

“21<sup>st</sup> May, 1655.

“Whereas the late Commiss<sup>rs</sup> of the Commonwealth of Engl<sup>d</sup> for the Affairs of Ireland by their Declaration of the 17<sup>th</sup> July, 1654, taking notice that through the connivance of transplantable persons in the three Provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, and through the practice connivance or remissness of other of the Irish Papists dispensed with for some time, Tories and loose and dangerous persons have thereby means and opportunity to disturb the peace and quiet of the country, especially from the great Fastnesses in the C<sup>o</sup> of Wicklo, Wexford and parts adjacent, whereby murders and Robberies have been committed and done unto sev<sup>l</sup> English, and others who had manifested their good affection to the English Interest: For remedy thereof and further securing the places adjacent to the s<sup>d</sup> Fastnesses of Wicklo and Wexford the said Commiss<sup>rs</sup> did then (amongst other things) Order That all that part of the C<sup>o</sup> of Dublin that lyeth on the south of the River Liffy and all the co<sup>o</sup> of Wicklo, Wexford, and Kildare and so much of the C<sup>o</sup> of Catherlagh as lyeth on the north side of the River of Barrow should be wholly transplanted of Irish Papists by the 1<sup>st</sup> day of May 1655, of which the said Irish Papists therein inhabiting were required to take Notice and to prepare themselves for a remove accordingly; And if any Irish Papists should without special licence from two or more of the Commissioners in the s<sup>d</sup> Declaration named be found within that part of the C<sup>o</sup> of Dublin which lyeth on the south side of the Liffy or any part of the Co<sup>o</sup> of Wicklo, Wexford, or Kildare, or in that part of the C<sup>o</sup> of Catherlagh lying on the north side of the River of Barrow after the said first day of May, 1655, they sh<sup>d</sup> be deemed and taken as Spies and accordingly proceeded with at a Court Martial.

“And whereas several English and Protestants, proprietors and planters in the said Co<sup>o</sup> concerned, have petitioned this Board that in regard they are necessitated to employ Irish in their tillage and husbandry whereof they make some profit of their lands which have long lyen waste by the Rebellion, they might be permitted to continue their Irish tenants not being Proprietors, nor men in armes, nor transplantable by the Declaration of the 30th November last. Upon Consideration thereof, and to the intent that all persons of the Irish nation being Papists inhabiting within those limits may have convenient time to remove themselves and their families into Connaught and the C<sup>o</sup> of Clare; And the Protestant Proprietors and Planters may also have time to provide themselves with English and Protestant tenants, and in the meantime may have tenants and servants to reap their harvest: The Lord Deputy and Council have thought fitt and ordered and do hereby ORDER AND DECLARE That all persons of the Popish Religion which shall be found inhabiting within that part of the C<sup>o</sup> of Dublin that lyeth on the south side of the Liffy, and in any part of the Co<sup>o</sup> of Wicklow, Wexford and Kildare, and so much of the C<sup>o</sup> of Catherlagh as lyeth on the north side of the River of Barrow, other than such as shall be licensed by the Persons hereafter named, do by or before the first day of August next remove themselves and families out of the said limits, and in default thereof that the said Persons be proceeded



against at a Court Martial as Spies, and the Officers of the Army are hereby required and authorised to proceed against them accordingly. And it is further Ordered that the persons hereafter named or any two or more of them respectively be, and are hereby impowered and authorized to give licence for the stay of such Irish tenants and servants of Protestants as the said Protestants shall by or before the first day of August next present or name unto them, viz., for the counties of Dublin and Wicklo.—*Sir Hardress Waller, Coll. Hewson, the Mayor of Dublin, Coll. Theophilus Jones, Coll. Ponsonby, Alderman Hutchinson, William Dixon, Esq., Alderman Tygh. For the C<sup>o</sup> of Wexford—L<sup>t</sup> Coll. Brett, L<sup>t</sup> Coll. Puckle, L<sup>t</sup> Coll. Overstreet, Capt<sup>m</sup> Abel Warren, Capt<sup>m</sup> Camby, Mr. Hussey. For the C<sup>o</sup> of Kildare—Sir Paul Davis, Sir Rob<sup>t</sup> Meredith, Sir John Hoey, Coll. Hewson, Coll. Theophilus Jones, Alderman Hutchinson, Alderman Tygh, Major Meredith, Major Morgan, Mr. Dixon, Rob<sup>t</sup> Hall, Gent., Capt<sup>m</sup> Sands. And for the C<sup>o</sup> of Catherlagh—Coll. Pretty, Capt<sup>m</sup> Barnett, Capt<sup>m</sup> Stopford, Capt<sup>m</sup> Preston, William Rydout, Gent.*

“ Provided that the licences by virtue hereof to be granted exceed not the 20th of October next, and that every such licence describe the name, age, stature, colour of haire, complexion, relation, and place of residence, of each person licenced as above said which shall be above the age of sixteen years: Provided also that no Licences be granted to any Person whose habitation shall be or is within one English mile of any Woods, Boggs, or Mountains that are fastnesses and places of Refuge where the Tories or Rebels have or may betake themselves to lurk and ly hid. But if such persons being Irish Papist Recusants shall be found dwelling in or near those Woods, Boggs, or Mountains, or within one mile thereof then this and every of them shall be taken and punished as Spies notwithstanding any licence granted as abovesaid: Provided also that no Licences be granted to any Persons whose houses or habitations ly scatteringly and not contiguous or near to other houses, But to such onely as do or shall live in Townships or Villages near adjoining to other houses and inhabitants in the same Town or Village whereby they may the better defend themselves against the Tories and Rebels, or by due watches give timely notice of the coming and approach of Irish Tories and Rebels from time to time: Provided further that no Licences shall be granted by Virtue Hereof to any Persons transplantable by the Declaration of 20<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> last: And it is lastly Ordered that all and every Irish Papist which after the s<sup>d</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> of October 1655 shall be found inhabiting within the s<sup>d</sup> limits without special licence from the Lord Deputy and Councill shall be taken and proceeded against as Spies at a Court Martial—Whereof all Officers whom it doth or may concern are to take notice.

“ *Provided Also that the Licence to be granted by virtue of this Declaration doth not nor shall extend to the permitting any Irish to reside or dwell within two miles of the City of Dublin.*

“ Dated at Dublin the twenty first day of May 1655.

“ THO<sup>s</sup> HERBERT,

“ Clerk of the Councill.

“Ordered by the Lord Deputy and Councell that this Declaration be forthwith Printed and published.

“THO' HERBERT,

“Clerk of the Council.”

Dublin: Printed by William Bladen, 1655.<sup>1</sup>

This, however, was only a temporary suspension; but the officers and soldiers who had their allotments in these counties engaging for their Irish tenants and servants that they should become Protestants under their care, the Government consented that such of the Irish as should conform within six months, and of whose real conversion they could be satisfied, and such only, should be wholly dispensed with from transplantation, and be permitted to reside within the district. This privilege, however, was not to extend to any proprietor, or to any of his sons or brothers, or next heirs, nor to such as had borne arms in the Irish party.

As an evidence of the candid and ingenuous compliance of the Irish with being instructed in the true Protestant religion, all of them dwelling within four miles of any public meeting-place where the Gospel was preached were to come to hear the Word every Lord's day; if within six miles, every other Lord's day, at least; and if at further distance, once in every month. And they were “to bring their children to be catechized by the minister, and to cause them to learn in the English tongue the catechism without book, which the said minister should teach.”

For it was part of the conditions that all the Irish between twelve years of age and twenty that spoke only Irish should learn English within a year, and that all parents and guardians should teach it to their children before they came to twelve years of age. Further, they were to conform to the English habit.<sup>2</sup>

The conditions were, in fact, such, though not quite so rigorous as had been suggested as necessary for the Irish to observe, that should live in the third or mixed plantation before spoken of, as proposed for the rest of the country, not included in the two separate plantations of Irish and English; the one, pure Irish, already formed within the line of the Shannon; the other, pure English, projected within the line of the rivers Barrow and Boyne.

The conditions for this mixed plantation were—

“1stly. That they [the Irish] be enjoined within a convenient time limited to speak the English tongue; and, for the future, to teach their children no Irish.

<sup>1</sup> Book of Printed Orders and Declarations of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland, formerly belonging to Lieutenant-General Lord Deputy Fleetwood. Preserved in the

British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> “The Great Interest of England in the Well-Planting of Ireland with English,” p. 89.

"2ndly. That they do also observe the manners of the English in their habits and other civil deportment wherein the English exceed them.

"3rdly. That they bring up their children under English Protestant school-masters.

"4thly. That they do attend the public preaching of the Protestant Minister.

"5thly. That they do abandon all their Irish names—as Teig and Dermot, &c., and do call themselves by the signification of such names in English; and do for the future name all their children with English names, especially omitting the (o') and (m<sup>c</sup>).

"6thly. That so far as their abilities will afford it, they be enjoined to build their houses with chimnies, as the English in like capacities do, and to demean themselves as to their houses, lodgings, and other departments accordingly."

These two latter conditions, it may be observed, were not insisted on in the plantation within the Boyne and Barrow, probably at the planters' request.

The Tories, however, notwithstanding all these provisions and precautions, continued to infest the new Scotch and English settlers during the whole of the Commonwealth period; they survived the Restoration; they received new accessions by the war of the Revolution and the Forfeitures of 1688; and they can be traced through the Statute Book to the reign of George III.,—during the whole of which period there were rewards set upon their heads; and all their murders, maimings, and dismemberments, their robberies and spoils, were satisfied by levies on the ancient native inhabitants of the different districts.

After the restoration, Col. Poer in Munster, and Col. Coughlan in Leinster, dispossessed of their hereditary properties, headed bands that gave infinite trouble. Redmond O'Hanlon, a dispossessed proprietor of Ulster, for many years, during the whole of the Duke of Ormond's and the Earl of Essex's Lord Lieutenancies, kept the counties of Tyrone and Armagh in terror—the farmers paying him regular contribution to be protected from pillage by other Tories. He dwelt principally in the Fews mountains, near Dundalk. No rewards were of avail. At last, the Duke of Ormond drawing secret instructions for two gentlemen with his own hand (else this outlaw would be sure to get intelligence of the plan formed against him), he was shot through the heart, while he lay asleep, on the 25th of April, 1681. Nor would the Duke ever disclose by whose information he was enabled to accomplish his destruction. "Thus fell this Irish Scanderbeg," says Sir F. Brewster, who had the relation of his death from the mouth of one of the gentlemen employed by the Duke; "who did things, considering his means, more to be admired than Scanderbeg himself."

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Carte's Life of Ormond. Vol. ii., p. 512.

After the war of 1688, the Tories received fresh accessions; and a great part of the kingdom being left waste and desolate<sup>1</sup>, they betook themselves to these wilds, and greatly discouraged the replanting of the kingdom by their frequent murders of the new Scotch and English planters; the Irish "chusing rather" (so runs the language of the Act) "to suffer stangers to be robbed and despoiled, than to apprehend or convict the offenders." In order, therefore, for the better encouragement of strangers to plant and inhabit the kingdom, any persons presented as Tories by the gentlemen of a county, and proclaimed as such by the Lord Lieutenant, might be shot as outlaws and traitors; and any persons harbouring them were to be guilty of high treason. Rewards were offered for the taking or killing of them; and the inhabitants of the barony, of the ancient native race, were to make satisfaction for all robberies and spoils<sup>2</sup>. If persons were maimed or dismembered by Tories, they were to be compensated by ten pounds; and the families of persons murdered were to receive thirty pounds<sup>3</sup>.

But a more effective way of suppressing the Tories, as already mentioned, seems to have been to induce them to betray and kill one another, by offering pardon of all former burglaries and robberies to any Tory who should kill two other Tories proclaimed and on their keeping<sup>4</sup>—a measure which put such distrust and alarm among their bands, that, on finding one of their number killed by a former Tory qualifying for pardon, it became so difficult to kill a second, that it was declared sufficient to kill one<sup>5</sup>. This act was continued in 1755 for twenty-one years, and only expired in 1776.

Tory-hunting, Tory-betraying, and Tory-murdering, thus became common pursuits; and therefore, after so lengthened an existence, it is not surprising to find traces of the Tories in our household words. Few, however, are now aware that the well-known Irish nursery rhymes have so truly historical a foundation:—

"Ho! brother Teig, what is your story?  
I went to the wood, and shot a Tory:  
I went to the wood, and shot another;  
Was it the same, or was it his brother?"

"I hunted him in, and I hunted him out,  
Three times through the bog, and about and about;  
Till out of a bush I spied his head,  
So I levelled my gun, and shot him dead."

<sup>1</sup> 7, W. III., c. 21 (A. D. 1695).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> 9, W. III., c. 9 (A. D. 1697).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> 4, G. I., c. 9., s. 18 (A. D. 1717); 2, G. II., c. 8.

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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**GENERAL MEETING**, held in the Society's Apartments, Williamstreet, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, September 12th (by adjournment from the 5th), 1860.

**THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY**, President of the Society, in the Chair.

The following New Members were elected:—

George W. Hatchell, Esq., M. D., F. R. C. S. I., Inspector of Lunatic Asylums : proposed by the President.

John Lee, Esq., LL. D., Hartwell House, Aylesbury, Bucks; and Charles Faulkner, F. S. A., F. G. S., Esq., Deddington, Oxfordshire : proposed by the Very Rev. Dean Bull.

Miss Arbuthnot, Loughcutra, Gort : proposed by Miss H. C. Archer Butler.

Nicholas Grattan, Esq., M. R. C. S., 24, South Mall, Cork; and Denis Barry O'Flynn, Esq., M. D., M. R. C. S., Carricknavar, Cork : proposed by Richard Corbett, Esq., M. D.

George Gabriel, Esq., Bandon : proposed by John Nicholson, Esq.

Thomas Lynch, Esq., 28, Belgrave-road, Rathmines, Dublin : proposed by Thomas O'Gorman, Esq.

John Browne, Esq., M. D., Dundalk; and Mr. P. Magennis, National Schoolmaster, Knockmore, Derrygonnelly : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Mr. P. M. Dermot, Deputy Clerk of the Peace, Kilkenny : proposed by Mr. Prim.

The Rev. John Quarry, M. A., the Rectory, Middleton : proposed by the Rev. Stephen O'Halloran.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

By the Author: "Stereoscopic Illustrations of Clonmel and the surrounding country, including Abbeys, Castles, and Scenery, with Descriptive Letterpress," by William Despard Hemphill, Esq., M. D., F. R. C. S. I.

By the Glasgow Archæological Society: their "Transactions," Part I.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: "Archæologia Æliana," Part 16.

By the Author: "Guide to Youghal, Ardmore, and the Blackwater," by the Rev. Samuel Hayman, B. A.

By the Architectural Societies of the County of York, Diocese of Lincoln, Archdeaconry of Northampton, County of Bedford, Diocese of Worcester, and County of Leicester: their "Reports and Papers," for the year 1859.

By the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool: their "Proceedings," No. 14.

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society: "The East Anglian," No. 7.

By the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: their "Reports," for 1859-60.

By the Publishers: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for July, August, and September, 1860.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 907-918, inclusive.

By the Publisher: "The Dublin Builder," No. 19.

By the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen: "Antiquarisk Tidsskrift," 1855-57; and "The Northmen in Iceland."

By the Rev. G. L. Shannon, through Mr. J. G. Robertson: a parchment document connected with Kilkenny, being the original commission of Oyer and Terminer to the Mayor of Kilkenny, to Robert Marshall, Esq., Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and Christopher Robinson, Esq., Justice of the Court of Chief Place, to hold the Summer Assizes in the city of Kilkenny, in the second year of the reign of King George III.

By the Rev. J. Walker, through Mr. J. G. Robertson: a large wooden drinking cup, shaped with a stem and foot like a glass tumbler, which had been at least a century in his family, and was believed by them to be very ancient. Its material was beech, and its capacity about a quart.

By the Rev. James Mease: an ancient Atlas, title wanting. Mr. Mease accompanied the presentation with the following remarks:—

"In presenting to your Library an ancient atlas, I shall say a few words describing the atlas generally; and the map, in which, as Irish antiquarians, we are particularly interested. There will be nothing very

new in my observations; but, as they are addressed to a large society, it is possible they may come across some persons more ignorant than myself.

"The atlas is entitled on the back, 'Holy Land;' but, strange to say, the map of the Holy Land is the only one which is not to be found in it. Were I to adopt the Cockney slang, I should say, 'this is very Hirish;' but, unfortunately for the application of this phrase, the book seems to have been bound in London.

"The maps were engraved in the year 1698, at Utrecht. There is one map in the commencement containing the entire world, according to Ptolemy. There are four of Africa; eleven of Asia; the fourth, that containing the Holy Land, being omitted; and ten of Europe.

"The maps seem principally valuable from the names of countries and tribes which are given. The positions seem to be very inaccurate. On one map only shall I make a few remarks. It is the first Map of Europe containing the British Isles. A glance will serve to show how very absurd the ideas of the ancients were with regard to the shape of the British islands. Scotland, for instance, is turned entirely to the East; yet the names seem to be given with some accuracy: as, for instance, the Tames, Tine, and Deva, or Dee, along the east coast of Great Britain.

"The outline of Ireland is somewhat more accurate, and it seems possible to identify some of the names of places. Beginning with the middle of the east coast, we find the river Oboca, not very unlike the name given to the valley of the Avonmore, so well known as the Vale of Ovoca. Going north, we find the city Eblana, corresponding, as all believe, with Dublin. Proceeding north, we find the river Bubinda. Now, there can be little doubt that this is the Boyne. The mouth of this river appears to have been known in ancient times as the Lough Buidhe, or yellow estuary. At least, this seems to be the most likely reason for a name still retained in that locality. For this I am indebted to a correspondent of *Saunders' News*, Dublin, whose letter is dated 27th of August, 1860. If any ancient geographer had heard of the names Boyne and Lough Buidhe, he would, in all probability, have made out the name Bubinda from the letters of the two. Proceeding northward, we find the Vinderias representing many rivers: whether the name was derived from one of them, the Fane (F and V being interchangeable) must be left to the judgment of each. We next find the Logia, corresponding in position to the Lagan, and not very far from it in name, though perhaps here, as in other notices, I am exposing myself to the satirical remark of Goldsmith who states, that some people thought Noah and Fohi were one and the same, because there were four letters in each name, and only two of them different. However, to obviate similar criticisms, it may be remarked, that the modern town of Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny, is marked in the map made in the time of Queen Elizabeth (of which the copperplate is in the Museum of this Society), by the name Belaruget; and I do not think I have proposed alterations greater than the difference in letters between these two names.

"Proceeding along the north coast of Ireland, we have no representative of the River Bann. Probably the bar at the entrance of that river made it difficult of access. We find, however, the Argita, corresponding with the Foyle; and on the river we find the name Regia, which corresponds, according to Dr. O'Donovan, with a place still called Inche-

nach (if my memory does not deceive me), on the River Fin, a few miles above Lifford. The estuary of the Foyle is not indicated by any mark. The indentation in the coast to the west is clearly Lough Swilly. The islands to the north are evidently the Western Islands of Scotland, which can easily be seen from the coast of Ireland. The promontory to the west of Lough Swilly (or 'lake of shadows,') is called Vennicium; and the same name is given to the country. Its modern name is Fannat head. The name is more properly spelled Fannaught; it applies to the country; and in old times this name extended to the south of Rathmullen, which, in old deeds of conveyance, is called Upper Fannaught. Opposite Rathmullen is the best anchorage in the lough, and was probably used as such by the seamen from whom Ptolemy or Strabo derived his information about Ireland. I therefore again venture to suggest that the name in the map is only a refined corruption of the Irish name, F and V being interchanged, and the "aught" refined into "ich" first, and then to "ic."

"The rivers between Lough Swilly and the mouth of the Shannon are represented by four streams, bearing the names of Ravius, Libnius, Ausoba, and Senus. On these I can offer no satisfactory observations. I might conjecture that the last name, Senus, is taken from the Shannon itself, by dropping the aspirate. The name Shannon is derived from Shaun, old, and avon, or aun, river. The place of the Senus does not, however, at all correspond with the position of the Shannon, which is represented by a stream called the Dur. The Ternus, flowing westward in the map, is the only mark of a river between the mouth of the Shannon and the mouth of another river, called the Dalrona, which must be either the Lee or the Blackwater. The Suir, Nore, and Barrow, are represented one stream, called the Birgus, which name, if pronounced gutturally, would seem to be derived from the last of these. The last river to the south-east of the Oboca is Modemus, of which name I can make nothing.

"Of the names in the centre of the country, I can make little. Blanie might be near Castle Blaney; but it is to the south of the Boyne. Regia means, evidently, a palace, a place of kingly residence. Dunum is to be found in England, as well as Ireland, and is evidently the same as Doon."

By Mr. John Thompson, Kilmanagh: a gun-metal shilling of King James II.

By J. G. Robertson, Esq.: two Dublin tokens of the present century.

By Lady Elizabeth and Captain Wemyss, Danesfort: three very fine specimens of those ancient fictile vessels usually designated "Sepulchral Urns."

The Rev. James Graves said that, beside the intrinsic value of the urns, two of which were of rare and highly ornamented form, their discovery was further very interesting as throwing light on the etymology of the locality in which they were discovered. Danesfort was a modern corruption of the ancient name, Dunfert, which signified "the fort of the burying-place." The fort, a conspicuous earthen dun, situated in the deer-park, was there still to tell its own tale; but until the discovery of these ancient sepulchral remains,



there had been no proof of the connexion of the locality with any ancient place of interment. As regarded the particulars of the discovery, Mr. Graves gave the following account:—

“On the east side of the road to Stoneyford, in a field belonging to a tenant of Captain Wemys, sand has been wont to be raised for a long time past. The sand-pits were formed in a spur running eastward from the knoll, which, crowned by the well-defined earthen dun, with some planting, and an old summer-house, forms a conspicuous object in the deer-park of Danesfort. It is probable that discoveries of sepulchral remains had been previously made in the course of excavations for sand; but no evidence exists of any such find until about twelve months before that about to be described, when a small cist, formed of four stones, with a flag at top and bottom, was met with by a labourer employed in the sand-pit. In this cist were some burned bones, and a very fine and elaborately-ornamented urn, with a cover having a handle or loop at top for lifting it. It was of half-baked clay, but very solid. It had been kept by the finder until lately, when the late Colonel Wemys obtained it<sup>1</sup>, along with another of more common shape, the particulars of the discovery of which I have not been able to learn. In the latter part of the year 1838, Colonel Wemys having had occasion to raise sand, excavations were commenced at the place already described. In opening the pit, two skeletons were discovered; the bones were exceedingly friable, and went to pieces when exposed to the air; they lay at full length, about three feet under the surface. There is no record of any implement or ornament having been found with them. Near these skeletons indications of a pit presented themselves in the gravel, and on a section of this being made, there was found, about six feet under the surface, a large stone, measuring 4 feet 7 by 4 feet 4 inches, of irregularly oval shape, and 11 inches thick. On removing this, a regularly built cist presented itself: the sides were formed of single stones, about 4 feet long; the ends, of one stone each, about 1 foot in length; and the cist thus formed was about 1 foot deep. The bottom of it was covered with calcined human bones (some of which I saw lying on the grass); across this cist at top lay long stones, placed at intervals; and in two of these intervals, shaped like pigeon-holes, resting on the side stones, were placed two elaborately-ornamented urns. These were again carefully covered, every crevice between the stones being completely closed with spawls of stone, and over all the large slabs, above described, had been placed. All rested on another large flag, 6 feet 9 inches long, by 4 feet 8 inches across, which, though rough beneath, presented a smooth surface for the bottom of the cist. The workmen describe the spawling of the cist to have been so carefully done, that a heavy smell arose when it was opened. All the stones belong to the calcareous strata of the district. I hope the Society may be able to engrave the urns hereafter for the ‘Journal.’”

<sup>1</sup> I saw the cover, along with the four urns, at Danesfort, in the early part of the year 1859; but regret to say that one of the

urns, and the cover, the latter a most rare example of ancient fictile art, were subsequently broken or lost.—J. G.

The Secretary submitted to the Meeting a magnificent quarto volume, which had recently been published by one of the members of the Society, W. D. Hemphill, Esq., M. D., of Clonmel. The work consisted of letterpress descriptive of the scenery, antiquities, and more remarkable modern buildings of Clonmel, Cashel, Caher, Lismore, and their vicinities, illustrated by an immense number of photographic views adapted to the stereoscope. The letterpress evinced accurate and extensive research, combined with graphic descriptive powers. The frontispiece was a large photographic plate of the round tower and northern transept of Cashel Cathedral, which, for artistic effect and clearness of detail, was far above a first-class line engraving, placing, as it did, before the eye, portraits of every stone in the structure. The work was a credit to the Dublin publishing trade. The letterpress presented great elegance and clearness of type, and was ornamented on every page by rubricated borders of the most tasteful design. The photographic plates, executed by Dr. Hemphill himself, preserved accurate portraits of all the more important antiquities of the district, many of which must, in course of time, pass away from the land, but which cannot be lost to posterity whilst Dr. Hemphill's work remains. The letterpress was by Roe, and the binding, a magnificent specimen of the art, was by Cavanagh—both of Dublin. The title of the work was as follows:—"Stereoscopic Illustrations of Clonmel, and the surrounding country, including Abbeys, Castles, and Scenery. With Descriptive Letterpress. By William Despard Hemphill, M. D., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland." Dublin: Curry, and Cranfield. London: Bennett. On the whole, the result of Dr. Hemphill's labours was not only highly creditable to himself, but reflected honour on the Society, of which he is a Member.

The Ven. Henry Cotton, D. C. L., Archdeacon of Cashel, sent the following notices of Irish typography in the seventeenth century, relating to Kilkenny, supplemental to those included in his "Typographical Gazetteer." Oxford, 1831. The copies described are preserved in the Diocesan Library, Cashel.

"1. A broadside, headed c. r., with a shield charged with a plain cross; crest, a hand holding a cross, between the letters. 'By the Supream Councill of the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland.' It begins—

"The deep sense which wee have of the sadd condition," &c., &c.

"Given at Kilkenny Castle, the third day of June, 1648, and in the Four and twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles, &c.

"Signed, 'Mountgarrett [and 13 others]. God save the King.'

"Printed at KILKENNY in the yeare of our Lord 1648."

"2. The Decleration of Owen O'Neill published in the head of that parte of the Ulster Army adhering to him, together with the Right Honorable the Supream Councill of the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland;

their answer thereunto. Printed and published by order of the said Councill, 1 of July, 1648.

“KILKENNY, 1648.”

[4to, pp. 16.]

“A Speech made by the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Kingdome of Ireland, to the Generall Assembly of the Confederate Catholiques at the City of Kilkenny, at the conclusion of the Peace.

“Printed at CORCKE, and are to be sold at Roche’s building, without South Gate, 1648.” [A Broadside].

Mr. J. P. Magennis sent an account and drawing of incised primæval scorings, found on the sides of a natural cavern, known as “The Lettered Cave,” on Knockmore Mountain, near the village of Derrygonnelly in the County of Fermanagh; some of which resemble Rhunes, and others seem to be cognate with the incised ornamentation on the stones of the great artificial cave at New Grange, County of Meath. Mixed with the ancient scorings were many modern markings, the work of visitors to the cavern, so that much caution was required to distinguish the genuine ancient scorings.

The following Paper was then read:—

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#### THE PLANTATION OF THE BARONY OF IDRONE, IN THE COUNTY OF CARLOW.

(Continued from page 164.)

BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ.

BUT to return to the barony of Idrone.—It would be interesting to ascertain how the lands were disposed of, under the orders of the Government; but this, from the great destruction of the records relating to the allotment of the lands under the Cromwellian rule, is, perhaps, impossible.

Enough, however, remains to show in what manner Colonel Walter Bagnal’s chief mansion and demesne of Dunleckney was dealt with. This came into the possession of John Corbet, a nephew, or perhaps nearer relation, of Miles Corbet, Chief Baron, one of the Commissioners of Parliament for the affairs of Ireland, who not only installed himself in this ancient seat of the Bagnals, but—strange, and most unnatural!—brought home Colonel Bagnal’s orphan daughter, Katharine, to it, as his wife.

As regards the estate, it is not difficult to understand how John Corbet was so fortunate as to obtain so good a settlement as the

lands of Dunleckney. The counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork, were reserved, as has been already mentioned, for the benefit of the more immediate friends of the Republican Government; and, as was to be expected, the members of the Government were not behindhand in appropriating for themselves the finest seats.

Thus Edmund Ludlow took possession of the Castle of Monkstown, near Dublin, the residence of Mr. Walter Cheevers; while Cheevers, descended of one of the most ancient and distinguished "old English" families of the Pale,—coeval with the first conquest,—was at once transplanted with his family to Connaught, where they long dragged on a miserable existence, unprovided with a proper dwelling, notwithstanding the express request of the Government to the Commissioners for setting out lands to the Irish in Connaught, "to set him out lands with a convenient house upon them, such as might enable him and his family to subsist, and render his being comfortable," on the grounds "that he had parted with a faire house, and left a considerable estate in the county of Dublin."<sup>1</sup>

In like manner, Chief Baron Corbet took possession of Malahide Castle, six miles to the north of Dublin, the ancestral seat of the ancient English family of the Talbots from before the days of King John. The Chief Baron's house and family in Dublin, it appears, had been visited by the plague in the summer of 1653; wherefore, he got an order for Malahide Castle, then in the possession of the owner, Mr. John Talbot, ancestor of the present Lord Talbot de Malahide, who was ordered instantly to transplant to Connaught; and the Chief Baron, at Christmas, took up his residence in Malahide Castle.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Councill for the Affairs of Ireland to the Comm<sup>r</sup> for setting out lands to the transplanted Irish at Loughrea, 27 Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1656.

"By order of this Board of 4<sup>th</sup> of July last (made upon the Petition of Walter Cheevers late of Moncktowne) you were (for the reasons therein expressed) required to take care that in the setting out unto the s<sup>d</sup> Walter Cheevers the lands decreed unto him by the late Court of Athlone, they should be such lands with a convenient house thereon as might enable him and his family to subsist and render his being comfortable; the which they doubt not will seasonably receive your care and due observance. Nevertheless, upon reading another petition of the s<sup>d</sup> Mr. Cheevers setting forth, That pursuant to the said order you have only sett him out 600A. of land or thereabout, and some conveniency of a house which dothe not answer either the favour intended him by the aff<sup>d</sup> Order or his

expectation, having parted with a faire house and left a considerable estate in this county.

"The Councill have commanded me to remind you of the aforesaid order, and that you do forthwith set out unto the s<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Cheevers soe many acres more within the lynes and contiguous or as near as may be to the other already sett out as shall in the whole make up 1200A. with a good house thereupon for his conveniency and comfortable subsistence, pursuant and as part of what falls due unto him by the aforesaid Decrees of the s<sup>d</sup> Court.

"Dated at the Councell Chamber in Dublin, the 27 Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1656.

"THO<sup>s</sup> HERBERT, Clerk of the Council."—

"Orders of Council for the Affairs of Ireland."<sup>2</sup> Upon reading the petition of John Talbot, stating that he had transplanted according to order, also an order of the 20<sup>th</sup> of May, 1654, for a convenient house to be set out to him in Connaught, and praying that

That Mr. John Corbet, therefore, through the influence of his relation the Chief Baron, should get possession of Dunleckney, is not surprising. But it certainly is astonishing, and seems most unnatural, that he should also get possession of Colonel Bagenal's daughter, considering the cruel fate her father met with at the hands of Miles Corbet, who, as one of the Government, authorized his detention, though a hostage, and rejected his plea, and sanctioned his execution, thereby causing also her mother's death. It is to be remembered, however, that by an order of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland, signed by the Chief Baron and the other Commissioners, Katharine Bagnal was removed from her friends to be placed with some good family in Dublin, where, of course, she was within the reach and under the influence of Miles Corbet and his family; and they, in the absence of her brother Dudley at Oxford, may have used all the great means at their disposal to effect the marriage of their kinsman with Katharine,—a marriage to which one might almost apply the lines of the gloomy Danish ballad:—

“Afar from home they made her wed:  
The man her father's blood had shed  
They made her wed—  
The man her father's blood had shed.

“It was by a murder foully planned  
My father sank beneath thy hand—  
Fouly planned—  
My father sank beneath thy hand.

“None else than Thou my father slew,  
And my distracted mother too—  
My father slew;  
And my distracted mother too.”<sup>1</sup>

And one might imagine Katharine Bagnal to triumph, like the fierce Danish maiden (who, however, exacted the retribution with her own hand) at the bloody punishment meted out, a few years later, to the two merciless men—prime instruments in her father's and her mother's deaths—being both of them hanged and quartered: Axtell, who superintended Colonel Bagnal's execution at Kilkenny, being adjudged to death for being “commander of that black guard

the said order might be confirmed, It is ordered that the Commissioners for setting out lands to the transplanted do set out to the said John Talbot lands with the conveniences of a house, &c.

<sup>1</sup> 5 April, 1655.—John Talbott of Malahide referred to Colonel Stubbers and Lient.-Col. Brayfield, or either of them, to consider his petition, and to grant a passe for his safe tra-

velling from Connaught to the Co. Dublin, there to continue for such time as they shall judge fitt for the disposing of his corne and other goods, the s<sup>d</sup>. John Talbott giving security to returne within the time limited.”—Id.

<sup>1</sup> “Ancient Danish Ballads, translated from the Originals.” By Alexander Prior, M. D. 3 vols., 8vo. Leipzig: and Williams & Norgate, London. 1860.

—that cruel and bloody guard," as the Attorney-General called it, that surrounded "the High Court of Injustice"<sup>1</sup> that condemned the King to die; and Corbet, for being one of the judges of that pretended court.

By an order bearing date the 9th of March, 1656-7, John Corbett became tenant to the estate of Dunleckney, and other lands in the Co. Carlow, lately belonging to Colonel Walter Bagnal;<sup>2</sup> and in the month of December, 1658, he had allowance by way of deduction of rent for the sum of £8, in virtue of a set-off he had of like amount in respect of a sum of £40 allowed to his now wife, Katharine Bagnall, for her maintenance till May, 1658.<sup>3</sup>

And now, having gone through that gloomy period that followed that fatal night of the 23rd of October, 1641, the happier era of the Restoration dawns upon young Dudley Bagnal, who, more fortunate than the great body of his friends and countrymen, was restored to his estate soon after the King was restored to his Crown. Others of equal loyalty obtained decrees of the Court of Claims to have back their ancient estates; but as it was provided by the Act of Settlement that the adventurers and soldiers in possession under the Commonwealth settlement were not to be removed without being first "reprised," that is, provided with another estate by the Commissioners—and as the Government officials were in no hurry to do this, even if they could have found sufficient lands to supply them—the dispossessed owners never were restored, but wandered, many of them, about their ancient inheritances, living upon the bounty of their former tenants.

These poor Irish peasantry, with a generosity characteristic of their race and country, seem never to have refused them hospitality, or to have deserted them. The ancient owners "had still such influence and respect," says Archbishop King, writing after the Revolution of 1688, "from their tenantry and the Irish generally, that they maintained them in idleness and in their coshering manner."

"These vagabonds," he continues, "reckoned themselves great gentlemen, and that it would be a great disparagement to them to betake themselves to any calling, trade, or way of industry; and, therefore, either supported themselves by stealing and Torying, or oppressing the poor farmers, and exacting some kind of maintenance either from their clans or septs, or from those that lived on the es-

<sup>1</sup> "State Trials," vol. v., p. 1147.

<sup>2</sup> "Upon consideration had of the within Petition of John Corbett, Esq., desiring to become tenant for the lands of Dunleckny, and other lands in the Co. Catherlagh lately belonging unto Colonel Walter Bagnall—

"Ordered:—That the Petit' do (if he shall think fit) make his application to the Comm<sup>rs</sup>. appointed to sett and lett the lands

belonging to his Highness and the Commonwealth in that Co. who are to treat and proceed with the Petit' for y<sup>e</sup> premises desired according to instructions.

"Dated at Dublin, 9 March 1656-7."—"Orders of Council for the Affairs of Ireland."

<sup>3</sup> Books of the Court of Claims (*tempore* Cromwell) in the Exchequer, Ireland.

tates to which they pretended. And these pretended gentlemen (together with the numerous coshering Popish Clergy that lived much after the same manner) were the two greatest grievances of the kingdom, and more especially hindered its settlement and happiness."<sup>1</sup>

These were "the pretended Irish gentlemen that will not work, but wander about, demanding victuals, and coshering from house to house among their fosterers, followers, and others," described in the Act of 1707, "for the more effectual suppressing of Tories, &c.," and who were (on presentment of any Grand Jury of the counties they frequented) to be seized and sent on board the Queen's fleet, or to some of the plantations in America (6 Anne, Ir., cap. ii.).

The grandfathers of men now alive have described seeing the heir or representative of the old forfeiting proprietor of 1688 wandering about with his ancient title-deeds tied up in an old handkerchief,—these, and the respect paid by the peasantry, being the only signs that were left him "to show the world he was a gentleman."<sup>2</sup>

One of the best-remembered of these poor, dispossessed gentlemen is Edmund Ryan of the Hill—known among the peasantry by

<sup>1</sup> King's "State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Government of King James II.," p. 87. 8vo. Dublin. 1730. See also "A Tour through Ireland." Dublin: 1748. P. 147.

<sup>2</sup> In 1663, the House of Commons, then composed of adventurers and soldiers, seem to have been much afraid of the effects that the sight of these memorials of their former happiness and dignity might have upon the dispossessed proprietors and their families; and, by one of their propositions for more rigorous proceedings by the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement, they desired that these title-deeds should be taken from them.

The following are Sir Audley Mervyn's words, when enforcing, as Speaker of the House of Commons, before the Lord Lieutenant, the seventh proposition of the House:—

"As to that part that desires the writings of nocent persons to be left in the Court, it cannot work a prejudice to them; for the lands being adjudged against them, to what purpose will the writings operate in their hands? But, Sirs, I correct myself: they will have an operation; and this puts me in mind of a plain, but apposite, similitude. Sir, in the north of Ireland the Irish have a custom in the winter, when milk is scarce, to kill the calf, and reserve the skin; and, stuffing it with straw, they set it upon four wooden feet, which they call a *Puckan*; and the cow will be as fond of this as she was of the living calf: she will low after it, and lick it, and give

her milk down, so it stand but by her. Sir, these writings will have the operation of this *Puckan*; for, wanting the lands to which they relate, they are but skins stuffed with straw. Yet, Sir, they will low after them, lick them over and over in their thoughts, and teach their children to read by them, instead of horn-books; and if any venom be left, they will give it down upon the sight of these *Puckan* writings, and entaile a memory of revenge, though the estate-tail be cut off." "The Speech of Sir Audley Mervyn, Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland; delivered to James, Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the 13th day of February, 1662-3, in the Presence-Chamber in the Castle of Dublin. Small 4to. Dublin: 1663." P. 19.

This Irish custom is reported in Fynes Moryson's "Itinerary," Part III., Book 8, chap. v., p. 163. Folio. London. The same practice prevails at this day in Tartary, where they thus succeed in milking their wild cows after taking away the calf.—"Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, during the years 1844, 45, 46." By M. Huc. Translated: 2 vols. 12mo. Illustrated London Library.

The Highlanders of Scotland used this contrivance, and called it a *Twickan*; hence King James's bishops were nick-named *Twickan* Bishops; to imply that they were officials of straw; merely set up as means of milking the Scotch people of money in the form of church-dues.—P. 201. "The Art of Travel." By

his Irish name of Emmun-a-Knock,—who haunted the neighbourhood of Slew-Phelim, and lies buried in the churchyard of Doon,<sup>1</sup> at present the estate of the Earl of Derby, in the county of Limerick. There is a beautiful ode attributed to him, bewailing his being deserted by his mistress, translated by Miss Brooke—

“ Ah! poor plunder’d heart of pain,  
When wilt thou have an end of mourning?  
This long, long year I look in vain  
To see my only hope returning.

“ ‘ Why art thou false to me and love?  
(While health and joy with thee are vanish’d);  
Is it because forlorn I rove—  
Without a crime unjustly banish’d?

“ ‘ Yet, oh! hear me fondly swear,—  
Though thy heart to me is frozen,  
Thou alone of thousands fair,—  
Thou alone should’st be my chosen.’ ”

But Dudley Bagnal, as has been already stated, had a happier fate.

The county of Carlow having been reserved by the Commonwealth from being set out amongst the adventurers and soldiers, there was no need of a reprice, nor anything to prevent Dudley Bagnal’s being restored immediately to his estate. It had been let by the Commonwealth Government (as appears by his petition to the Court of Exchequer) for £800 a year, part of it at least, to John Corbett, as has been already shown, and was, therefore, actually in the King’s hands, whose receivers were entitled to the rents. Dudley Bagnal was not long in obtaining a King’s letter to the Lords Justices of Ireland to restore him to his estate, which is dated the 26th of February, 1660-1; and he further presented a petition to the Lords Justices, praying to be put into possession of it, and to be allowed a recompense for the amount of the half-year’s rent, which accrued due at Michaelmas (1660), and had been received for the King by the officers of the Exchequer.

It will not fail to be observed that Dudley Bagenal is stated in this letter to have had his eldest brother George “slain in Ireland, serving under our authority,” of which, however, no other notice has been met with; and that Dudley found means at Oxford, “even when hee was a student,” of giving early testimony of his zeal to the King’s service.<sup>2</sup>

F. Galton. 12mo. Third Edition. London: 1860.

<sup>1</sup> Lewis’s “Topographical Dictionary.”

<sup>2</sup> Crofton Croker’s “Legends &c., of South

of Ireland,” p. 841.

<sup>3</sup> See his petition to King James II., where he particularizes these acts of his when at Oxford, *infra*.



*“ King’s Letter in favour of Dudley Bagnal.*

*“ February 26, 1660-1.*

“ CHARLES R.,

“ R<sup>t</sup>. Trustie and well-beloved Councillors, and R<sup>t</sup>. Trustie and well-beloved Cousins and Councillors wee greete you well. Having taken into our consideration the contents of the certificate of our R<sup>t</sup>. trusty and R<sup>t</sup>. entirely beloved cossin and Counsellor James, Marquis of Ormond, Lord Steward of our Household, dated the 19<sup>th</sup> day of November last in the behalf of Dudley Bagnall, sonne and heire to Colonel Walter Bagnall dec<sup>d</sup>., wherein it appeareth that the said Colonel Walter Bagnall submitted to the peace made in Ireland in the year 1646, and wherein he was so instrumentall, that from the time of the Cessation concluded in that kingdom until the said yeare, he manifested so far his fidelity to the service of our late Father of Blessed Memory that hee kept continual correspondence with the said Lord Marquis of Ormond then Lord Lieut<sup>t</sup> General of that our Kingdom in order to the effecting of the said Peace when many others opposed the same; and being at that time Governor of the County of Catherlagh, did secure a stronge passage for the said Lord Lieutenant and the party under his comaund<sup>1</sup>, and had then with his wife and children and family [retired] with the said Lord Lieutenant to Dublin, and quitted both his real and personal estate other than what he could then bring with him; but that in order to our late Father’s future service hee was commaunded by the s<sup>d</sup> Lord Lieutenant to remain in the said County where soon after by the then prevailing power of the Pope’s Nuncio he was dispossessed of the garrison that commaunded the said considerable passage called Loughlin Bridge, and committed prisoner to the Castle of Kilkenny, all which, notwithstanding, he still contributed his utmost endeavours for compassing that peace which was concluded by our authority in the year 1648, at which time the said Colonel Walter Bagnall served in our army in Ireland under the command of our said Lord Lieut<sup>t</sup>. and upon all occasions demeaned himself as courageously and faithfully as any person whatsoever and adhered constantly and affectionately to our said Lord Lieutenant until his departure out of that kingdom.

“ And after manifesting the like zeal to our service under the Marquis of Clanrickarde and until by the prevailing power of Cromwell, hee with others of that Nation were forced to lay down arms; and after articles of warre concluded was by a pretended High Court of Justice perfidiously put to death at Kilkenny being then a hostage in the hands of that prevailing [power].

“ In which barbarous proceedinge Colonel Axtell one of the murderers of our said Royall Father was a principal contriver and actor as we are informed.

“ Wee have also taken into consideration that Captain George Bagnall, eldest brother to the said Dudley Bagnall, was slain in Irel<sup>d</sup>., serving under our authority; and that the s<sup>d</sup> Dudley Bagnall himself hath given early tes-

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 37.

timony of his zeal to our service even when he was a student at Oxford. Wee may not therefore but bee very sensible of the merits of the said Colonel Walter Bagnall and of his children. And how sadd it were that a person who hath so carefully looked after the benefitt of our Articles of Peace, and so indefatigably endeavoured the conservation thereof to the hazard of his life, liberty, and fortune should now bee frustated of the mercys and advantages that were intended to derive thereby to our subjects in general, and especially to that family for whom not only their own but the eminent services of their ancestors to our Royal Predecessors doe highly merit our grace and favour, Sir Nicholas Bagnall and Sir Henry Bagnall his son, ancestors to the s<sup>d</sup> Dudley Bagnall, Knights Marshall of Irel<sup>d</sup>, having lost their lives in the service of King Edward the Sixth and of Queen Elizabeth, and Colonel Dudley Bagnall, great grand father to the s<sup>d</sup> Dudley Bagnall being killed at the head of his party fighting against those that were then in [arms] in that kingdom; *insomuch as they may justly say from father to son in several discents that they lived and ended their days for us and our Royal Predecessors.* We have therefore thought fitt and it is our will and pleasure that you take speciall care after this our Royal Letter and our late Declaration to inform yourselves how and in what manner wee may settle such an estate of his Ancestors or other lands upon him and his heires as may be equivalent to his father's estate and encourage him to continue in the path of an uninterrupted loyalty wherein his ancestors heretofore have served our Royal Predecessors; and not only to give us particular accompt thereof with all convenient speed, but to direct our Comm<sup>o</sup> appointed for the execution of our Declaration of this our Letter to doe what you shall think fitt for the said Dudley Bagnall's releefe according to our good intentions towards him, and as fully as our said Declaration will any way warrant, wherein you are to take especiall notice that wee shall account in you a speciall service to us that you effectually provide for him herein. And upon hearing from you of your proceedings, which wee require may be with speede, you shall receive our further directions if need be of our approbation of your observance of this our Command. - Given at our Court at Whitehall this 26th day of February 1660-1.

“By His Majesty's command,

“EDWARD NICHOLAS.”

“Directed,

“To our R<sup>t</sup> Trustie and Well beloved Councillors, and to our R<sup>t</sup>. Trustie and Well beloved Cossins and councillors our Lords Justices of our Kingdom of Ireland, and to our Governour or Cheefe Governours for the time being, and to every of them.”

The following is the Petition he presented to the Lords Justices :—

<sup>1</sup> Book of “Kings' Letters” (A. D. 1660-1661), preserved in the office of the Chief

Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland.

“The humble Petition of Dudley Bagnall Esq., of the Barony of Idrone in the County of Catherlough Esq.

“Sheweth that your Suppliant’s estate, descended to him from his ancestors, lyeth entirely in the Barony of Idrone and C<sup>o</sup>. of Catherlough and not disposed of to the Adventurers or Soldiers: That your Suppliant is and always hath been a Protestant according to the principles of the Church of England<sup>1</sup>: That he is now in his Majesty’s actual service: That by an act high of injustice and oppression he was kept out of his Estate, now in chardge in His Majesty’s Court of Exchequer at £800 per annum, for many years past untill His Majesty’s happy restoration: That he humbly conceives and is informed by his counsel that for the last Michaelmas rent of that part of his Estate by your Lordships otherwise disposed of for His Majesty’s service recompense is of right due unto him.

“His humble suit unto your Lordships is to issue your order to all His Majesty’s Officers whom it may concern to restore the Petitioner to the actual possession of his said Estate pursuant to the Laws of the land and his birthright, and to give order for some recompence for the 4<sup>th</sup> last Michaelmas rent to be paid unto him to pay some [debts] in England by him incurred in His Majesty’s service and thereby so enable him to plant and settle his estate: and to order that his Estate be put out of chardge as for Michaelmas last.

“And your suppliant therefore prays your Lordships in order to the premises to reflect on his Majesty’s Most Gracious and Princely Letters in your Suppliant’s behalf hereunto annexed, and hereupon prays your Lordships that the same be forthwith enrolled in His Majesty’s Four Courts at Dublin. And he by his trustee and Agent Patrick Darcy— [The entry is imperfect].<sup>2</sup>

Under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, provision was made for further securing the rights of Dudley Bagnal, Henry Bagnal, and Catherine Corbett, otherwise Bagnal, so that nothing in that Act should prejudice their rights to the estate held by their father, Walter Bagnal, on the 23rd of October, 1641. How the forfeited lands in the barony of Idrone were finally set out, under the Decrees of the Court of Claims, established by those Acts, will appear in the transcript from the Book of Distributions, inserted in the Appendix to this Paper, No. I.—the first column of which shows who was the former proprietor who forfeited the lands; and the last, the names of those to whom the lands were awarded under the Decrees of the Court of Claims.

But this long series of forfeitures is not yet complete. We have considered the forfeiture and projected clearance of this territory of Idrone, with the adjacent districts within the line of the Barrow, by King Richard II.; the renewal of the project in King Henry

<sup>1</sup> Yet his name is attached to “The Faithful Remonstrance of the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of Ire<sup>l</sup>,” presented to King Charles II. in 1661. Dalton’s “List

of King James the Second’s Irish Army,” p. 7. 8vo. Dublin. 1855.

<sup>2</sup> Book of “Kings’ Letters,” office of the Chief Remembrancer.

the Eighth's day ; its partial execution in King James the First's reign ; the Commonwealth Settlement, in which it was carried out ; the Restoration Settlement has been last in hand ; there remains the Revolution Settlement, or the " Forfeitures of 1688."

At the time of the accession of James II., Dudley Bagnal had been in possession of his estates about five-and-twenty years. In 1668 he had married Anne Mathew, of Thomastown, in the county of Tipperary, and in the year 1688 was the father of a family of eight children. He was now in the fiftieth year of his age ; and peace and quiet must have been doubly dear to him, from the recollection of all the calamities entailed upon himself and his family by the civil war of 1641.

It might be expected that, on the sounding of the trumpet for a fresh civil war, he would have pleaded, if he might, his former sufferings ; and have asked permission to abide the event in quiet—a spectator of the fight, and no partaker. Others, who were younger, and had not felt the smart, might take their turn. But in civil war there can be no neutrals. Dudley Bagnal, therefore, like his father, took up arms for King James, even though the King was rejected by his subjects in England. The risks might be desperate ; the rightful cause might become at length the wrong ; but had he not seen the dynasty restored, and found loyalty recompensed in his own person?

Dudley Bagnal, too, was not without ambition. Among the Ormond Papers at the Bodleian Library, there is preserved a petition he presented to King James II., on his ascending the throne, praying for a place at Court, and which, as setting forth some curious incidents in his chequered career, is here given. It bears no date ; but contains internal evidence of the period when it was presented.

" To the King's Most Excellent Majesty. The humble Petition of Dudley Bagnall Esq.

" Sheweth, that your Petitioner addressed himself early to your Majesty at a time he thought your Majesty might have occasion to prove the loyalty of your most stanch and best subjects: That his proffer proceeded, not from any manner of ostentation, but from his fervour, and the assurances he drew from his fortune and friends, and the full resolution he had of performing, which was very well grounded.

" That His Grace the Duke of Ormond is well acquainted with the character of your Petitioner's ancestors, and of their merits, sufferings, and services: That he had several tryalls of Colonel Walter Bagnall's, both against the Nuncio and Cromwell, till finally the said Colonel, your Petitioner's father, being a hostage of warr, was barbarously executed at Killenny in the year 1652, by order of the Usurpers.

" That as your Petitioner was upon all occasions, so will he ever be ready to imitate the zeal of his said ancestors' hereditary loyalty ; and being a student at Oxford was engaged in several risings which were to be for

his late Majesty's Restoration, as did appear by certificate formerly produced, after which he was a volunteer in the first Dutch warr along with Coll. James Porter: That likewise (with his Grace the Duke of Ormond's permission) he was obliged in the time of the pretended Popish Plott to fly into France, where he lived some yeares with his wife, children, and familie.

"That your Petitioner merely from the motive of his ambition to be employed in your Majesty's service covetts extremely to be of your Majesty's family and attendance in what qualitie your Majesty shall think fitt, all which is the humble request of your Petitioner,

"Who will ever pray for your Majesty's prosperitie."<sup>1</sup>

On the 1st of May, 1689, he was returned a representative, with Henry Luttrell, in King James the Second's Irish Parliament, for the county of Carlow. He was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the county, and had command of a Regiment of Infantry. On the 18th of June, 1690, his regiment was stationed at Dundalk (as appears by Captain George Gaffney's Autograph Memorandum Book<sup>2</sup>), and furnished a guard to defend the Moyry Pass (the gate of Ulster), against the advance of King William from Dundalk. But King James having retired southwards, with the view of defending the passage of the Boyne, we find his regiment—on the 24th of June, the day-week before the famous battle—encamped at Cookestown, near Ardee, where were, in the second line on the right, Lord Clare's, Sunderland's, and Parker's regiments of horse; and Hamilton's, Lord Meath's, Sir Michael Creagh's, Mac Gillicuddy's, O'Brien's, Bagnall's, and Lord Tyrone's regiments of foot.<sup>3</sup>

After the rout, or "breach of the Boyne," of course, all was lost; and his great estate in the barony of Idrone was again forfeited. By an Inquisition of Office, as it is called, held at Carlow on the 8th of December, 1690, before the King's Escheator of the Province of Leinster, by virtue of a Commission from King William and Queen Mary, to inquire of what crimes Dudley Bagnal was attainted, and of what lands and goods he was seised at the time of his attainer, it is found—

"That the said Dudley Bagnal and other false traitors and rebels against the said King and Queen, compassing to deprive them of their government of the Kingdom of Ireland, traitorously assembled themselves and made an insurrection on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, in the first year of their reign, being arrayed in warlike array with banners, swords, cannon, and other weapons, as well offensive as defensive.

"And that the said Dudley Bagnal after the said 1<sup>st</sup> of May was "locum tenens (Anglice Leivetennant)" of the county of Catherlagh aforesaid, and

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS. D. O. Ireland. Vol. i. (Folio), p. 195, preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society," vol. iii., p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> Id., ib.

one of the Commons assembled in a pretended Parliament held at the King's Inns, in the city of Dublin, in the aforesaid month of May, and the said Dudley Bagnal with other traitors there assembled, as far as in him lay traitorously made divers ordinances in subversion of this Kingdom of Ireland, and in destruction of the Protestant religion of this Kingdom of Ireland, of which several treasons the said Dudley Bagnal was attainted on the 12<sup>th</sup> of February in the year aforesaid."

The Inquisition proceeds to find that Dudley Bagnal was seised of the lands in the barony of Idrone, as heretofore enumerated, which by means of this finding were, thereupon, confiscated, and vested in the King and Queen.

But the Inquisition further finds that Dudley Bagnal was also entitled to an estate in remainder, in all the great estates of the Bagnal family in the county of Down. It sets forth that Arthur Bagnal, late of Newry, in the county of Down, being seised of all these estates in Easter term, in the ninth year of the reign of King Charles the First (A. D. 1634) levied a fine, and settled the estates, in case of his dying without male issue, to Griffin Bagnal, his second brother, and his heirs male; and in default, to his third brother, John, and his heirs male; in default, remainder to the daughters of the said Arthur in tail male; in default to Nicholas Bagnal, son of Dudley Bagnal, and his heirs male; remainder to George Bagnal, second son of the said Dudley Bagnal, and his heirs male; that the said George was father of Walter, and grandfather of Dudley, which said Dudley, as son and heir of Walter, son and heir of George, was seised at the time of his attainder of the remainder aforesaid; by reason whereof, and by virtue of the attainder aforesaid, the said King and Queen, according to the laws of this Kingdom of Ireland, are entitled in right of their Crown to the remainder aforesaid.

This, however, was only an expectancy, and never took effect in possession; for Arthur Bagnal had an heir, through whom the Down estates were derived to two heirs female, from one of whom the Newry, Green Castle, and Mourne estates passed to Lord Kilmorey, who is now in possession; while those in Louth passed to the Marquis of Anglesea, who sold them in the Incumbered Estates' Court, within the last two years. The Inquisition runs thus:—

"Inquisitio indentata capta apud Catherlagh in comitatu Catherlagh in 8<sup>o</sup> die Decembris, A. D. 1690, coram Edmundo Jones Deputat. Escaetor Provinciae Lageniæ et Ricardo Forster Arm<sup>o</sup> Escaetor Prov. Lageniæ et Johanne Brown Arm<sup>o</sup> virtute Commissionis Dom. Regis et Reginiæ Gulielmi et Mariæ huic inquisitioni annexatæ præfato Ricardo Forster vel deputato suo et præfato Johanni Brown et aliis sive aliquibus 3 vel 2 eorum quorum præfatus Escaetor aut ejus deputatus unum esse debet extra curiam predictam Domini Regis et Reginiæ Scacarii sui Hiberniæ apud Le Foure Courtes Dublin directatæ ad inquirendum quibus die et anno vel diebus et annis et de quo vel de quibus Crimine vel crimini-

bus Dudleius Bagnall attinctus fuit et de quibus terris et tenementis et de quo annuo valore ultra reprisas prædictus Dudleius Bagnall seisitus vel possessionatus fuit et de quibus bonis et catallis debitis iuribus aut creditis idem Dudleius Bagnall tempore perpetracionis criminis seu attincturæ prædictæ vel aliquis alius sive aliqui alii ad usum suum possessionatus sive seizitus fuit vel fuere in usu vel possessione vel reversione seu remanerio, &c., per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum comitatus prædicti quorum nomina subsequentur, &c., Qui jurati, &c., dicunt quod dictus Dudleius Bagnall in commissione prædictâ mentionatus et alii falsi traditores et rebellatores contrâ dictum Dominum Regem et Reginam Deum præ oculis suis non habentes nec debitam ligeantiam suam considerantes sed instigatione diabolicâ seducti, imaginantes et compassantes prædictum Dominum Regem et Reginam de legali stylo et regimine et potestate Regni sui Hiberniæ deturbare ac gubernatione ejusdem regni pro voluntatibus et libertatibus mutare et alterationem vi et armis, viz., Vexillis, gladiis ferreis, tormentis sive bombardis et aliis armaturis tam defensivis quam invasivis modo guerrino armati et arreati 1<sup>o</sup> die Maii anno regni dicti Regis et Reginiæ primo ad intentionem infandissimam prædictum exigendam et perimplendam seipsi false et proditorie cum magnâ multitudine publicorum inimicorum dictum Regem et Reginam regni sui Hiberniæ insimul insurrexere comovere, assemblavere, et universe ad bellum crudelissimum contra dictum Dominum Regem et Reginam ad tunc false hostiliter rebelliose et proditorie paravere et levavere contra ligeantiam suam debitam in magnum periculum personarum dicti Domini Regis et Reginiæ contra pacem, &c. Quodque prædictus Dudleius Bagnall post prædictum 1<sup>m</sup> diem Maii fuit Locum tenens (Anglice Leivetenant) comitatûs prædicti Catherlagh, nec non unus Communium assemblatorum in pretensio Parlamento tento apud King's Inns in Civitate Dublinie in mense Maii anno supra dicto et quantum in ipso Dudleius Bagnall fuit cum diversis aliis proditoribus ad tunc et ibidem assemblatis rebelliose et proditorie fecit diversas ordinationes in subversione legum hujus regni Hiberniæ et in destructionem Protestantis Religionis hujus regni Hiberniæ de quibus quidem separalibus prodicionibus dictus Dudleius Bagnall attinctus fuit 12<sup>o</sup> die Feb. anno supradicto prout per recordum in Evidenciâ ostensum magis planè liquet et apparet, &c.”

The lands of which Dudley Bagnal was then seised are enumerated.

By another Inquisition of equal date, the jury find—

“Quod Arthurus Bagnal nuper de Le Newry in comitatu Downe Armiger defunctus in vitâ suâ seisitus fuit in dominio suo ut de feodo suo de et in Maneriis Villis et Terris de Newry et Green Castle in Comitatu Downe ac de et in piscaturâ aquarum de Feddan ac de et in advocacioni Ecclesiæ de Newry, et in Manerio villâ et terrâ de Omee et Carlingford ac Piscaturâ rivulorum de Carlingford in Comitatu Lovidiæ Ac de et in villâ et terrâ de Glanree, &c., Mayassee alias Faddam, Ballybrin, Dromloghane, alias Ballaghone, alias Ballaghon, Tannamore, alias Tanonaghmore, Ballyclone, Drughbally, Balleagh, Carraghbally, Ballykerrin, Balleongna, alias Ballyballeegan, Dromonlyvally, alias Drummin et le

Vally. Ac de et in liberá piscaturá in rivulo sive aquá de Glenree in comitatu Ardmagh.”<sup>1</sup>

But the forfeitures of 1688 were, in one respect, far less severe than those of 1653. Those who were engaged in the war of the Revolution forfeited only for themselves; while those in remainder, if they had taken no part, were allowed to claim their estates. Under the Cromwellian Government, the whole family, and all who were entitled in reversion or expectancy, were swept off to Connaught.

At the time of Dudley Bagnal's marriage in 1668, a settlement took place of the estates, by which they were entailed on the eldest son of the marriage, subject to a jointure, and to £5000 for the younger children. So that Dudley Bagnal could only forfeit his life estate; and as Walter, his eldest son, was fortunately too young to take up arms with his father, his prospects were not sacrificed.

But still the whole family would have been utterly destitute during Dudley Bagnal's lifetime, only for the pity King William III. felt for such great misfortune as seemed continually to befall this Idrone branch of the Bagnals. He accordingly made an allowance out of the family estate, which had come into his hands under the forfeiture, of £400 a year to Dudley Bagnal's wife, during the life of her husband, in order to support their numerous family,—being equivalent to the amount of jointure she would be entitled to under the settlement, at her husband's death. They ran a very great risk, however, of losing even this small provision for their necessities.

The prodigal donations of forfeited estates made by King William III. to his favourites and to foreigners created so much discontent in England—where the recollection of the Commonwealth mode of dealing with Irish lands, of setting them out after the old Roman way among the victorious legions for their reward, was not forgotten—that the Parliament, in the year 1700, passed an Act of Resumption<sup>2</sup>, which avoided all royal grants of land made after the 13th of February, 1688–9; and, by an act passed in 1703, directed that they should be sold by public cant to the highest bidder, discharged of all estates or claims, except such as should be proved and allowed by the Commissioners at their court, appointed to sit at Chichester House, in College-green, the proceeds to be applied to discharge the arrears of pay due by debentures to the officers for service under King William in the wars of France and Ireland.

In the act of 1703, however, there was a saving, or proviso, that it should not be construed to make void the grant made by the King for the subsistence of the wife and children of Dudley Bag-

<sup>1</sup> The jury then find that the said Arthur Bagnal, together with Sir Edward Trevor, Knt., levied a fine in Easter term, in the ninth year of Charles I., before the Justices of the Common Pleas, the Right Hon. Thomas Viscount Savage, and Sir Richard

Trevor, Knt., of all the premises aforesaid, to the uses in the fine as specified at p. 182, *supra*. “Inquisitions” of C<sup>o</sup> Carlow, 1 and 2 W. & M. 5 Court of Exchequer of Ireland

<sup>2</sup> 11th and 12th Wm. III., c. ii., Engl.



nal<sup>1</sup>, and she was accordingly allowed this charge; and the eldest son, Walter, was enabled to prove his title to the family estates in remainder after his father's death, and the younger children their charges of £5000.<sup>2</sup>

Amongst the claims, the following<sup>3</sup> were allowed and established against Dudley Bagnal's estate:—

No.	Claimants.	The Estate or Interest claimed.	By what Deed or Writing.	On what Lands.	County and Barony.	Late Proprietor.
634	Walter Bagnall.	Remainder in fee for life and to issue male in tail in reversion after a jointure and term of 500 years for sister's <sup>4</sup> portions.	By deeds of Lease and Release, dated 4th and 5th March, 1668. Witnesses, John Bryan, — Arther, R <sup>d</sup> . Power, J <sup>s</sup> . Morris. By deeds of feoffment, dated 17th May, 1668. Witnesses, Justin M'Carty, Hen. Bagnall, Ed. Butler, John Bourden, Dennis Connery, Thomas Prendergras.	Ballymone, [Ballymoon?] Ballylow, Oldtown, Down-leckny.	Co. Catherlagh. Allowed.	Dudley Bagnal.
613	Anne, the wife of Dudley Bagnall, Esq.	£400 a year during her husband's life. A jointure after his death.	By a Saving clause in the late Act.  By deeds of Settlement in the year 1668, and 1688. Witnesses, Justin M'Carty, Henry Bagnall, Edward Butler, John Bryan, R. Power, Martin Folkes, And <sup>w</sup> Ker, et al.	The forfeited lands of Dudley Bagnal  Old Town, Orchard, Killedmond.	Co. Catherlagh.	Dudley Bagnal.
614	Sir Gervas Clifton, Bart.	£2000 portion and interest with Dame Anne his wife.	By Articles of Agreement, dated 16th July, 1667. Witnesses, Ed. Burdett, Adam Colclough, R <sup>d</sup> . Pepper.	All the lands.	Co. Catherlagh.	Dudley Bagnal.
615	Nicholas Bagnal and others, the younger children of Dudley Bagnal, John Butler, surviving executor of Walter Butler and Sir Gervas Clifton, Bart., for Dame Anne, his wife.	£5000, for their portions, besides maintenance and with remainders in tail to them limited.	By Lease and Release bearing date the 16th and 17th of October, in the 4th of the late King. Witnesses, John Bryan, Richard Power, Martin Folkes, et al.			
616			Same entry as above.		Co. Catherlagh.	

Dudley Bagnal, however, unable possibly to endure the sight of his native land, associated in his mind with so many miseries, or

<sup>1</sup> 1 Ann. St. i, c. 32, Engl.

<sup>2</sup> 11th and 12th Wm. III., c. ii. (Engl.) sect. 53.

<sup>3</sup> "A List of the Claims, as they are entered with the Trustees at Chichester House,

in College Green, Dublin, on or before 10th August, 1700." Folio. Dublin. "Printed by Joseph Ray; and are to be sold by Patrick Campbell, bookseller, Skinner-row, 1701." — In the Library of the King's Inns, Dublin.

perhaps fearing the consequences of his attainder, retired to spend the sad remnant of his days in Flanders, where he died in exile, in the city of Bruges, on the 27th July, 1712.

In reviewing this detail of events occurring in the course of one century in connexion with the history of one family, and confined to a single barony in Ireland, there is presented a striking illustration of the consequences following the kind of agrarian laws under which landed property in Ireland fell to be dealt with—the barony of Idrone having been, in little more than that short period, thrice confiscated—first, under Sir Peter Carew's proceedings, in the year 1568; next, under the laws of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, in 1654; and, lastly, under the attainders and forfeitures of 1688. And though the final loss remained with the displanted Irish, who, dispossessed and impoverished, perished from their native homes—so that the ancient places thereof knew them no more, or sank with their families from the rank of chieftains and gentlemen, into the grade of mere potato-diggers and turf-cutters, hired labourers of strangers on the lands they once owned as lords—yet those by whom they were supplanted were not themselves exempt from a long bed-roll of calamities.

Looking first upon Dudley Bagnal's line, that line which supplanted the Kavanaghs in Idrone, what do we find? Dudley, the first purchaser, the founder of his line, murdered by his Irish tenantry; Sir Henry Bagnal, his eldest brother, Marshall of the English army, defeated, routed, and slain by the Irish under Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, who (to increase the affliction), was Sir Henry's brother-in-law—his youngest sister, Ursula, having run off with that Irish hero, and married him, in spite of all Sir Henry's efforts to prevent it. Colonel Walter Bagnal, Dudleigh's grandson, "bulleted alive" by the Republicans; and the estates of this Englishman, at little more than three removes, confiscated in the Doomsday Book of Ireland as those of an "Irish Papist,"—his widowed wife heart-broken, dying bereft of reason; her eldest son, George, slain fighting against the cruel foes of his family and country; her two other orphan sons separated, and brought up under Puritan guardianship; her daughter, through the corrupt arts of her father's and mother's murderer, Chief Baron Corbet, married to his nephew, who occupies their ancestral halls.

At length, we find Dudley restored to this hereditary estate, only to be driven thence in terror with his family to France, to escape the dangers of the fanatical fury of the period of the Popish Plot. He returns from this retreat to be again driven from his estate for ever, and to be reduced to live the end of his chequered life, as he had lived the beginning, on the doles dealt out in pity by the power

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix No. II., *infra*, for some interesting details relative to Sir Walter Bag-

nal's death, discovered after the above was in type.

THE NEW YORK  
PUBLIC LIBRARY

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"Two other Brothers,  
sleyne at Bullogne"  
(Carew MSS., p.  
635).

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MARGARET, wife  
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ISABEL, wife of Sir  
Edward Kynas-  
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Salop, knt.

ANNE, wife of Sir  
Dudley Loftus,  
s. of Adam Lof-  
tus, Ld. Chan-  
cellor.

URSULA, wife of  
Hugh O'Neill,  
E. of Tyrone<sup>s</sup>.

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Anne, d. of Sir T.  
Coleclough of Tin-  
tern, knt.; 2ndly,  
wife of Sir T. But-  
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nan.

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Garret Fitz-  
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Kildare; first  
wife.

GRONER =  
of Bally-  
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Joan Butler,  
d. of Walter,  
eleventh Earl  
of Ormond.

ELIZOR, wife of  
Sir T. Coleclough  
of Tintern; 2dly,  
of Luke Plunkett,  
Earl of Fingal.

ADAM B.

MARY B., only child  
of Samuel Loftus, Esq.

MARY.

MABEL.

RAYDOLPH,  
d. young, s. p.

ABINE.

ANNE = Sir Gervas Clifton, Bart.

These names of the younger children of Dudley Ragnal are given in the claim made in the Court for Sale of the Forfeited Estates on their behalf. See "List of Claims as they are entered with the Trustees at Chichester House, College-green, Dublin, on or before 10th of August, 1700. Folio. Dublin: printed by Joseph Eay, are to be sold by Patk. Campbell, Bookseller, in Skinner-row, 1701."— Copy in King's Inns Library. The claims are printed at p. 186 *supra*.

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"Two other Brothers,  
sleyne at Bullogne"  
(Carew MSS., p.  
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Patk. Trace-	MARGARET, wife of Sir Christo- pher Plunket, knt.	ISABELL, wife of Sir Edward Kynas- ton of Ottey in Salop, knt.	ANNE, wife of Sir Dudley Loftus, s. of Adam Lof- tus, Ld. Chan- cellor.	URSULA, wife of Hugh O'Neill, E. of Tyrone <sup>2</sup> .
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ANNE, d. of Sir T. Colclough of Tin- tern, knt.; 2ndly, wife of Sir T. But- ler of Cloghgren- nan.	JOAN, d. of — Garret Fitz- gerald of Killa- kea, in Co. of Kildare; first wife.	GEORGE — of Bally- moon, in the coun- ty of Car- low.	JOAN BUTLER, d. of Walter, eleventh Earl of Ormond.	ELIWOR, wife of Sir T. Colclough of Tintern; 2dly, of Luke Plunkett, Earl of Fingal.	ADAM B.
MARY B., only child of Samuel Loftus, Esq.					
MARY.	MARIL.	RANDOLPH, d. young, s. p.			

AMINE.	ANNE = Sir Gervas Clifton, Bart.
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that confiscated his lands, and to die, at last, in poverty and exile, abroad. A tabular view of these vicissitudes will be found in the Pedigree of the Bagenals, which faces this page.

Yet the fate of this family was a common one to befall the family of the Englishman settling in Ireland during the 17th century. The possession of Irish lands brought, almost invariably, in its train, some or all of the following misfortunes within a period of three descents:—One of the family, through his dealings with his Irish estate, will be found murdered by the Irish; or of the sons and daughters, some having intermarried with the Irish, their children will have become Irish, often “as Irish as the Irish themselves;” and the possessor of the property having adopted the recklessness of a people without a future, the family estate, either through treason, or debt contracted in a course of wild Irish hospitality, will have sunk into the vortex of one of those Forfeited Estates Courts, so frequent in the annals of the kingdom.

Thus, tracing all the misfortunes that befel Colonel Walter Bagnal and his family to the sympathy with the Irish induced by his marriage—a connexion that so often became the cause of woe to the English settling among them—one is the less surprised at the careful foresight of Sir Jerome Alexander, an English lawyer, who condescended to take the office of a Puisne Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland at the Restoration.<sup>1</sup> By a provision of his will, approvingly referred to in a treatise already cited, on the importance of introducing foreigners into Ireland to supply English settlers with husbands for their daughters, and wives for their sons, and thus to diminish the necessity for their matching with the Irish, Sir Jerome forbade his daughter to marry an Irishman. But this shrewd observer, not confining the term to native or Milesian Irish, extended it to degenerate English, i. e. such as were called Irish landlords, or those resident in Ireland, who, in contradistinction to pure, thorough-bred Englishmen, are ordinarily known by what another author, also cited, called “the odious character of Irishman.” The will bears date on the 20th March, 1670 (he died in the month of August following); and here is the clause, drawn with all the technical skill of an accomplished lawyer:—

“I do make my said daughter, Elizabeth Alexander, my sole executrix of this my last will and testament, provided always and upon this further condition, that if my said daughter, Elizabeth Alexander, shall, at any time after my decease, marry and take to husband any lord of Ireland, by what name or title soever he bears, or the sonn of any such lord, nobleman, or noblemen, whatsoever, or any Archbishopp, Bishopp, P’late, or any Knight-Baronett, or Knight and Baronett, Esquire, Gentleman, or any Irishman,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Jerome Alexander, Knt., Justice of the Common Pleas, Patent, dated Dublin, 29th January, 1660-1. “Chronicle of the Law Offices of Ireland.” By Constantine J. Smyth, M. A., of Lincoln’s-Inn, 12mo. London. 1839.

or that come of an Irish extraction and descent that have been born and bred in the kingdom of Ireland and that have his means and relations there and his fortune and means of subsistence, or any Papist or Popish recusant, that then in such case I do hereby declare all the gifts, legacies, and bequests whatsoever which I have herein given and bequeathed unto the said Elizabeth Alexander as aforesaid, to be utterly void and frustrate to all intents in purposes in Law whatsoever."<sup>1</sup>

But if the English adventurer found of times these calamitous consequences from settling in Ireland in the seventeenth century, the results to the Irish were still more fatal. To turn from the Bagnals to the dispossessed Irish of Idrone, we find them houseless and desperate from injuries and poverty, betaking themselves to the woods and wilds, turning Tories, and becoming fierce and destructive as the wolves, their companions of the forest.

As their leaders of gentle birth or blood died off, or were killed, they were not replaced; but the ranks of these outlaws were still recruited from the lower and the poorer class.

In this state they presented, at the end of thirty years, to the historian of the War of the Revolution, under the name of Rapparees, an aspect so fierce, so wan, and wild, that his commentator is appalled at the spectacle. He starts at the "hideous ferocity" of these Irish, "remaining untameable after so many ages since British civilization was first planted in Ireland; exhibiting man, like the solitary hyena, that could neither be domesticated nor extirpated, prowling over the grave of society, rather than its habitation"—Ireland thereby realizing the fate foretold for another nation: "I will bring your sanctuaries and your land into desolation . . . and your enemies who dwell therein shall be astonished at it."<sup>2</sup>

Like the same nation, too, the Irish of the seventeenth century were "scattered among all people, from one end of the earth unto the other," carrying with them into foreign lands their enduring hostility—entering the armies of the enemies of their country, or (like the last of those accomplished gentlemen the Moors of Spain, who, driven from their native Andalusia, in 1610, became the first of those pirates called Sallee Rovers, in hatred of the injustice of the Christians,<sup>3</sup>) manning French privateers, and robbing and insulting the coasts of the land of their birth, from which they had been cast out.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Extracted from the original, in the Court of Probate. His will is dated the 20th March, 22nd Charles II. (A. D. 1670.) Probate, 30th August, 1670.

<sup>2</sup> *Res gestæ Anglorum in Hiberniâ*, ab anno 1150, usque ad 1800, being a preface to "The Liber Munerum Publicorum, or the Establishments of Ireland during 675 years,"

being the Report of Bowley Lascelles, of the Middle Temple: ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1814. Vol. I., p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Leviticus*, xxvi., 31, 32.

<sup>4</sup> "Mahomedan Dynasties of Spain, by an African author of the year 1620." Vol. ii., p. 392. Printed for the Oriental Society.

<sup>5</sup> 9th William III., c. 9, sec. 5.



## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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**GENERAL MEETING**, held in the Society's Apartments, Williamstreet, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, November 7th, 1860.

**THE REV. CHARLES VIGNOLES, A. M.**, Rector of Clonmacnoise, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

Lady Orde, Kilmory, Loughgilthead, N. B. : proposed by the Rev James Graves.

Edward Maxwell Dillon, Esq., A. M., T. C. D., Bishop-Stortford, Herts: proposed by George C. Roberts, Esq.

The Rev. John Flanagan, A. M., Rector of Killevan, Clones: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

The Rev. John Saul, Kilkenny; and John Bradford, Esq., District Inspector of National Schools, Kilkenny: proposed by James G. Robertson, Esq.

William H. Hill, Esq., Architect, 1, St. Patrick's Hill, Cork: proposed by R. Caulfield, Esq.

Mr. Martin Carroll, Jamestown, Piltown: proposed by Mr. H. Cuolohan.

James G. Robertson, Esq., Architect, and J. A. Aylward, Esq., brought up the Treasurer's account for the year 1859. It was as follows:—

CHARGE.		£	s.	d.
1859.				
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands (see Vol. II., p. 282), . . . . .	0	5	2
Dec. 31.	To Members' Subscriptions, . . . . .	171	14	0
	„ Life Compositions, . . . . .	94	14	0
	„ Subscriptions for "Annuary," . . . . .	17	0	0
	„ Donations, . . . . .	1	8	0
	„ Sale of books to Members, . . . . .	2	7	2
	„ Sale of woodcuts, . . . . .	1	9	0
	„ Advertisements, . . . . .	5	3	0
		£294	0	4

## DISCHARGE.

		£	s.	d.
1859.				
Dec. 31.	By postages of "Journal," . . . . .	15	0	0
"	" " " circulars and correspondence, . . . . .	6	13	4
"	" Illustrations for "Journal," . . . . .	15	8	6
"	" Printing, paper, and binding of "Journal" for one year, ending June 30, 1860 (March No. excepted), . . . . .	117	1	11
"	" General printing and stationery, . . . . .	12	0	3
"	" Commission to Dublin collector, . . . . .	1	7	5
"	" Sundries, including fitting up of Museum, pur- chase of antiquities, &c., as per ledger, . . . . .	15	10	10½
"	" Purchase of books, . . . . .	3	14	0
"	" Rent and caretaker, &c., Jerpoint Abbey, . . . . .	3	4	6
"	" Gratuity to roomkeeper, and carriage of parcels, Rent of Museum for one year, ending Septem- ber 29, 1859, . . . . .	15	0	0
"	" Balance in Treasurer's hands, . . . . .	87	16	2½
		<hr/>		
		£294	0	4

We have examined this Account, and find that there is a balance of £87 16s. 2½d. in the hands of the Treasurer.

J. G. ROBERTSON, } Auditors.  
P. A. AYLWARD, }

KILKENNY, 7th November, 1860.

The Treasurer said that this balance was not to be relied on as showing a too flourishing state of affairs, inasmuch as it arose from an unusually large number of life compositions having been received from members during the year 1859. Indeed, owing to the number of subscribers in default, the legitimate income of the Society was more than £20 less than during previous years.

The Chairman asked had those in default continued to receive the publications of the Society?

The Treasurer said that they had received them up to the end of 1859, when, by a judicious resolution, all those a year and upwards in arrear had been ordered to be removed from the list of members until they should pay up whatever they owed. He was sure that, if the members were generally aware that the Treasurer of the Society was personally liable for the expense of publishing, incurred on the faith of the regularity of the payment of subscriptions, they would be more punctual in discharging this debt of honour.

On the motion of the Rev. James Mease, a vote of thanks was given to the auditors.

The Rev. James Graves, in accordance with the rule on that subject, gave notice that, at the January Meeting of 1861, he would move, that an alteration be made in the general rules of the Society,

authorising its Meetings to be held quarterly in future, instead of bi-monthly as heretofore, and that the "Journal" should be issued accordingly. Mr. Graves said that, as the greater number of the local members seemed to prefer reading the proceedings of the Society in its published "Journal," and as the Meetings chiefly served as a medium for bringing together matter for that publication, he thought that quarterly Meetings would suffice for the future. This arrangement, whilst it need not diminish the quantity of literary contributions, or the donations to the museum or library, would effect a considerable saving to the funds, with respect to the binding and issuing of the Transactions.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Kent Archæological Society: "Archæologia Cantiana," Vol. II.

By the Ossianic Society: their "Transactions," Vol. V., comprising "The Proceedings of the Great Bardic Institution," edited by Professor Connellan.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: their "Proceedings," Vol. III., Part 1.

By the Author: "Notices of remarkable Greek, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon, and other Medieval Coins, in the Cabinet of the Author, mostly unpublished; with Engravings." By John Lindsay, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, &c., Cork, 1860.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 31.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for October and November, 1860.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 919-26, both inclusive.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: their Octavo Publications, No. 5.

By the Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Buckingham: "Records of Buckinghamshire," Vol. II., No. 4.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal" for June, 1860.

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society: "The East Anglian" for October, 1860.

By the Author: "Steam Communication," by George Barry, Esq., Banbridge, 1860.

By the Rev. James Mease: a number of objects of antiquity turned up in Ballylarkin Church-yard. These, besides some large horse's teeth, consisted of three specimens of copper Irish "money of necessity," a silver sixpence of James I., and a copper tag of the strap of an ancient book, which, from the style of ornamentation, appeared to belong to the latter end of the fifteenth century.

By the Rev. James Graves: a specimen of an encaustic flooring tile, picked up by him at Netley Abbey, near Southampton, last summer, and which was of precisely the same pattern as some of the ancient flooring tiles of St. Canice's Cathedral.

By Lord James Butler, on behalf of Mr. David Rogers, Glassmullagh, Omagh: an English groat of Queen Elizabeth, in admirable preservation. It was one of about 150 of different sizes found at Glassmullagh, in the parish of Ardstraw, county of Tyrone, last August. They were enclosed in a leather bag, which fell to pieces in being lifted out of the ground. The dates of the coins ranged from 1561 to 1593.

By the Rev. Philip Moore, R. C. C., Piltown: a copper Nuremberg jetton of rare type, on behalf of Mr. Patrick Cleere, of New Ross. It had been found in a garden near the Church of St. Mary, in that town.

By Robert Malcomson, Esq., Carlow: an unedited tradesman's token, given him by Dr. Shewbridge Connor, of that town. It was without date, but bore the legend, obv. "JONAH WOODMAN—rev. OF DONLAVAN." The device was a pair of scales.

By William D. Hemphill, Esq., M. D., Clonmel, a Nuremberg jetton, found in that town.

By Mr. Prim: on the part of a Member of the Society, an ancient illuminated patent, being a grant of "English Liberty" from King Henry VI., in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, to Thomas, the son of Philip, the son of William O'Neill. The patent recited a previous one of Edward III., making a similar grant to William O'Neill, then Vicar of Carrick, and to Philip and Thomas O'Neill, and their heirs "then being Irish."

Also, a copy of a newspaper, called "The Impartial Inquirer," dated Saturday, December 24th, 1814. Amongst the items of news in this publication was a collection of paragraphs clipped from various Irish papers, and headed "The storm." A paragraph copied from the "Kilkenny Moderator," stated that considerable damage had been done generally in that city, and amongst the rest, "The ducal coronet, above the vane on the east tower of Kilkenny Castle, was broken off."

By Mr. Prim: a copy of "Saunders' News-Letter, and Daily Advertiser," for Saturday, September 1, 1798.

By P. Watters, Esq.: a copy of another old newspaper, called "The True-born Irishman," issued March 13th, 1804, price one halfpenny; also a three-guinea bank post-bill, of the Ballinakill Bank, dated 4th November, 1804, and signed "Michael Savage."

By the Rev. James Graves, a fac-simile of the writing of Addison, being a portion of a letter from that celebrity to Mrs. Wortley.

By Mr. Prim, a deed executed between the Rev. John Ellison and the Rev. Anthony Pack, whereby the latter bound himself to

pay the former half the endowment (£70) of Kilkenny College, on succeeding him in the mastership of that institution, until such time as the said Rev. J. Ellison or his assigns should be presented to a living by the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin. The deed was dated 19th December, 1792.

The Rev. M. Saul asked whether it was known if a curious silver matrix of the seal and counter-seal of the O'Neills of Ulster was still in the possession of the Ormonde family? He saw it many years ago in the North, and had got an impression from it, which he subsequently gave away. The matrix of the seal was originally fitted with a screw, which, when required, served to detach the central portion of the seal, bearing the red hand of O'Neill, from the outer rim, thus allowing it to be used separately, apparently for a counter-seal. The outer rim bore the name of Murtough O'Neill, King of Ulster. Mr. Saul was informed at the time that this seal had been purchased by the late Dowager Marchioness of Ormonde.

A paper was read, from the Rev. John O'Hanlon, R.C.C., SS. Michael and John, Dublin, being a continuation of his account of the topographical collection made by the Ordnance Survey for the Province of Leinster. The present paper related to the county of Westmeath, and was as follows:—

“Want of sufficient leisure and opportunity has hitherto prevented me from completing my list of the MS. matter, contained in the Ordnance Survey Office, relating to the two remaining Counties of the Leinster province, viz., Westmeath and Longford. To begin, then, with Westmeath—the following volumes of documents are given in the general catalogue of the O. S. MSS. I. Names from Down Survey (See Leinster, Vol. 2). II. Extracts, two volumes, Rough Index of Places to Irish part, not arranged. III. Letters, two volumes. IV. Name Books, 79. V. Barony and Parish Names, one volume. VI. Memorandums, one volume. VII. County Index to Names on Ordnance Maps, one volume. I. The Names from the Down Survey, contained in the Leinster folio Volume II., and referring to Westmeath, are found at pp. 352 to 479, with Index to do, (pp. 352, 353,) of Barony and Parish Names. All of these pages are numbered, but many are blank; the remainder are openly written. II. Vol. I. of the Extracts contains ten pages of references or headings to the excerpts which follow, and which are comprised in 465 numbered pages, some few of which are unwritten. These excerpts are in English, Latin, and Irish (the latter written in the proper characters). Vol. II. of the Extracts contains sixteen pages of the headings of succeeding excerpts, with five pages of Index additional. The Extracts in this volume are contained in 433 numbered pages, nearly all of which are written upon in English, Latin, and Irish. These volumes are 4to.<sup>1</sup> There are eighty-seven pages

<sup>1</sup> The volumes of Extracts and Antiquarian Letters of the various Irish counties are now elegantly bound in thick boards, with

morocco half-binding, and they are lettered in gold, on the backs. Indices, which will be found most useful for future reference to

of a rough Index of places to Irish part, loosely written, and not bound, but tied together in blue wrapping paper; they are folio leaves. III. The antiquarian letters are comprised in two 4to. volumes. Vol. I. comprises 324 closely-written pages, having a well-arranged Index prefixed to them. There are thirty-four letters in it. The following twenty-three are written by Mr. O'Donovan, and thus headed, with respective dates:—Athlone, August 30th, 1837, and September 1st, 4th, 6th, 9th, 1837; Ballymore, Lough Sewdy, September 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 17th, 18th, 1837; Mullingar, September 20th, 21st, 22nd, 25th; Newpass, September 30th, and October 10th, 12th; Castlepollard, October 3rd, 4th, 7th; Castletowndelvin, October 5th. The following eight letters are written by Mr. O'Connor, and thus headed, and dated:—Mullingar, September 27th, 28th; October 1st, 3rd, 6th; Kilbeggan, October 8th; Tyrrellspass, October 10th, 11th, 1837. There is a letter written by Bryan Geraghty, and dated Dublin, September 30th, 1837. There is another, written by George Petrie, and dated Dublin, 'No. 21, Great Charles-street, September 25th, 1837. There is likewise a fragment of a letter undated, and the writer's name not affixed, but it seems to be in Mr. Petrie's handwriting. Vol. II. contains 347 closely-written pages, with a well-arranged Index prefixed. There are twenty-six letters in it; and of these the following fifteen are written by Mr. O'Donovan, thus headed and dated—Newpass, October 13th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 24th, 25th, 25th, 30th, 31st; November 1st, 5th, 7th, 9th, 1837; Tullamore, January 1st, 1838. A letter dated October 13th, 1837, without name of place whence written. Mr. O'Connor writes seven letters, and dates from Mullingar, October 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th; Maynooth, October 29th, and Edenderry, October 30th, 1837. Mr. Petrie has a note dated October 17th, 1837, and another undated. Neither has the name of place given. There is also a note undated, written by a tailor, named Gaynor, living at Rathowen. There are some valuable diagrams and drawings, illustrating Dr. O'Donovan's letters'. IV. There are seventy-nine Name Books, like those alluded

the contents, have been lately added to these volumes, in which they had not been hitherto found. These Indices are most creditable to the calligraphy, industry, and sound judgment of Mr. O'Lalor, of the Ordnance Survey Office. The Extract and Antiquarian volumes, when fully completed by the binder, will be transferred to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, where they will be rendered more accessible to investigators of the history and archaeology of the different districts in Ireland. All the other volumes and papers will be retained in the Irish Ordnance Survey Office, where they will be required for constant reference, incident to the various corrections that must be made hereafter in the names and divisions found on the maps already engraved. The new and beautifully contoured and engraved map of Ireland, on the scale of one square inch to the square English mile, is fast approaching completion, and it is supposed will be ready for

circulation during the year, 1861. I have never seen any like engraving equal to it, in point of scientific accuracy and artistic finish.

<sup>1</sup> It must be remarked, that these tracings are the work of Dr. O'Donovan himself, and in all cases serve to convey a more accurate idea of the various antiquarian objects illustrated, than could be attempted by mere description in writing. At a future day, the letters written by the learned doctor will furnish abundant materials for his biographer, regarding that portion of his life and invaluable services, devoted to the illustration of Irish History and Antiquities, whilst employed on the staff of the Ordnance Survey. It is truly wonderful how he could find time to write the researchful and comprehensive letters preserved, within the brief period allowed him for excursions through the various localities, not to speak of his being obliged to visit the several objects of interest, in an

to in former communications. V. The Barony and Parish Names are comprised in one volume 4to. of seventy-nine numbered pages, with an Index page besides; a great number of the numbered pages are unwritten, and those written on are pretty closely lined by the scribe. VI. The memorandums are contained in one 4to. volume of 261 numbered pages, closely written. There are maps and tracings bound up with this volume. Like all volumes of corresponding name, it contains many interesting and detached local notes. It has an Index of six pages prefixed. VII. The County Index to Names, on the Ordnance Survey Maps, is comprised in one folio volume. The leaves are not numbered, but they contain 116 written pages. Each page has three distinct columns, in the order of, 1stly, townlands of the County Westmeath, alphabetically given, with, 2ndly, the Barony in which situated, and, 3rdly, the Parish. On an average, each page contains about seventeen or eighteen lines. There are no artistic drawings or sketches for this county, nor special Memoir Papers."

The Rev. James Graves, on behalf of a Member of the Society, communicated an interesting local tradition, to the effect that one of the Purcell family, a colonel in the Second King James's army, and who was accounted one of the best swordsmen in Europe, was married to a lady named Eleanor Grace, who was the pride of the old, and envy of the young at King James's Levee at Kilkenny Castle, where all the ladies kissed the royal hand. When Eleanor approached, his Majesty arose and said, "So fair a cheek deserved a buss." This Colonel Purcell's daughter was married to Kelly of Gowran.

The Rev. James Mease read some remarks on the ancient churches usually found in the neighbourhood of castles, in the dis-

antiquarian point of view, wherever he travelled. Many, if not most of these excursions, were made on foot, as the ruins of ancient buildings were not always accessible, by public or private conveyance. The inclemency of the weather could not even damp the ardour of the then young and active antiquary. After the day had been spent in rambles through the country, note-book in hand, and perhaps, as was too frequently the case, after a thorough drenching with the rain, Mr. O'Donovan sat down to write his impressions, and quote his authorities and extracts, at which work he was usually engaged to midnight; and his labours were frequently protracted beyond the "witching hour," as we can glean from the headings of many of his letters. Here and there are jotted down some interesting personal incidents and adventures, but it must be observed they are few and far between; for Mr. O'Donovan's whole soul seems to have been centered in the effort to give as much valuable information as possible to the Ordnance

department, and, it must be added, at the lowest possible rate of remuneration for his priceless services. It would not be just to pass away from this subject, without alluding to the herculean task assigned to Eugene O'Curry. When I turn over the volumes of extracts and other papers, I find the well-known handwriting of this gentleman meeting my eye, in countless instances. What a vast amount of Irish extracts copied in the original character! what a number of suggestive notes and observations in English! what untiring energy and industry manifested in an incredibly short space of time, whilst delving through the rich mines of our numerous antique documents! Of Mr. O'Curry, it may be said, he furnished from the public libraries that literary ammunition of the exact size and strength, which enabled Mr. O'Donovan on hill, vale, and plain, to bag the antiquarian game, which will hereafter afford a rich repast to those whose tastes incline them towards such a species of intellectual epicureanism.

trict round Freshford. The paper was illustrated by an accurate photograph of the east window of the old Church of Folkescourt, executed by Lieutenant Lyster, R. E., and was as follows:—

“The larger of the old castles in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny have, in many instances, the remains of churches close to them. In one of the outhouses at Foulkesrath, used at present as a stable, the entrance door and other portions indicating the use of the building, are still carefully preserved by the present owner. Near Balleen Castle, a building may be observed, which might be taken for a barn or grange; but on examination a lancet-window will be found, which clearly shows that it was a church. Near Foulkescourt another is to be found; and for the purpose of calling attention to these buildings, the accompanying photograph is presented to the Society. It was taken by Lieutenant Lyster, R. E., and is a faithful representation of the east window of the building. There is another window in the south wall, which is exactly the half of the east window. The carving is very neatly executed; and though the window is very small, yet the care bestowed on it indicates considerable architectural skill. The date of the building I must leave to more skilful antiquarians. The castle itself is supposed to belong to the time of Henry the Seventh. Though the chapel has been much dilapidated, yet several other parts remained undestroyed.”

The following paper was submitted to the Meeting:—

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#### APPENDIX TO THE PLANTATION OF IDRONE.

BY J. P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ.

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No. I. (See *Supra*, p. 179).

THE following is a transcript from the Books of Distributions compiled between the years 1661–1676, pursuant to the Act of Settlement (14th and 15th Charles II., ch. 2, sec. 8), of the Barony of Idrone, in the County of Carlow.

In the first column are the names of the Proprietors whose estates were confiscated on account of the war of 1641.

In the second and third columns, the denomination and situation of the lands forfeited, with their extent in plantation acres, as found in the Books of the Civil Survey made in the years 1653 and 1654, by order of the Commissioners of the Parliament of England for the Affairs of Ireland.

In the fifth column, the Grantees under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, together with,

In the fourth or preceding column, the number of acres (Plantation measure), which they were found entitled to, on investigation by the Commissioners for Executing the Act of Settlement.



The figures not ranged within the first column, which follow certain denominations, denote the amount of unprofitable land.

**BISHOPS' LAND.**—The Parliament of the Commonwealth seized all Church Property, Tithes as well as Lands:—These, together with the four counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork, and the walled and corporate Towns, was all that was withheld from being set out amongst the Souldiers and Adventurers, and formed the fund, whence the Republican Government gratified private and public deserving friends.

**MART LAND.**—Amongst the Carew MSS. in the Lambeth Library, No. 614, p. 197. “The Sundry Denominations of the measuring of Land in Ireland. . . . 12th. In Leax there are lesse acres and Great acres also. 13. Catherlagh the like; but in some of the Irish Counties there are: 1st. Marts (cow or beef), or Mart land, which is bigger in reckoning, divisible into Penny land. 2nd. Grose Ese, and higher according to the quantity. Mart, a Beefe, which was paid to the Lord in times past. . . . 22. Typperary, Capell lands containing twenty Great acres, every acre 20 English acres and Qr. meers, four whereof make a Capell land.”—See “The Territorial Divisions of Ireland by T. A. L.” (Major Thos. A. Larcom, of the Royal EGINEERS and Ordnance Survey of Ireland). 8vo. p. 19. London, 1846. Not printed for publication.

The Civil Survey was, in fact, the Domesday Book of Ireland, being the account taken by order of the Government in the years 1653, 1654, of what lands they had to set out among the Army, the Adventurers, and the other Claimants whom they had to satisfy. The Commissioners inquired into the qualification or guilt of the proprietor, and by means of a jury estimated the value of the forfeiture. They had full power to call before them the agents and tenants of the proprietor, and to demand all maps, rent-rolls, and evidences. The Civil Survey of the County of Carlow is lost.

The figures in the extreme left hand margin of the page refer to the numberings in the Maps of the Down Survey. Where there are none, it may ordinarily be inferred that the lands are not mapped. The figures in the outside column to the extreme right hand-side of the page were not part of the original work, but were added subsequently for the convenience of the Auditor-General's Clerks, and commonly give the names of Purchasers at the Sales of Forfeited Estates at Chichester House, in the year 1703.

#### CONVENTIONAL SIGNS USED IN THE BOOK OF DISTRIBUTIONS.

Prot., Pr <sup>t</sup> ., P <sup>t</sup> .	stands for	Protestant.
Ir. Pa., I. P.	„	Irish Papist.
C. S.	„	Civil Survey.
B.	„	Bishops' land.
C.	„	Church land.
M.	„	Muntain.

COM. CATHERLAUGH—IDRONE BAR<sup>y</sup>. (88.)

Proprietors— anno 1641.		Denominations.				Grantees under Act of Settlement, 1661-1674.			Observations.
			A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	
	Earl of Ormond, Pr.	Tomard als., Tullagherine Parish:— Coranloskye $\frac{1}{2}$ Mart- land.	40	0	0	110	0	0	Earl of Ormond, Pr.
		Ballingarone $\frac{1}{2}$ Mart- land.	85	0	0	125	0	0	
		Tomard $\frac{1}{2}$ Martland.	70	0	0	260	0	0	
		Rathornan 1 Martland.	140	0	0	360	0	0	
		Coulenkissey 1 Mart- land.	170	0	0	380	0	0	
		Glodagh als., Cloghgreen- nan Parish:—							(89)
1	Earl of Ormond.	{ The Manor of Clogh- greenana.	1576	0	0	1576	0	0	{ Duke of Or- mond, De- mesne Lands.
1 <sup>a</sup>		Part of y <sup>e</sup> same.	60	0	0	60	0	0	
		Memorandum—another part of this parish in the Barony of Catherlaugh.							
		Kilcreene Parish:—							
1		Crouhisque.	141	0	0	141	0	0	
2	Earl of Ormond,	Tomard.	425	0	0	425	0	0	
3		Rathornia.	643	0	0	643	0	4	Duke of Or- mond, De- mesne lands.
4		Mountain and pas- ture belonging to y <sup>e</sup> townes of this parish in common.	1576	0	0	1576	0	0	
5		Mountain and good wood of y <sup>e</sup> same.	782	0	0	782	0	0	{ By the Civil Survey in Tomard pa- rish, and en- tered before.
		This parish not in the Civil Survey.							
		Loughland parish:—							
1B		Mountain pasture and good commons be- longing to Old Leighlin.	1716	8	0	1716	8	0	
2B		Wood and mountaine of y <sup>e</sup> same.	645	0	0	645	0	0	
3B		Shrubby wood of y <sup>e</sup> same.	194	0	0	. . . . .			
4B		Corporation of Old Leighlin.	. . . . .			502	0	0	

Proprietors— anno 1641.		Denominations.			Grantees under Act of Settle- ment 1661-1676.	Observations.	
			A. E. P.	A. R. P.			
		Loughland parish:—					
5	Earl of Ormond.	Seakin reagh.		500 0 0	{ 2 0 0 L <sup>d</sup> Galmoye. 498 0 0 B Lands. { 106 0 0 Rich <sup>d</sup> Reddy.		
5 <sup>a</sup>		Wood of y <sup>e</sup> same.		190 0 0			
6		Commons belonging to y <sup>e</sup> several townes of this parish.		610 1 0			
		Memorandum—There were eighteen Burgeases in Old Loughlin, whereof eight were Papists, and y <sup>e</sup> Burgeases had several houldings.					
		Part of Wells parish:—					
1	James Tumen M <sup>c</sup> Hugh, Ir. Pa., in Lease to Steven Stevens, pr. from y <sup>e</sup> Bishop.	Ballyknockan.	290 3 0	290 3 0			
2C C		Ballynebolgy. Glebe in Ballyknockan.	215 1 0 8 3 0	215 1 0 8 3 0	C Land. C Land.		
	In Lease to Jas <sup>s</sup> Comerford, Ir. Pa.	Wells, Vingarney, & Hamontown, $\frac{1}{2}$ a Martland.	888	C. S.			
	In Lease to W. Breerton, Ir. Pa.	Ffenis Court, $\frac{1}{2}$ a Martland.	360	C. S.			
		Killmeene Parish:—					
1B		Bishops Land.	180 1 0	180 1 0	B Land.		
2	M <sup>r</sup> Clare, p <sup>t</sup> .	Ffanane Ffreney.	105 3 0	105 3 0	{ Prot land M <sup>r</sup> Clare.		
3		Cloghtreson Wood.	91 2 0	91 2 0	B Land.		
4B		Gareben.	243 0 0	243 0 0	B Land.		
6B		Ballycoole.	16 0 0	16 0 0	B Land.		
7B		In y <sup>e</sup> same.	26 3 0	26 3 0	B Land.		
5B		Killenoun.	243 0 0	243 0 0	B Land.		
8	Earl of Ormonde.	Clonlagh.	100 2 0	100 2 0	} Duke of Or- mond. De- meane Land.		
8 <sup>a</sup>		Cloneagh Wood.	180 0 0	180 0 0			
8 <sup>b</sup>		Of y <sup>e</sup> same.	58 1 0	58 1 0			
		Dunlackny parish:—					
1	Walter Bagnall, Ir. Pa.	Raughduffe.	205 0 0	205 0 0	} Dudley Bag- nall, Ir. Pa.		
2		Moniebeg.	268 2 0	268 2 0			
3		Dunlackny.	291	291			
4		Kilcarrig.	872	410			

Proprietors— anno 1641.		Denominations.	A. R. P.		A. R. P.		Grantees under Act of Settle- ment, 1661-1676.	Observations.	
		Dunlackny parish :—							
5	Water Bag- nall, Ir. Pa.	Booremoora.	449	1	449	1	Dudley Bag- nall, Ir. Pa.		
6		Randuffe.	165	1	165	1			
7		Ballywillrowe.	386	1	386	1	Sir R <sup>d</sup> . Ken- nedey.		
8		Ballymonny.	316	2	316	2			
9		Seskinrayne.	305			281	1	Lady Har- man.	
10		Gortmimay.	145	3	145	3	Dudley Bag- nall.		
11		Labymyseay.	61		61		Lady Harman.		
12		Ballykeely.	967	1	967	1	{ Noe such land in y <sup>e</sup> coun- trety but what is in charge on y <sup>e</sup> Duke of Ormond.		
18	Fra <sup>s</sup> . Eustace, Ir. Pr.	Carrickbegg.	637	400	400		Dudley Bagnall.		
		Kildrinagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ a	200		200		Idem.		
		Martland. 50	89	89	89	89	Francis Eustace.		
		Boherduffe, $\frac{1}{2}$ a Martland. 90							
		Part of Wells parish :—							
1B	Bps Land.	Vingarney.	181	2	0	181	2	0	B Land.
2B	Part of the same.	Wells.	318	1	0	318	1	0	Nico <sup>s</sup> Comerford.
1B	The same.	Vingarney Wood.	54	0	0	54	0	0	B Land.
3B	The same.	Fiinne's Court.	548	3	0	548	3	0	B Land.
4	R. Everson, I. P.	Kilree.	164	1	0	164	1	0	{ Eliz. Butler. Lord Chief Baron. John Beauchamp, 164. Dudley Bag- nall.
5	The same.	Sleagoose.	349	1	0	210	0	0	Dudley Bagnall. John Asgill, 139 1 0
6	Torlagh Birne, } Ir. pa.	P <sup>t</sup> of Kilmalopoge.	69	1	0	69	1	0	Bryan Birne. 157 0 0
7	Gerald Cave- } nagh, I. P. }	Donore.	233	0	0	233	0	0	Dudley Bagnall. } Rich <sup>d</sup> Major Cavenagh. 237 0 0 } Woolseley.
8	The same.	Bally Mc Cormoge.	176	0	0	245	0	0	Dudley Bagnall. John Asgill.
		Memorandum —Another part of this p <sup>a</sup> before, and another part in the C <sup>o</sup> Kil- kenny.							
1		Clonogosh Parish :— Part of Balletantenoge.	20	0	0				
2		P <sup>t</sup> of Ballylin.	45	0	0				

	Proprietors— anno 1641.	Denominations.	A. R. P.		Grantees under Act of Settle- ment, 1661-1676.	Observations.
			A.	R. P.		
		Clonogosh parish:—				
3C	{ Walter Bag- nall, Ir. pa. }	Killomine.	204	2 0	204 2 0	{ C. Land, Dud- ley Bagnall.
4	The same.	Cranraney.	812	0 0	812 0 0	Earl of Cork.
5	The same.	Kiltanctonagh.	198	1 0	198 1 0	Dudley Bagnall.
4 <sup>b</sup>	Idem.	{ Cranraney and Ballan- celloga. }	85	0 0		
4 <sup>a</sup>		Part of y <sup>e</sup> same.	188	0 0		
6		Ballencolloga.	98	8 0		{ Dudley Bag- nall.
		P <sup>t</sup> of y <sup>e</sup> same.	60	0 0		{ Thomas M <sup>c</sup> Tirlagh Ca- venagh.
6 <sup>a</sup>		Fallyatten.	115	0 0	115 0 0	Dudley Bagnall. 69
7		Clongouse.	68	8 0	68 8 0	Mat <sup>r</sup> Evans.
8		Part of ye same. 58				
		Clonagosh Parish:—				
14	Mr. Bryan Cave- nagh, Prot <sup>t</sup> .	{ Old Bog. }	60	0 0		Prot. Land.
15		{ The same. }	505	0 0		Prot. Land.
9	Walter Bagnall,	{ Knockneganclunagh. }	68	0 0	68 0 0	{ Dudley Bag- nall.
10	Ir. pa.	{ Ballyfeuan. }	82	0 0	150 0 0	{ John Beau- champ.
11	Edward Cave- nagh, Ir. pa. }	{ Ballytegleagh. }	168	0 0		{ Lord Chief Baron Byasse. John Beau- champ.
11 <sup>a</sup>	Idem.	In y <sup>e</sup> parish of Ullara.	89	8 0		Lady Harman.
12	Idem.	{ Kilcopicgan. }	98	8 0	98 8 0	{ Dudley Bag- nall.
12 <sup>a</sup>		{ P <sup>t</sup> of the same. }	60	8 0	60 8 0	
13	Walter Bagnall, Ir. pa. }	{ Ballynegran. }	60	1 0	60 1 0	John Asgill.
	Bryan Cave- nagh, Prot <sup>t</sup> .	{ Burriah. }	120	210 0	0 C. S.	
		Balliellin Parish:—				
1	Walter Bagnall.	Ballyellin.	375		375	Lord Galmoy.
1C	Gleabe.	In y <sup>e</sup> same.	8	8 0	8 8 0	C. Land.
2	The same.	Tonderragh.	706	2 0	706 2 0	Lord Galmoy.
3	Edm <sup>d</sup> Fforest.	Danginbegg.	148	8 0	148 8 0	{ John Beau- champ.
						{ Lord Chief Baron.
4		Ballynygonny. 40	40	0 0	40 0 0	{ John Beau- champ.
	Arth <sup>r</sup> Kavenagh, Ir. Pa. }	{ Ballyteigeleagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ a } Martland. 62 }	144	0 0	144 0 0	
	Walter Bagnall, Ir. Pa. }	{ Cloghwalter, $\frac{1}{2}$ a } Martland. }	100		100	{ Dudley Bag- nall. Re- turned in Down Sur- vey in Clon- geish.
		{ Kilcomney, $\frac{1}{2}$ a } Martland. 10 }	150			

	Proprietors— anno 1641.	Denominations.	A. R. P.		Grantees under Act of Settle- ment, 1661-1676.	Observations.	
			A.	R. P.			
		Part of Lorum parish:—					
1	Walter Bag- nall, Ir. Pa.	Rathbollymollyn.	430		430	Dudley Bag- nall. Lord Galmoy. John Beau- champ. Lord Chief Baron. Capt <sup>r</sup> . John Stopford. Dudley Bag- nall. Duke of York. Dudley Bagnall.	
3		Kilgreeny.	102	3	102		3
4		Cloghmomy.	195		195		
4		Lorum.	230		230		
4 <sup>a</sup>	Ulick Bourke, Ir. Pa.	Part of Lorum.	117		2 14 0	Dudley Bagnall.	
5		Corry.	819	0 0	819		0 0
6		Ballybillin.	468	1	468		1
7	Ulick Bourke, Ir. Pa.	Clough.	250				
8		Ballyclontonmoge.	285		285	Dudley Bagnall.	
		Part of Lorum parish aforesaid:—					
1	Morgan Birne.	Part of Kilmalapoge.	126	0 0	28 2 20	Bryan Birne. Lord Galmoy.	
2	The same.	Pt of Seakinrean.	100	1 0	97 2 20		Dudley Bagnall.
3	Rich <sup>d</sup> To- myn, Ir. Pa.	Ballytomyn.	95	0 0		Prof <sup>r</sup> Land.	
4		Clonagh.	78	0 0			
5		Ballydermin.	111	0 0			
6	Lands belong- ing to Henry Warren, Pt.		1665	0 0			
	Art. Kavenagh, Ir. Pa.	Correbeg and Corre- more, $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Mart- land.	300	0 0	C. S.	379. John Beauchamp	
	Walter Bagnall, Ir. Pa.	Radidano $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Martland.	20	0 0	C. S.		
	Art. Kavenagh, Ir. Pa.	Cloneghmoney, $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Martland.	81	0 0	C. S.		
		Sleagoff Parish:—					
1	Murtagh oge, Cavenagh.	Ballinloghan.	824	2 0	824	2 0	Lord Chief Baron Byssé. Dudley Bag- nall. John Beau- champ, 437.
1 <sup>a</sup>							
M		Pt of the same.	112	8 0	112	8 0	Lord Chief Baron Byssé.
2		Mountain, 254. Knocknologad.	158	0 0	158	0 0	Dudley Bagnall. John Asgill.
8		Knockullart.	245	0 0	145	0 0	Lord Chief Baron Byssé. John Beau- champ, 245.
4		Knocknologad.	131	0 0	131	0 0	Dudley Bagnall.

Proprietors— anno 1641.	Denominations.	A. R. P.		Grantees under Act of Settle- ment, 1661-1676.	Observations.
	Sleagoff parish :—				
5	Bog belong- ing to y <sup>e</sup> adja- cent townes.	413	2 0		
6	Murtagh oge Ca- veuagh.	Ballinree.	185 1 0	Dudley Bag- nall.	
7		Doonroe.	209 1 0		
8	{	Mountaine of Lean- curre.	195 0 0	195 0 0	Earl of Cork.
8 <sup>a</sup>		Part of y <sup>e</sup> same.	143 3 0	45 0 0	
		Seekinamadree.	243 2 0	243 2 0	James Stopford. Dudley Bagnall.
	Acha Parish :—				
1	Walter Bag- nall, Ir. Pa. }	Rathellen.	230 1 0	230 1 0	Lord Galmoye.
1 <sup>a</sup>		Belonging to y <sup>e</sup> same.	21 0 0	21 0 0	
2		P <sup>t</sup> of Loughlin Bridge.	72		Pro <sup>t</sup> Land.
3		P <sup>t</sup> of Rathellward.	7 2 0	7 2 0	Dudley Bag- nall.
4	Walter Bag- nall, Ir. Pa. }	Ratheanard.	329 0 0	329 0 0	
5	Oliver Eustace.	P <sup>t</sup> of Rathellduff.			
6	Walter Bagnall.	P <sup>t</sup> of Oldtown.	19 0 0	19 0 0	Dudley Bagnall.
		½ p <sup>t</sup> of Ratheden.	136 2 0	136 2 0	Dame Anne Harman.
		¾ pts of Ratheden.	273 0 0	273 0 0	Dudley Bagnall.
7	Walter Bag- nall, Ir. Pa. }	Ballypheane.	800 0 0		John Asgill. 300 0 0
8	Idem.	Acha.	411 0 0	411 0 0	
8 <sup>a</sup>		Mountaine of thesame. 78A.			
9	Idem.	Part of Urmoy.	114 0 0	114 0 0	Dudley Bag- nall.
10	Idem.	Newtowne.	207 3 0	207 3 0	
10 <sup>a</sup>		Of y <sup>e</sup> same Mount <sup>a</sup> .	106 0 0	106 0 0	
11	Walter Bagnall.	Clonagh.	240 0 0	240 0 0	
10 <sup>b</sup>		P <sup>t</sup> of Newtowne.			A. R. P. 80 0 0
11	Earl of Ormonde.	Loughlin Bridge.	261 0 0	261 0 0	Duke of Or- monde, De- mesne lands.
	Parish of Arnie :—				
1		Nurney in C. S. :—			
2		Ardhouse.	196 0 0	294 0 0	
2 <sup>a</sup>		Old Towne.	199 2	261 0 0	
3		In y <sup>e</sup> same.	25 0		
3 <sup>a</sup>		Urney.	160 0 0	160 0 0	
2 <sup>b</sup>		In Urney and Old- towne.	37 1 0	87 1 0	
4		Ballyrean.	156 0 0	150 0 0	
5		P <sup>t</sup> of Ballytoan.	65 0 0		
	Walter Bag- nall afore- said.	Orchard ½ a Martland.	294 0 0	294 0 0	Dudley Bagnall.

Proprietors— anno 1841.		Denominations.	A. R. P.		A. R. P.		Grantees under Act of Settlement, 1661-1676.	Observations.	
		Part of Fenagh Parish:—							
1	Murtagh Cavenagh.	Milltowne.	102	1	0	102	1	0	Sir Richard Kennedy.
2		Drumfea.	225	0	0	225	0	0	
		Ballydoher al <sup>a</sup> Ballydurley.	32	0	0	32	0	0	
		Clonforty. 2.	3	0	0	3	0	0	
		Ballynekillbeg. 30.	20	0	0	20	0	0	
3		Knockieran.	253	0	0	253	0	0	
4		Rangreagh.	426	0	0	426	0	0	
5		Garrochine, Kilrahine, al <sup>a</sup> Trarahine.	20	0	0	20	0	0	
		Coolenagh.	440			440			
		Kilshynall Parish:—							
1	Walter Bagnall, Ir. Pa.	Knockanacroo.	290	0	0	290	0	0	Dudley Bagnall. Lady Anne Harman.
1 <sup>a</sup>	The same. Mountain belonging to y <sup>e</sup> same.	Part of y <sup>e</sup> same.	88	1	0	89	3	0	Lady Anne Harman. J <sup>r</sup> . Stopford.
		2 10 2				86	2	0	Dudley Bagnall.
2	Brian Cavenagh.	Kilcallrin.	248	0	0	248	0	0	Lady Harman.
2 <sup>a</sup>		P <sup>t</sup> of y <sup>e</sup> same.	42	0	0				
3		Pasture and Timber.	81	0	0	81	0	0	
4		Turf Bogg. 25.							
5		Red Bogg.							
6		Knoscar and Kiledmond.	260	0	0	260	0	0	Dudley Bagnall.
7, 8	Walter Bagnall, Ir. Pa.	Killeanel, and Ballylinreally, and Ballybullin.	261	2	0	261	2	0	Nath. Evans.
9	Mount Leinster, with sev <sup>l</sup> other small Mountains belonging to several adjacent townes, called:—	Rodellog.	249	2	0	249	2	0	Nath. Evans.
10		Rathanad.	402	0	0	402	0	0	John Asgill.
11		Tonduffe.	244	1	0	244	1	0	Nath. Evans.
12		475							
18		Raheendurragh and Cranagh.	446	2	0	446	2	0	Dudley Bagnall.
14	Gerald Kinsella, Ir. Pa.	Mountain Brack.							Nath. Evans.
		Kynogh.	108	2	0	25	1	23	James Stopford.
						78	0	17	John Wilcocke. Dudley Bagnall.
15	Mountain called	Part of Kilshynall, Parish aforesaid:— Carrick brack, 76 3 0							



Proprietors— anno 1641.	Denominations.	A. R. P.		Grantees under Act of Settle- ment, 1661-1678.	Observations.	
		A.	R. P.			A.
	Part of Kilshynall, Parish aforesaid:—					
16 16 16 14	Walter Bag- nall, Ir. Pa. } P <sup>t</sup> of the same. P <sup>t</sup> of y <sup>e</sup> same. Gerald Kin- sellagh, I. P. } P <sup>t</sup> of Kynogh.	217 98 89 27	0 0 0 0	217 98 89 27	0 0 0 0	Dudley Bag- nall. } 891. Nath. Evans.
	Killedmond. Killcomney.	200 150	0 0	200 150	0 0	
	Cloghwalter.	100	0 0	100	0 0	Dudley Bag- nall, in Clon- goist parish before. In Ballyellen parish before.
	Kilcrutt. Clonlerad, p East. Kildrinagh.	450 100 200	0 0 0	450 100 200	0 0 0	
	Walter Bag- nall, Ir. Pa. } Moyvally. Ballyhebuy. Ballyhubbuck. Rathmoyle, p East. Foure Gardens, and fields of ground called Raheen.	25 50 50 100 120	0 0 0 0 0	25 50 50 100 120	0 0 0 0 0	J <sup>r</sup> . Stopford. J <sup>r</sup> . Stopford.
	Walter Bagnall, Ir. Pa. } Ramikille $\frac{1}{2}$ Mart- land, 240. }	100	0 0		C. S.	
	Idem. } Knockmkeyrnan, $\frac{1}{4}$ , 121. }	20	0 0			Nath. Evans.
	Dermot Lander- ing Kavenagh, Ir. Pa. } Rahona $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Mart- land, 231. }	50	0 0	50	0 0	
	Carrick leagh $\frac{1}{2}$ } Martland, 90. }	130	0 0			Nath. Evans.
	Parish of Ffenagh or Ffe- nough:—					
	Mr Henry War- ren, p <sup>t</sup> . } Kilcarran $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Mart., 52. }	95	C. S.	95	0 0	Richard War- burton.
	Ballybrennock 1 Martland. }	360	C. S.	360	0 0	
	Kilmacken $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mart- land. }	250	C. S.	250	0 0	Richard War- burton.
	Kilconnor $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Martland. }	100	C. S.	100	0 0	
	Ballyteige $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Martland. }	70	C. S.	70	0 0	Richard War- burton.
	Lomerlane $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Martland. }	170	C. S.	170	0 0	
	Ballynemock.	10	1 32	10	1 32	

No. II. (See *Supra*, p. 43).

SINCE the foregoing sketch was in type, the following account of Colonel Walter Bagnal's death has come to the writer's notice. It is contained in a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (Class F. Tab. 3, No. 28), entitled "An Aphorismicall Discovery of Treasonable faction by N. S." Some former possessor of the volume, giving the title in the fly-leaf, in a handwriting of the same period adds to the initials, N. S., "who styles himself Secretary to Owen Roe O'Neal, General of the Irish Rebell Army, being an account of most passages of the Rom : Catholick Army and Clergy in Ireland from 1641 to 1653, with copys of many Bulls and lres, &c., from the Pope and Clergy of Rome."

The work is an extremely long one, being a folio volume consisting of 230 closely written folios (making 460 pages) in a miniature hand. The author (as will be perceived from his English), had evidently long dwelt abroad, apparently in Spain or Flanders, and the purport of his work (after glorifying the martial deeds of Owen Roe O'Neill, and his particular army), is to charge the party or "Faction" in the Confederate Assembly and Army that adhered to Ormond's views, with "Treason," and with the failure of the Irish Cause. The numbers within brackets refer to the sections of the MS.

A. D., 1652.—"The three provinces, Linster, Monster, and Conaght, are now quiet under the enemies commands without any opposition; for what partie did sticke to Bryan M'Phelim in Linster, are goen for the North, as above mentioned, fewe did adhere in Conaght to Dowaltagh [ . . . . . ], and Christopher Kelly, and Mortagh o'Bryan, in Monster, all tories, as the enemy now a-days tearmes all the Irish. The common enemy having nothing to do in the foresside Provinces other than executions; all marshallsies full of people to be tryed; all men found guiltie of death that have been accessarie to the death of any Englishman or English adherente. Upon this score, notwithstanding this now peace, our hostages for compliance of Kilkenny Articles (No. 938 mentioned) are now arraigned pursuant to the 9th article of their own proper acte, and the 9th Resolve (No. 930). With much adoe Lord Clanmaliry was reprieved (after long indurance), until further time. But Colonell Bagnall, a prime gentleman, and a great Pillar of faction was condemned of death for hanging an English boore upon presumption of being a spie, the first yeare of this comotion. When Bagnall sawe how the world went w<sup>th</sup> him, was mightie penitent for what he had formerly acted, ingeniously acknowledginge his irreparable oversight, advising the multitude standinge by to beware that they taste not the same cupe that he now brinds [sic] unto them, assuringe them that he is worthly searved, cursinge and banninge all such as occasioned his haultinge in soe just a cause. Many other things to this tyme have this Gentleman uttered; many sharpe and shower reprehensions he gave the enemy, but desired to be bulletted alive like a souldier, and not hanged (as his sentence implied), like a malefac-

tour, which was granted. Verily, if not misleade, this gentleman had verie good partes; he was boulede, audacious, couragious, well bred, fluent in deliverie, liberal, and well descended. But was spiteful, arrogant, presumptuous, and envious (which, God forgive him); after all his pleadings was shott to death."—Folio 227, face.

No. III. (See *Supra*, p. 145).

EVERY Irish proprietor before going down with his family into captivity in Connaught, and leaving his ancient castle, with its demesne lands, and farms, to be divided among the officers and conquering soldiers of the Republican army of England, was obliged to return a "Particular," and obtain a certificate in the following form, to be presented to the Commissioners at Loughrea, in the County of Galway, whose office it was to set out provisional allotments to the transplanted, competent to the stock of cattle brought with them. By reference to these Certificates from the Commissioners of Revenue of the precinct whence the transplanter removed, the Loughrea Commissioners were enabled to set him down either as a Freeholder (i. e. Proprietor), or as a Tenant. The description of the personal appearance was a check upon frauds; and the quantity of the tillage had connexion with the Assessments which were levied upon Stock and Crop, or (according to the expressive Irish phrase) upon "Corne and Horne."

"By the Commissioners within the precinct of Clonmell.

"Number of Certificate and tyme of presenting. No. 1, folio 1.

"We, the said Commissioners, do hereby certify that John Hore of Bally mac maag, and Mathew Hore of Shandon, in the Co. of Waterford, in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of England for the Affairs of Ireland hath, upon the 23<sup>d</sup> of January, 1653-54, delivered unto us in Writing a Particular containing therein the name of himself and such other persons as are to remove with him, with the quantities and qualities of their respective stocks and tillages, the contents whereof are as followeth, viz. :—1. John Hore of Bally mac maag, adged seventy, graye, tall stature, freeholder; tenne cowes, five garrans. 2. Edmond Hore, son to the said John, adged tenne yeares, browne hair. 3. Owen Crumpon of the same, adged thirty; black, middle stature, Servant. 4. James Daton, of the same, adged sixteen, flaxen haire, Servant. 5. Morrish Caffon of Ballidonnack, adged thirty-foure, brown, lowe, Servant. 6. Mathew Hore of Shandon, adged thirty-one, browne, middle, freeholder; eight cowes, two hundred sheep, seventy-nine garrans, five cows, forty-two acres of wheate and beare, seven of Pease. 7. Mary Hore, wife of the said Mathew, adged twenty-five, white, tall. 8. Mary Hore, daughter to the said Mathew, adged nine, flaxen; three cowes, two heifers. 9. Margaret Hore, daughter to the said Mathew, [adged] foure, flaxen,

lowe; three cows, and two bullocks. 10. Bridget Hore, daughter to the said Mathew, adged seaven, white, lowe; three cows and two yearlings. 12. Patrick Hore, son to the said Mathew, adged five, white, lowe; five cows and one yearling. 13. Martin Hore, adged three, flaxen; tenne cows and one yearling and thirty-six sheepe. 14. Murtagh Morrochoe of Grage, adged thirty-seaven, browne, middle, tenant; two cows and one yearling, fifteen sheepe, one garran. 15. Nicholas Power of Shandon, [adged] sixtie, graye, middle, servant. 16. Edmund Cally, &c., &c., &c.

"The substance whereof wee conceive to bee true. In witness whereof wee have hereunto sett our hands and Seals, the 26th of January, 1653-4.

"CHA<sup>s</sup>. BLOUNT, SOL. RICHARDS, HEN. PARIS."

This "Particular" enumerates and describes in like manner all the severall members of twenty-five families, some of them tenants, others of them Burgesses of Dungarvan, others widows, and single men, who had agreed to transplant with John Hore of Bally macmaag, Esq., and his son Mathew Hore of Shandon, Esq., both of them proprietors residing in the parish of Whitechurch, in the Barony of Desies without Drum, and the Co. Waterford, three miles north west of Dungarvan.

"By the Commissioners of Revenue within the precincts of Lymerick.

"Wee, the Commissioners, doe hereby certify that Sir Nicholas Comyn of Lymerick, Kn<sup>t</sup>., upon the 19<sup>th</sup> day of December, hath delivered, &c., Vizt.: the said Sir Nicholas Comyn, adged fiftie yeares, midle stature, flaxen haire, *lean face, and benumbed of one side of his body of a dead palsie*. His Lady, Catherine Comyn, adged thirty-five yeares, flaxen haire, midle stature. Honora ny McNamara, servant, adged twenty yeares, brown haire, midle stature. Having *noe substance*, but expecting the benefit of his qualification."

The following entries, in a more contracted form, are by the Commissioners within the precincts of Clonmel:—

No. 158, folio 18.—"James Lord of Dunboyne, in the C<sup>o</sup>. Typperary, &c., on the 19 Dec, 1653, twenty-one persons, foure cows, tenne garrans, two swine. Dated 30 January, 1653-4.

"H. PARIS, CHAS. BLOUNT, SOL. RICHARDS."

"Dame Katharine Morris of Lathragh, in the C<sup>o</sup>. of Typperary, on 14 Dec. 1653, one hundred and thirty-five persons, one acre and a-half of summer corn, tenne cows, sixteen garrans, nineteen goates, two swine. Dated 16 January, 1653-4.

"H. P., C. B., S. R."

"Pierce Lord Viscount Ikerin, in the County of Typperary, on 25 January, 1653-4, seaventeen persons, sixteene acres of winter corne, foure cows, fyve garrans, twenty-foure sheepe, two swyne. Dated 25th January, 1653-4.

"DL. ABBOTT, SOL. RICHARDS, C. BLOUNT."

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS  
OF  
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
FOR THE YEAR  
1861.

THIRTEENTH SESSION.

---

If any there be, which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

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VOL. III.—PART II.

NEW SERIES.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M<sup>C</sup>GLASHAN & GILL, 50, UPPER SACKVILLE-STREET.

1861.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS  
OF  
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
FOR THE YEAR 1861.

---

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments,  
William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 2nd, 1861.

CHRISTOPHER HUMFREY, Esq., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

The Right Hon. the Earl of Portsmouth, Hurstbourne Park,  
Whitchurch, Hants: proposed by George C. Roberts, Esq.

The Honourable Standish Prendergast Vereker, 10, Warwick-  
square, London: proposed by J. P. Prendergast, Esq.

Benjamin Lee Guinness, Esq., Dublin: proposed by R. R. Brash,  
Esq.

Dennis O'Callaghan Fisher, Esq., 198, Great Brunswick-street,  
Dublin: proposed by J. P. Prendergast, Esq., and seconded by Sir  
Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms.

James Morrin, Esq., Dangan, Thomastown; and Patrick  
O'Herlihy, Esq., 33, Ebenezer Terrace, Sunday's Well, Cork:  
proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Walter S. Gifford, Esq., J. P., Ballysop, New Ross: proposed  
by Richard Long, Esq., M. D.

Henry James, Esq., Surveyor of Post Offices, Limerick: proposed  
by Alderman Michael Banim.

The Rev. John Molony, P. P., Ring, Dungarvan: proposed by  
J. Power, Esq.

The Report of the Committee, for the year 1860, was read by  
the Honorary Secretaries as follows:—

Your Committee gladly commence their yearly Report by announcing the election of *fifty-eight* new Members since the first of January, 1860; making the aggregate of Members not in arrear, after the deduction of losses by death and other causes, amount to *six hundred and eight*, of whom *thirty* have compounded for life.

In reviewing the progress of the Society since its formation in 1849, your Committee can proudly point to the results of co-operation. The Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society is a bundle of twigs, each in itself very insignificant, but all potent in union. Now although a bundle of twigs may be very strong when bound together, yet it is self-evident that the strength of the whole must grow by the increase of each part. Our hundreds of subscribing Members, combining to pay the insignificant sum of *six shillings* each, have (as the five goodly volumes issued by the Society amply prove) enabled your officers to do good service in the cause of Irish Archæology. An examination, however, of the yearly balance-sheets must show that, but for the generous donations of a small minority of the Members, and, latterly, the sums received as the compositions of a limited number of Life Members, the united force of our six-shilling subscriptions would never have sufficed to work the Society so successfully as it has been heretofore; and its operations must long since have been more fairly proportioned to its income.

With these considerations strongly impressed on their minds, your Committee trust that the Members will see the necessity of looking the difficulty boldly in the face, and seeking for a remedy. They therefore advise that the following steps should be taken to place the Society on a more secure basis.

1st. That the Meetings of the Society be held quarterly, instead of bi-monthly, for the future; and that the "Journal" of the Society be issued at like intervals. This change will not only cause a considerable saving in the binding, covering, and issuing of the "Journal," but will also, in the event of such a course being found necessary, enable the Committee to reduce the quantity of printed matter given in return for Members' subscriptions. But, in order to obviate a necessity so much to be deplored, your Committee suggest:—

2nd. That a special "Illustration Fund" be formed, and that Members be invited to contribute thereto annually in such proportion as they may see fit, in addition to the ordinary subscription of 6s. The important uses of such a fund need not be dwelt on. As a noble commencement of the proposed "Illustration Fund," your Committee have to announce that Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M. P., has undertaken to supply, at his own cost, the numerous engravings required to illustrate "Dineley's Tour in Ireland, Temp. Charles II.," the printing of which has been already commenced in the "Journal," but hitherto delayed, as to its completion, by the inability of the funds to meet the large outlay required to engrave the numerous drawings of towns, castles, abbeys, and monuments by which it is illustrated.

3rdly. Your Committee are most anxious to relieve the general funds from the expense consequent on the support and proper management of the Museum and Library. This portion of the Society's operations is exclusively local; and were there found thirty local subscribers at £1 each,



or sixty at 10s., a fund would be formed sufficient to guarantee the permanency of the Museum, even were the Society dissolved. The Museum of the Society is the only provincial institution of the kind in Ireland; and must prove a credit to the county and city of Kilkenny, if properly supported. Your Committee is far from wishing that such local collections as ours should be antagonistic to the great National Museum of Antiquities formed under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy. On the contrary, they should act as machinery, by which all really valuable antiques might be secured for the latter, instead of being sent to the melting-pot, or sold out of the country. An instance to the point is the recent purchase by the Royal Irish Academy of the "Kilkenny Brooch," which, but for the existence of this Society's Museum, and the consequent attention directed to such remains, would have passed into the hands of some travelling dealer, or been sold in London. Your Committee calculate that £30 per annum would amply suffice to pay the rent of the Museum premises, provide for the purchase of such locally interesting antiques as may be offered for sale, and enable the Committee to provide cases for the proper exhibition of the collection, and defray the expense of binding the valuable periodicals which are presented to the Library by kindred Societies at home and abroad. It is a distinguishing mark of the management, not alone of the Museum, but of the Society at large, that not one halfpenny of its funds is expended in salaries—all its officers being honorary.

Your Committee trust that these suggestions may be approved of by the members; and hope that sufficient public spirit will be found in the ranks of the Society and of the people of Kilkenny, to convert them into accomplished facts before the next Annual Meeting comes round.

Your Committee are glad to report that much has been done during last summer to remove obstructions which disfigured the noble architectural remains of Jerpoint Abbey, and secure its preservation. The old wall which stretched across the nave of the abbey church has been removed, thus throwing open the view from east to west. A portion of ground, including the site of the south side-aisle of the nave, has been purchased from squatters, enabling the Committee to take down the enclosing wall built when the abbey was lately under repair, and to remove it further south, so as to rescue from desecration the entire site of the abbey church; whilst enough land remains over to supply, by its annual rent, compensation to a caretaker. The thanks of the Society are due to James S. Blake, Esq., J. P., a member of the Committee, for the judicious and careful manner in which he has carried out these improvements.

The Treasurer reports that some outstanding arrears have been paid up this year; and your Committee trust that all members will bear in mind that, as the printing of the Society's "Journal" proceeds in advance, and as the Treasurer is personally liable for the outlay in the first instance, it is essential to the very existence of the Society that members should be punctual in remitting their subscriptions to him as soon as possible after the first of January in each year.

The Report was adopted, and ordered to be printed.

On the motion of Alderman Banim, seconded by Mr. P. A. Aylward, the Honorary Officers and Committee of the previous year

were re-elected, substituting, as a member of the Committee, Peter Burtchaell, Esq., C. E., County Surveyor of Kilkenny, for his predecessor in office, removed by death.

Mr. J. G. Roberts, and Mr. P. Aylward, were elected auditors of the accounts for the year 1861.

In the absence of the Rev. James Graves, who had given notice of the motion at the last General Meeting, Mr. Prim proposed the following resolution, the effect of which, he said would be, in accordance with the recommendation of the Report, to reduce the Meetings of the Society from six to four in the year, and make the issue of the "Journal" quarterly, instead of bi-monthly:—

"That the sixth General Rule be altered and stand as follows:—

"The Society shall meet on the first Wednesday in January, April, July, and October, when papers and correspondence on Archæological subjects shall be read, and objects of antiquarian interest exhibited."

Dr. Delany seconded the proposition, and the resolution passed unanimously.

Mr. Prim, in accordance with the suggestion of the Report, also moved:—

"That those of our Members who are desirous of keeping our future volumes up to the standard of those already issued, shall be invited to secure that result by special Annual Subscriptions of 4s., 6s., 8s., 10s., 12s., 14s., or such other sum as may suit their convenience, for the establishment of a permanent "Illustration Fund."

Dr. Delany suggested that a better course might be to increase the annual subscription of all the Members by a shilling or two, which, there being 600 Members, would amount in the aggregate to a considerable sum, although individually the difference of the expense would be a mere trifle.

The Chairman thought the suggestion a good one, as then all would pay equally, and some would not be at the expense of providing more valuable publications for those who would not contribute to the object.

Mr. Aylward remarked that the danger might be that some Members might consider that faith was broken with them, if the annual subscription was raised without consulting them. If left optional with them, some Members might follow the example of Mr. Shirley, and others might voluntarily contribute in a lesser degree.

Mr. Baniin thought they might as well give the voluntary principle a trial first.

Mr. Robertson then seconded the resolution proposed, which passed *nem. con.*

With reference to the suggestion of the Committee's Report, as

to the feasibility of supporting the Museum independently of the Society's general funds,

Mr. Aylward moved, "That steps be taken to establish the Museum on a permanent basis, so as to be independent of the general funds of the Society," thus leaving it an open question as to what steps should be taken for the purpose.

Dr. James seconded the proposition, which was then adopted.

The Secretary read a communication from Mr. Brash, the proposer of Benjamin Lee Guinness, Esq., as follows:—

"I have been requested by Benjamin Lee Guinness, Esq., of Collegegreen, Dublin, to propose him a Member of the Kilkenny Archæological Society. I need scarcely remind you of the noble and praiseworthy example set by Mr. Guinness in his restoration of the venerable fabric of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin,—an act of both good taste and munificence, that I sincerely trust will find imitators. I feel bound to state, for the information of your Members, that these restorations are carried on with the most anxious care to re-produce the ancient features of the edifice, without any embellishments unauthorized by the existing remains. The works are executing in a most permanent and satisfactory manner. I mention these matters to re-assure the minds of the Members of our Society, who must naturally feel anxious on the subject from the absurd rumours circulated a short time since by uninformed parties."

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 32.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 730-34, inclusive.

By the Geological Society of Dublin: their "Journal," Vol. VIII., part 3.

By Miss H. C. Archer Butler: "Le Tombeau de Childéric I<sup>er</sup>. Roi des Francs, restitué à l'Aide de l'Archéologie." Par M. L'Abbé Cochet.

By the Cambrian Archæological Society: The "Report" of the Bangor Meeting of the Society.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal" for September, 1860.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: their "Report and Communications," No. 10.

By the Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Buckingham: "Records of Buckinghamshire," Vol. II., parts 1 and 2.

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Chester: their "Transactions," Vol. XII., session 1859-60.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for December, 1860.

By Mr. John O'Daly, of Anglesea-street, Dublin: an ancient official transcript of the grant by patent of land and houses in Inistiogue, county Kilkenny, to Sir Charles Wilmott, dated at Dublin, December 9, in the ninth year of James I. The patent was curious as well for other reasons, as giving the names of most of the inhabitants of Inistiogue at the commencement of the seventeenth century. Mr. O'Daly had picked up the document at a waste paper shop, and stated that many similar records were daily destroyed.

By Mr. Prim, on the part of the Member of the Society who had contributed the interesting ancient document respecting the O'Neills, of Mount Neill, at the last Meeting: a parchment deed of the year 1630, being a record of an agreement as to the boundaries of their respective adjoining properties, executed between Nicholas Wise, of Rochestown, and Redmond Mores, of Moilerstown, gentlemen, both of the county of Tipperary.

By Alderman Banim: a small cannon ball, which had been found in the debris of a part of the town-wall of Limerick, near the citadel, by his brother, John Banim, when he visited that city for the purpose of obtaining information for his tale "The Boyne Water." Thus the object presented to the Society's Museum was interesting not merely as a relic of the famous siege of Limerick, but as a memento of a distinguished Kilkenny man.

By Mr. E. Benn, of Glenravel, near Belfast: one of those primæval remains supposed to have been originally used as distaff weights, but popularly termed "fairy millstones," of which numbers had been found in his district.

The following communication, also from Mr. Benn, was read:—

"Some time ago, a man setting potatoes in the townland of Errishacroe, parish of Dunaghy, and county of Antrim, found an urn of a superior description, which is now in my possession. It is about twelve inches deep, ten inches wide at the mouth, five in the bottom, and nearly half an inch thick. It is ornamented with lines drawn diagonally from the large rim at the top to the bottom, the intersections forming regular lozenges. These lines are neatly and regularly formed; and from the strength and perfect regularity of shape of the urn, it must have been made upon a wheel. It has been glazed; and the glaze still remains, converted now into what looks like a coating of brown paint. It is altogether in fine preservation, except that the bottom has been knocked off, in which condition, it is singular to say, it appears to have been originally placed, having been found with its mouth down, and a stone thrust into the turned-up broken bottom, for the purpose of closing it. The urn enclosed many fragments of calcined bones, which, from their appearance, must have belonged to a man of great size: the pieces of the skull are of extraordinary thickness. There was no carn over it; but from the number of stone fences adjoining, there is little doubt that a heap of stones had formerly covered the place, which in the course of time had been removed. It was

placed at the side of a small projecting rock, which had probably been taken advantage of for the purpose of increasing the apparent height of the cairn.

“There was nothing otherwise remarkable in the site, except that it stood on the edge of the pass, which was, I have reason to think, the way from the earliest times from the sea-coast to the interior of this part of the county of Antrim. This pass seems to have come from the coast up Glenariff, the most beautiful, probably, of all the Antrim glens; then crossing a short track of mountain till it reached the head of the Ravel Water, from thence following the course of that river into the interior of the country. I may remark that the new road quite recently made, and laid down, it is to be supposed, on the best engineering principles, follows nearly a similar course.

“Several other sepulchral urns have been found in this neighbourhood; one, some years ago, near the great standing-stone in the townland of Cargen; and another, in a bank overhanging the Ravel river. In this latter case, the river had encroached on the land, so as to expose the urn to observation. In this situation it was seen by a person walking along the bank, and who, disappointed at not finding treasure in it, which is the vulgar belief of the people, dashed it to pieces on a stone. These urns were both of small size; but a curious circumstance has been related to me with reference to the finding of calcined human bones without any urn. I have been informed by two persons—and I have no reason to question the accuracy of their statements—that one of them found calcined bones in an enclosure of stones covered with a cairn, consisting of two or three cartloads; and the other, that he found similar bones in a round hole cut in a dry subsoil covered with a flat stone, on the top of a little hill. I have not heard of such discoveries being made elsewhere; doubtless, there may be, as it is but reasonable to suppose that interments in those primitive times were like those of the present age, some very humble, and others on an expensive scale; the large, ornamental urns, for example, containing the ashes of great chiefs; while the burnt bones of the common people—at least sometimes, it is probable—were interred, as in the cases above mentioned, without any urns.

“The district of country in which these things have been discovered consists of the slopes of low, green, and partly boggy mountains, with glens or valleys of more or less breadth intervening. Like many such places in Ireland, it seems to have been inhabited at a very early period, and to have been afterwards abandoned, or used as occasional summer pasture; in which state great part of it continued till quite a recent time. The locality being good, and now opened up with improved roads, it is being brought rapidly into cultivation; and thus, in breaking up land which has never before been disturbed, some interesting things are from time to time brought to light. It is not to be supposed, though such places were inhabited at a remote period, that the population of the country was at all great; but that the lower parts being encumbered with wood and bog, the green slopes of the dry mountains offered the best location for the few inhabitants, and the best pasturage for their cattle; on the produce of which, and the spoils of the chase, they doubtless mainly subsisted,

scarcely any trace of agriculture being discoverable. So far as the discovery of antiquarian objects in this new soil would indicate the few inhabitants who lived in it, it would appear to have been in a very low state of civilization, and to have possessed nothing of much value. Two fine bronze spears have been found; one good brooch set with glass or enamel, which was carried off, and which I did not see; in one place a number of pennies of Edward I. or II. have been from time to time dug up. Coins of this period are indeed often found in considerable hoards in this country—probably lost or concealed at the time of the great ruin and destruction brought upon Ulster after Edward Bruce's invasion. Besides these, many beads are found, some of a large size, and two, in my possession, of that interesting kind peculiar, I believe, to Ireland, and which I can no otherwise describe than as two beads united, without any perforation for a string. There is still another class of articles found here—so frequently, indeed, as to be scarcely worth collecting. These are flint arrow-heads, and small stone hatchets. I do not allude to finely-made hatchets, such as are remarkable for size or finish. One such was found here recently, nearly a foot long, and four inches broad, finely polished, and neatly made. It was probably a war hatchet; at any rate, a strong man only could use it effectually for any purpose. The small hatchets, it is reasonable to conjecture, were applicable more to domestic uses, as cutting and skinning animals, splitting firewood, and purposes of that kind. They are generally about five or six inches long, two inches broad at the face, rounded off and sharpened, gradually narrowing to about an inch in diameter, with a blunt end. They are commonly made of hard basalt, the rock of this district. Some are made of stone not found here; but this is rare. The stone of the country has formed the general material; and their construction, I would conjecture, has been effected in this manner:—The streams were searched for water-worn stones, approaching as nearly as possible to the form required. These were then, by the process commonly called *knapping*, reduced to the shape of rude, unfinished hatchets, and completed finally by friction. Some are still rude at the end, untouched apparently, except by what I have called the *knapping*; the sharp edge, or that required for use, being alone finished. They are far more generally, however, smooth throughout; but the way in which they were made has been suggested to me by the circumstance of the rude blocks of nine or ten hatchets having been found together in a heap on the bank of a small stream. They were blocked out into shape in the manner I have mentioned, and would seem to have remained in the place in which they lay since the time they were first formed. The intention was, probably, to carry them elsewhere to finish; and they were either forgotten or left behind from some cause.

“ The process of making the numerous arrows that are found here was similar to that of the hatchets. The flints were broken where they were got, which is a number of miles from this district. The flint naturally splits into flakes, such as seemed to answer well the required purpose. They were then blocked out, or chipped into triangular pieces, the size of an arrow, and carried off to be finished at leisure. In confirmation of this statement, I have to mention that, some time ago, near the fort of Dun-

gonnell,<sup>1</sup> was found a large flat stone, around which many small splinters of flint were lying. Among them were found an arrow not finished, and a triangular piece of flint, evidently intended to form one, as if they had dropped from the hands of the workman at his working place, and had been lost among the useless fragments. There would be a difficulty in forming an opinion as to the use of this triangular piece of flint, if the place in which it was found, and the chipped flints around it, did not prove its intended purpose. Would these matters tend to throw any light on the great quantities of flints said to have been found lately in France, which have so much puzzled antiquaries and geologists?

"The arrows are generally turned up in ground not before broken, when being set in potatoes for the first time. They would seem to have been used for destroying hares, or birds. If so, a great number in this way must have been lost, carried off by wounded animals, or, when they missed their aim, overlooked in the excitement of the chase, or hid by long grass. Besides, they were easily made, and not worth the trouble of looking for. The continuance of this state of society for many generations will account for the abundance of arrows found here. There is, however, a great difference in the skill exhibited in their workmanship. Some are extremely well made, neatly, even elegantly formed,—others quite rough, and rude in finish. I do not think they are so old as is generally supposed. They would answer the purpose of shooting small animals as well as metal arrows, and would be much more easily obtained. From these circumstances, as well as from an examination of other stone implements, the theory of what is called the stone age would appear not to be very well sustained. Thus, I have a very fine stone hammer, found here, in which the hole intended for the handle is bored with such smoothness, precision, and accuracy, that I cannot see how it could have been made, except with a very good metal tool. Other round stones are also found with holes in the centre, bevelled off, and smoothed, so as not to cut the rope, apparently, or whatever else they were attached to. One of these would make a very useful, or rather a very dangerous weapon, presenting some points of similarity to what is called a life-preserver of the present day. Another specimen of stone implement has been brought to me, the use of which I cannot well understand. It consists of a tolerably heavy stone, with two holes at the ends exactly opposite to one another, not passing through the stone, but merely sunk about half an inch deep.

"There is still another class of stone implements found in great abundance in this district, which formed part of the property of its early rude

<sup>1</sup> "This is a very interesting stone fort, of great size. It consists, in great measure, of an isolated rock, standing near one of the branches of the Ravel river, far up in the mountain. It is sheltered and secluded, with good pasture land around. It is now much dilapidated. There are traces of a way to the summit neatly built up on each side with large blocks of stone, without cement. There is a cave within it, entered apparently from the top, but now utterly choked up with rubbish. It appears to have been, in old times,

a residence of its class of the first importance. Further down the river is an old graveyard, but at which there is no trace of a church, or any other building, nor does any information, that I am aware of, exist concerning it, except that, at the time of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, it was a parish church, having an income of £5 a year. Near it is a holy well, formerly visited as such, but now neglected. A fair had also been held here from an old date, but was discontinued about a century ago.

inhabitants, and the use of which has given rise to some conjecture. These consist of small, flat, round stones, about an inch and a half in diameter, generally, and about a quarter of an inch thick, with a small hole in the centre (I enclose a fair specimen). Some are larger than this, indeed nearly three inches in diameter. They are found both in Down and Antrim. By some, it is supposed these stones were used in some way for spinning; the people call them fairy mill-stones. My own conjecture is, that they were used for buttons, for which purpose they would seem to be well adapted.

“Though it has been said that little or no trace of agricultural operations has been observed, this applies only to the green mountain pasture, at the head of the valley. A little lower down, marks of old cultivation appear in occasional spots. These consist of ridges of great breadth, the furrows still of much depth. At one of these places a wooden spade, about three feet and a half long, was found.”

The following observations relative to the seal of O’Kelly, of Hy-many (see vol. II., new series, p. 448), were forwarded by Mr. T. L. Cooke:—

“One of the great advantages arising from the existence of such an association as the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society is the interchange of ideas, and the mutual aid bestowed by its respective members on each other. Even when corrections happen not to be conclusive on the particular point in discussion, they seldom fail to be highly acceptable, as well as useful, by their evoking observations on some collateral matter of as great interest and value as that which formed the topic inviting attention originally. I therefore feel that the antiquarian public are much indebted to Mr. Gilbert J. French, of Bolton, for his notice of the O’Kelly seal appearing in vol. III., new series, p. 47, of the ‘Journal’ of this Society.

“That writer there suggests that ‘as the mode of indicating heraldic tinctures by lines or points, denominated *taille douce*, originated in Italy about the year 1636, it would be unsafe to attribute an earlier date to the curious bronze seal engraved at page 448 (vol. II., new series), on which the field, gules, is distinctly marked by perpendicular lines.’

“There is, I apprehend, a mistake in the statement just copied; for the regal helmet and monkish figure of the handle of the O’Kelly seal seem to me to prove that that particular relic once belonged to some personage of the O’Kelly family who was at the same time, or had been at different periods of his life, the King of Hy-Many, and a friar of the Order of St. Francis. In my paper, referred to by Mr. French, I have attributed the ownership of the seal to the most recent member of the O’Kelly family who, I believed, was found to fill these two positions in society; and I endeavoured to show that as the seal was found in the country of Hy-Many, and at no great distance from a Franciscan establishment founded by the ancient Irish family of O’Kelly, the evidence that it had belonged to an O’Kelly, at once king and friar, was almost conclusive as to the owner.

“It is clear to me that at whatever time the art of expressing colours



in heraldry by engraving first originated in Italy, it was known in other countries long before 1636, the era assigned for its invention by Mr. French. Thus, on the armorial bearings of France, as engraved on a plate in a copy of Camden's 'Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth' (printed at Leyden in 1625), now in my library, the Field, *azure*, is represented by *horizontal lines*. The use of that device by engravers for representing the *azure* tincture was, therefore, beyond doubt practised in Holland eleven years previous to the time assigned for its invention in Italy by Mr. French.

"My sole wish being such as should inspire every real searcher after truth, I must here render my humble assistance to Mr. French by referring to Brydson's 'Summary View of Heraldry' (1795), p. 60, in which is written:—'S. Petra Sancta, an Italian Herald *about two centuries ago*, is said to have been the first who thought of expressing the tinctures by lines and points.' This brings the supposed modern invention to a date about sixty-one years antecedent to the era given by Mr. French. I am convinced that the art was practised long before even the year 1595.

"In my small collection at Parsonstown is a gutta percha copy of an impression from a seal of Fromundus le Broune, preserved amongst the records in Kilkenny Castle, where this Society can, I presume, readily have access to the original.<sup>1</sup> This copy was kindly presented to me several years ago by my excellent friend, Mr. Prim, one of our learned and praiseworthy Honorary Secretaries. The field on this seal appears to be distinctly marked by lines in the manner still used by heralds to notify the tincture, *Murrey*; which, on coats of gentlemen, is called *Sanguine*; of noblemen, *Sardonix*; and of princes, *Dragon's Tail*. It is represented by diagonal, parallel lines crossing other diagonal, parallel lines in the manner of Saltires, or St. Andrew's crosses. (See the Introduction to Playfair's 'Family Antiquity'; also the Introduction to Kent's 'Grammar of Heraldry'.)

"The introduction to Carter's 'Honor Redivivus' (London, 1670), pp. 10, 11, 17, informs us that this heraldic colour is composed of lake, with the addition of a little Spanish brown. It is a tincture scarcely used by English heralds.

"From the style and fashion of this last-mentioned seal, it manifestly belongs to about the time of King Edward III.; and I find on the close-roll of the thirty-third year of that King, memb. 44 (A. D. 1360), the following entry regarding Fromundus le Broune and wife, viz.:—'Sic eciã Fromũdus le Broune et Nesta ux.' If the Kilkenny seal belonged to this Fromundus le Brun, it carries us back in the art of conventional engraving far earlier than the date to which I have ventured to suppose the O'Kelly seal to belong."

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The following papers were communicated to the Society:—

<sup>1</sup> The hatchings on the field of the seal of Fromundus le Brun, alluded to by Mr. Cooke, are merely ornamental, and intended to give relief to the charge on the shield, as is well

known to collectors of ancient seals, and as exemplified by many seals in the Ormonde collection. Sometimes this ground-work takes the form of scrolls.—Ed.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPLORATION OF A REMARKABLE  
 SERIES OF SUBTERRANEAN CHAMBERS SITUATED ON  
 THE ESTATE OF ROBERT J. E. MOONEY, ESQ., J. P., THE  
 DOON, TOWNLAND OF DOON, PARISH OF LIS, BARONY  
 OF GARRYCASTLE, KING'S COUNTY.

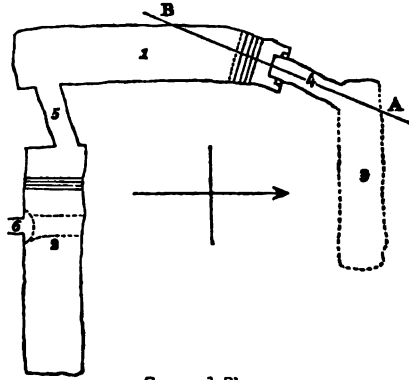
BY CHARLES H. FOOT, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE following account of these interesting structures is given, without any presumption of being able to impart definite information as to their age or use, but simply to call attention to their size and peculiarity of construction.

These chambers or "caves" (to use the local designation), are situated about three feet below the summit of a rath, on the top of a hill, rising about 200 feet above the level of the surrounding country. This hill is a partly isolated point in the great chain of "Eskers," or low hills, running obliquely across Ireland, from north-east to south-west; and this rath must have been one of the strongest military positions in the neighbourhood, where many smaller raths appear, not only from its great height, but also by reason of two sharply-scarped terraces running all round it. Until forty years ago, it was covered with thorn-trees; but now, together with the entire hill, it is thickly overgrown with natural ash and fir. At what time the existence of these chambers was first discovered does not appear; but they have been open for more than a century and a half, according to the testimony of the venerable woodranger, who (although not the "oldest inhabitant" on the estate), may, from the fact of his being in his eightieth year, while his father and grandfather attained, the one to ninety-six, and the other to ninety-seven years, be considered to be a good authority.

Until the beginning of the present century, there was but one entrance into these chambers (No. 4, ground plan), when the then owner of the Doon estate broke an entrance through the roof into the second chamber (indicated by dotted lines across chamber No. 2, ground plan); and although his object was to ascertain if more chambers existed, strange to say, the huge flagstones and rubbish, which then fell in, so completely covered and concealed the entrance of the gallery marked (6 on the ground plan), that its existence was unknown until the 16th of September, 1859. But, from the time that this entrance was rudely formed, the old entrance by the passage (4 ground plan) fell into disuse; and as but few persons visited these gloomy chambers, while of those who did so, a very small proportion felt sufficient interest in such works as to creep on their hands and knees through the passage (5 on the ground plan), into No. 1, the

original entrance through the passage (No. 4) became choked up.



Ground Plan.

The badgers now held their revels in these lonely galleries; and having burrowed through the walls of chamber No. 1, in two or three places, by their constant experiments in tunnelling, with the exception of a very small space, they filled that chamber with sand, completely burying the mouth of passage 4, and the platform afterwards described; nor were the rabbits idle outside: they succeeded in filling up the entrance of the passage No. 4, and in raising the ground about it, so effectually, that the lintel-stone of the entrance was more than eighteen inches underground.

While on a visit with my cousin, the present proprietor of Doon, in the month of September, 1859, we both agreed to thoroughly clear out and explore these interesting remains of the architecture of a race who, although they have left behind them no trace of their language, have written in stone the history of their modes of fortification, sepulchre, and, it may be, of their domestic dwellings or store-houses. We commenced with the chamber No. 1, and, as all the gravel which had accumulated inside had to be removed through the narrow low gallery (No. 5, ground plan), on a little wheeled truck, the process occupied nearly three days, during which time upwards of twenty tons of gravel and sand were taken out. We carefully repaired the walls where broken through, and at last our labours were rewarded by beholding the full extent and proportions of the chamber.

We found, at the northern extremity of the first chamber, a very curious structure, which has never, as far as I can learn, been found in similar chambers,<sup>1</sup> being a platform, of the dimensions indicated on

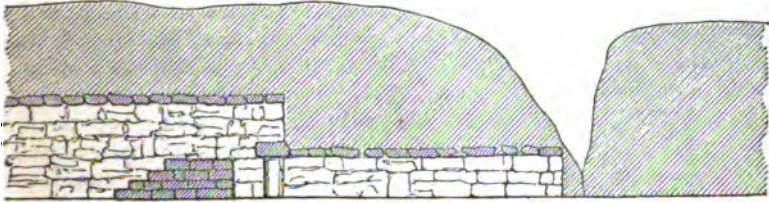
<sup>1</sup> See a somewhat similar arrangement for defence, or concealment, occurring in rath chambers, as described and illustrated by T. L.

Cooke, Esq., Parsonstown, in the "Transactions" of the Society, vol. i., first series, pp. 294-7.—ED.

the ground plan, approached by four narrow steps; and cut into this platform, as it were, was the mouth of the passage or gallery (No. 4, ground plan). The length of this chamber, from end to end, is 33 ft., 7 in.; being, not a perfect parallelogram, but a segment of the circumference of a very wide circle, its width varies, being but 5 feet at the end next the platform, while it is 6 ft. 9 in. across the opposite end; that its present height, 5 ft. 8 in., is within an inch or thereabouts of the original height, may fairly be presumed, from the fact that although we carefully searched for it, we could find no trace of a fifth step to the platform. The walls are splendid specimens of Cyclopean masonry, being composed of stones of various sizes and shapes, in some cases fitting closely to each other, in other places small stones are wedged between larger ones, to retain the latter in the perpendicular; there is not a trace of mortar or any cement having been used. The side walls are about three feet thick; but to the roof the attention of the visitor is at once attracted. It is formed of enormous stones, some of them 9 feet in length, and 5, or 6 feet in width, resting on other huge stones, which project, on the average, 2 feet from the side walls; and over the junction of each pair of the larger stones another huge flag lies; this construction appears at the place where the roof of the chamber No. 2 is broken through at the dotted lines on the ground plan. From time immemorial a trench (No. 3 on the ground plan), has existed; but before we commenced to excavate it, it appeared scarcely credible that any connexion existed between it and chamber No. 1. But on digging down some five feet, we came to and cleared out the entrance of the gallery I have before mentioned, as running up to the platform in No. 1 chamber; having removed the hard gravel which choked up this gallery, we found it to be 8 feet 9 inches in length, 2 feet 3 inches high, and the same in breadth; the roof of this passage is constructed of stones of equal size to those forming the roof of the chambers. In consequence of the space left in the construction of the platform, a man entering by the gallery, on his hands and knees, can easily mount up upon the platform, and so descend into chamber No. 1.

The construction of this mode of access will be more easily understood by glancing at the sectional elevation of the platform given at p. 225, where is shown the immense size of the lintel-stone, which forms a projection, on which, if a heavy flag were placed, covering the aperture, all entrance to the chamber might be effectually prevented. No trace of niches in the walls appeared, nor did we find any traces of remains of any description, save a few very minute bones, most probably those of rabbits; nor is there any tradition in the neighbourhood of anything having ever been found in the chambers. "A quantity of "brass money," of King James the

Second's coinage, was found some years ago within this rath, not far from the entrance broken into chamber No. 2.



Section on A. B.

We next directed our attention to chamber No. 2, on ground plan. This chamber had never been filled up to the degree the other had been : its construction is exactly similar to that of the chamber just described. A similar platform presents itself, with the same mode of entrance into the gallery leading to the other chamber. The measurements are almost identical, as will be seen from the ground plan. The stones composing the roof are somewhat larger—one in particular, forming the extreme eastern end, is at least 10 feet long and 7 feet wide, and 2 feet thick. The enormous size and weight of the roof-stones was fully demonstrated when clearing out the debris where the roof had been broken in ; for ten strong men with great difficulty were able to raise one-half of a roof-stone, which we split before attempting to remove it. When these stones were raised, and carefully removed to the summit of the rath, a cry was raised that another gallery was discovered ; and then, for the first time, we became aware of the existence of the gallery marked No. 6 on the ground plan. Its entrance was exactly similar to that into chamber No. 2. We set to work to clear out the gravel with which it was choked, with all the eagerness of adventurers discovering a vein of gold, but were doomed to meet with a sad disappointment ; for we found that the gravel ran in as fast as we cleared it out, from some point about 5 feet from the mouth of the gallery. On dipping down outside, we were able to run down a crowbar into the passage ; and as, after a most careful search, we could find no trace of a stone roofing to the passage beyond some 5 feet, we abandoned the attempt to explore this gallery. Unfortunately it seemed to terminate under the huge mass of gravel which had been thrown out of the chambers ; so that for the present all explorations in that direction were discontinued. We then turned to the open trench No. 3, on the ground plan, and excavated it to the level of the floor of the gallery No. 4, and in length for some 25 feet, until we came to undisturbed soil. We found no trace of any end wall ; but we found that this trench had evidently been once lined with stone walls, exactly similar to those of the chambers ; but

we came upon no stones of equal size with those forming the roofs of the latter, nor any trace of a platform.

Is this stone-lined trench to be viewed as a third chamber, dismantled of its roof? For, if not, can we presume that the Firbolg, or Tuatha de Danaan architects expended so much labour in lining with stone an uncovered passage to the entrance of chambers which, whatever their use may have been, were evidently intended to be concealed? Yet there is no local tradition of the roof-stones having been used for any building purpose. There are no large stones in the immediate neighbourhood of this rath; and as all the stones are a hard sandstone grit, they could not have been burnt for lime. Again, assuming that this trench was once a complete chamber, into which access could only be obtained through the gallery No. 4, and that it formed the last and most remote of the series, to which the entrance would then be through the newly-discovered gallery No. 6, the whole construction of the two platforms, as regards defence, would be thrown away;—nay, more, the platforms could be converted into means of blockading the occupants of the chambers. Therefore I trust your readers will be able to offer some suggestion as to the probable use of this stone-lined trench, as I confess I myself have not been able to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion regarding its purpose. As to the particular object for which these chambers were constructed,—in the first place, it seems clear that they were not constructed for sepulchral structures, for reasons very clearly given by that eminent antiquary Mr. W. R. Wilde, in his work, “The Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater,” at page 114 of which, when describing some ruins in the neighbourhood of Clady, county of Meath, he says:—

“In an adjoining plantation, and not above a stone’s-throw from the church, were lately discovered two subterranean chambers. Each of these crypts is formed entirely of unhewn stones, arranged in the shape of a bee-hive dome, but without mortar or cement, the arch being formed by each tier of stones projecting somewhat within, or beyond that beneath, and the summit completed by a large flag, the whole structure being preserved by the pressure and weight of the surrounding earth; for these chambers are quite below the surface; and it was owing to the accidental circumstance of a cow having pressed in one of the stones, that a knowledge of their existence was discovered. The first chamber is 9 feet broad, and the walls are not indented with niches or minor crypts. From the floor to the summit measures upwards of 9 feet; but owing to the drifting of some fine sand into the interior of these chambers and passages, their apparent altitude is much less. A small quadrangular passage, 9 feet in length,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  high, and 3 broad, and roofed with large flag-stones laid upon the flat, runs in a northerly direction to another chamber, exactly similar in every respect, but without any other passage leading from it. From the first chamber a second gallery branches off in a westerly direction, to a distance of about fifteen feet, where its dimensions increase con-

siderably; but from the roof having fallen in, it is not possible at present to investigate it much further. We understand that these chambers were found in this condition when first opened, a few years ago, and did not contain either weapons, ornaments, or any animal remains, which could in any way assist us in pronouncing upon their probable use. Still the antiquary will speculate upon the purposes for which such structures were erected, their ages, and the people by whom they were built. They differ from the sepulchral caves, in that the dome springs directly from the floor, and not from a course of upright pillars, such as we find at New Grange, Dowth, and elsewhere; and in not possessing niches, or minor chambers, which some of the smallest of those latter do, as that in Netterville Park, to which we shall presently allude. The stones are also much smaller, and totally devoid of carvings; and the existence of passages from one to the other, as well as these chambers being sunk in the earth, and not surrounded by a distinct mound of clay or stones, serve to distinguish them from those of the sepulchral class. There can be little doubt that they are to be referred to Pagan times, before the use of the arch, or the advantages of mortar, were known, and were probably employed by some of the very early people of this island as places of security, temporary habitations, and granaries, for which latter purpose their dryness well fitted them. The two chambers and the passages just referred to are, in all probability, but portions of a large collection of other souterrains adjoining; and some elevations of the ground in the neighbouring plantation, which have a remarkably hollow sound, lend probability to this conjecture. It is not unlikely to have been a troglodyte village, used as a granary, as well as a hiding-place, by some of our Fírbolg or Tuatha de Danaan aborigines. Several subterranean chambers and passages, some of them similarly constructed, exist in Connaught and Munster; they are generally found in the raised embankment, or within the precincts of an ancient fort or rath, and are by the peasants invariably attributed to the Danes, although we have no authority whatever for such a supposition. Within some of these have been found quantities of animal remains, those of goats and oxen in particular,—quantities of charcoal, and very often small tobacco pipes. Sir Thomas Molyneux gave a very accurate description of these caves and galleries, upwards of 120 years ago.”

I here append Sir Thomas Molyneux's observations, made in his “Discourse concerning the Danish Mounts, Forts, and Towers in Ireland,” published, together with Boate's Natural History of Ireland, in 1726. Having described those raths which were evidently intended for places of sepulchre, such as those at Dowth and New Grange, he proceeds:—

“Many of the larger sort have caves contrived within them, underground, that run in narrow straight long galleries; some of these above 26 feet in length, 5 in height, and as many broad. These make several returns, and join to one another in almost right angles. Where they meet, the passage is enlarged, and at the corners form a sort of closets, that are square in some mounds, and in others round. The walls and

sides of these galleries are made of stones laid flat on one another, without any mortar to join them, like our dry walls; and the passage is covered above with flag-stones laid across, that rest with their ends on the side-walls, which, being underground, and no ways exposed to the weather, are very durable, and far less subject to decay, than the strongest walls of lime and stone. These close and hollow passages, lying underground, so straight and small, without all light, could never be designed to accommodate men, nor can we anyways suppose them fit for their reception; so that they must have been constructed for the convenient disposal only of their stores, their arms, provisions, and such warlike necessities, that here lay secure from weather, and at hand, still ready for their use, and under such guard that kept them safe from their enemies."

A remarkable identity in the proportions of the connecting galleries described by Dr. Wilde at Clady, with those that I have mentioned, will be observed. There are but a few inches difference; but there is no mention of any such novel feature as the platforms which appear in the Doon caves; which, from the peculiarity of their construction, would enable the inhabitants of this rath to make a last stand against their enemies, or would enable the wives and children of the garrison to defend themselves, if surprised, during an expedition of their husbands and fathers to fill their larder from the herds of some neighbouring enemy. I have been informed that near Dysart, not far from Mullingar, there is a complete subterranean village, consisting of upwards of ten bee-hive-shaped chambers, each enclosed by a long narrow gallery; and that, in consequence of the rath under which they lay having been cut away, they are now all exposed to view. It was at one time intended to use their materials in building, but happily a sting of remorse (if not some much less worthy motive) stayed the destroyer's hand; but it is to be feared that they will not long remain perfect.

In one of the roof-stones in chamber No. 1 occur faint flutings, exactly similar to those appearing on one of the stones in the gallery leading into the celebrated tumulus at New Grange, Co. Meath; but, like the latter, appear to have arisen from long-continued action of water or the atmosphere (see woodcut, p. 194, "Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater"). It must be observed that, in addition to having the platform within them, the Doon caves are of unusual shape and size. The labour employed in their construction must have been very great; for, besides the ignorance of mechanical powers, which must have existed at that distant period, every one of the huge stones used in these chambers had to be conveyed a distance of upwards of one mile and a half in a straight line, as at that distance from the rath, and there alone, a thick crop of these sandstone boulders has been sown by some glacier which grounded on an esker, or ridge of limestone gravel. But in that far distant era a lake covered nearly all the intervening country, as would appear from



the discovery there of a long canoe, formed out of a single tree, eight feet below the solid clay, during the execution of drainage works some ten years ago. Now, it is not likely that the shipwright who built his canoe out of a single tree would know how to build a raft capable of floating stones and rocks so large as those described. It is far more probable that the stones had to be conveyed by land, by a route at least three miles long, crossing the head of the ancient lake, at a place where, until lately, a very old bridge stood, over the now narrow streamlet which once fed the lake. That a ford of some sort existed here in very early times may reasonably be inferred from the name of a village about two hundred yards distant from the site of the present bridge. Togher in the modern designation of this hamlet, and Togher in the Irish means a "causeway." The bringing of these stones to the top of the rath, which is very high and steep, imposed a further task; and unless they filled the trenches with clay, and having dragged, or rolled, the roof-stones into their proper positions, then excavated them afresh, it is very hard to conceive by what mechanical process these chambers were built, in so barbarous and rude an age.<sup>1</sup>

Many raths in the neighbourhood sound hollow, when struck with a crowbar; and the name "Doon," i. e. "cave," [Quære, K.D.], points to the existence of caves in this locality, either of such size, or in such numbers, as to give a title to the townland.

I trust that this narrative may elicit from the members of the Kilkenny Archæological Society some suggestion as to the uses of the platforms I have described, or some statement as to whether any person has witnessed or heard of similar features in subterranean chambers. If it does so, or that any reader, before uninterested in the preservation of these specimens of domestic architecture of the race who built for war the massive circular fortresses in Kerry and in Arran, shall henceforth seek to preserve the rath, as well as its contents, one of the principal objects of this communication will have been accomplished.

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#### THE OGHAM "ROSETTA" STONE.

[THE following paper, with its illustration, is copied, by permission, from that admirably conducted publication, the "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, vol. VI. pp. 128-36, in order that the Members of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society may have before them a record of this valuable landmar

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mooney has taken every means to preserve these chambers from injury, and intends to pursue the investigation of gallery No. 6, and to explore the entire rath.

in the history of the much-contested Oghamic question. The paper was read at the Cardigan Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, and is signed with the initials H. L. J., which we venture to read as those of "H. Longueville Jones," the Rev. and learned Editor of the "Archæologia Cambrensis."—Ed.]

Within the precincts of the abbey of St. Dogmael's, near Cardigan, is preserved a long narrow slab of porphyritic greenstone, such as is found on the ridge of the Preseleu Hills, semi-columnar in form, and rhomboidal in section. It is about 7 feet in length, tapering upwards from rather more than 12 to 9 inches in breadth, with an average thickness of about 7 inches. The surfaces are all smooth, without any lichen adhering to them; and, did not other stones of this kind from the same hills offer the same appearance, it might be supposed to have been once artificially polished. Such, however, is not the case; this peculiar kind of igneous rock does not decompose readily; its greenish base, and the dull white, squarish crystals with which it is filled, resist the effects of weather and of vegetation with remarkable pertinacity. The stone in question is probably in as sound condition, with certain exceptions, as when it was first brought down from its native hills.

Stones of this kind are prized all over Pembrokeshire, from the circumstance of their peculiar form and hardness making them useful as gate-posts; every farmer is glad to get them from Preseleu; and the very stone of which we are now treating shows, by two holes drilled into its surface, that it has been made to do this piece of agricultural duty in worse times, archæologically speaking, than the present.

Not only as a gate-post, however, but also as a bridge, has it been made serviceable to the daily wants of generations now dead and gone; for it was so used over a brook not far from its present locality, and had acquired a sort of preternatural reputation, from the belief of the neighbourhood that a *white lady* glided over it constantly at the witching hour of midnight. It was fortunate, perhaps, that this should have been the case; for the superstitious feeling of the neighbours not only tended to preserve it from injury,—no man nor woman touched it willingly after dark,—but this very tradition, added to its peculiar form, probably led to its ultimate rescue.

A gentleman who is the present owner of the property on which St. Dogmael's Abbey stands, the Rev. H. J. Vincent, vicar of that parish, found the stone covered with a thick coat of whitewash, in a wall adjoining his house, where it was perhaps placed after its removal from the brook. When the wall was taken down, with the view of effecting some improvements, the stone fell, and was unfortunately broken in two. It was then carefully conveyed to the spot where it now rests. Before it fell, its inscribed face and edge were

uninjured. Luckily they had been turned downwards by whoever placed it, in ignorance of its value, across the brook.

The inscription had been previously known ; for that exact observer, Edward Lhwyd, had drawn the lettered surface most carefully, and his original sketch still exists. He had also remarked some of the notches on its edge, and had recorded a few in his drawing, but had not said anything about them in any of his notes. His sketch was not known to exist until 1859, when it was found, by the writer of this paper, at Oxford. But several years previously the writer had ascertained that one edge of the stone was covered with Oghamic characters, such as he had discovered at the same period on stones in other parts of the same district, and he pointed them out to Mr. Vincent, who at once perceived their archæological value. For several subsequent years he took careful drawings and rubbings of this stone, communicating them at the same time to Professor Graves, of Trinity College, Dublin, and to Mr. Westwood. The former, who has made the study of Oghams almost his own peculiar science, by his skill in working out the occult alphabet (well known to the readers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, from a review of his learned memoir on that subject), at once read off these Oghamic strokes, according to the system previously arranged from Irish monuments of the same description, and found that it corresponded very nearly with the inscription on the face of the stone.

We say *very nearly*, for one important mark, equivalent to *a*, was apparently wanting ; if that were found, the professor's alphabet and theory would be completely correct. He therefore advised the writer to re-examine the stone more minutely ; this was done, and the professor's conjecture was found to be correct : but more of this hereafter. Professor Graves then declared this stone to be the equivalent of the famous Rosetta stone of the Egyptian hieroglyphic discoveries, because it contained the same inscription in two distinct characters, one of the Romano-British type, the other of that occult Oghamic class which has been so much controverted, so much theorized upon, and so little understood. All that remained was to ascertain who might have been the personage commemorated, and what the date of his existence, as well as the palæographic character of the inscription.

The Rev. Robert Williams, M.A., of Rhydygroesau, on being appealed to, immediately observed (as Lhwyd had also done) that *CYNOTAMVS* was the proper Latinized equivalent of *CVNEDDAF*, the British king, who is said to have flourished in the fourth century ;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Robert Williams, of Rhydygroesau, assigns to Cunedda Wledig the date of A.D. 340—A.D. 389. Professor Rees, on the other hand, treating of the events that occurred in Britain towards the end of the

fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries, says as follows :—

“ According to the Welsh accounts, one of the most distinguished chieftains of this time was Cunedda Wledig. His territory is said

but nothing could be then, nor has been since, elicited concerning SAGRANVS, here mentioned. If we are to assume that the Cunotamus here mentioned is really the Cunedda of early Welsh History, and if we are to consider the dates assigned above as tolerably correct, we can then evidently fix a period *before* which this stone could not have been sculptured, viz., the end of the fourth century. But the evidence we possess is not sufficiently weighty, the authenticity of its basis is not sufficiently proved, to allow of our assenting to it implicitly. We must call in the aid of the palæographer to obtain other means of approximation. Mr. Westwood, on being consulted as to the apparent date of this inscription, judging from its palæographic characteristics, has given the following opinion:—

“The Latin portion of the SAGRANUS inscription offers but few peculiarities. It is entirely composed of Roman letters of a rather narrow form, varying in height, some in the upper line being nearly six inches high; those forming the word *FILI* in their much narrower form, in the bars of the *F* appearing on the left side of the upright stroke, in the upper

to have been in the north, an expression used indefinitely for any part of the tract reaching from the Humber to the Clyde; the particular district is not mentioned, but owing to the remoteness of the country from Wales it cannot be expected that the tradition should be precise. In right of his mother, Gwawl, Cunedda was also entitled to the headship of the clan of Coel Godebog in the south; Ceneu and Mor, the proper representatives of that tribe, being ecclesiastics.\* Soon after the departure of Maximus to the continent, a people, called Gwyddy! Ffichti, or Irish Picts, to distinguish them from the Picts of the north, landed on the western coasts of Britain,† and occupied the whole of North Wales, as well as the Dimetian counties‡ of South Wales. At a later time, the northern Picts made one of their irruptions into the country of their more civilized neighbours; and Cunedda, being unable to resist them, was forced to seek an asylum to the southward. The probability is that he retired to his maternal kindred. He was the father of a numerous family; and his sons, being reduced to the condition of adventurers, undertook the enterprise of delivering Wales from the Irish marauders. In this it is presumed they were assisted by the rightful inhabitants; and

they were so far successful that they recovered a great part of South Wales, and the whole of North Wales, except Anglesey and some portions of Denbighshire. The country recovered was divided between them, and they became the founders of so many clans which gave names to the districts that they occupied, some of which names are retained to this day. Thus Ceredig and Ceredigion, comprising the present county of Cardigan with a great part of Carmarthenshire; the word, Ceredigion, being the plural of Ceredig, and meaning his followers. Arwystl had Arwystli, or the western part of Montgomeryshire. Dunod had Dunodig, or the northern part of Merioneth with part of Carnarvonshire. Edeyrn had Edeyrnion, and Mael had Dinmael, both in the eastern part of Merioneth. Coel had Coeleion, and Dogfael had Dogfeillin, both in Denbighshire. Rhufon had Rhufoniog, in Denbigh and Carnarvonshires. Einion had Caereinion in Montgomery, and Oswal had Osweilin on the borders of Shropshire. Tibion the eldest son of Cunedda, died in the Isle of Man; but his son, Meirion, was one of these adventurers, and had Cantref Meirion. The date which may be assigned to the expulsion of the Irish is the period between A. D. 420 and 430.§

\* Saints.

† In this statement the Welsh authorities are confirmed by the Irish historians, who relate that an invasion of Britain, on an extensive and formidable scale, took place towards the close of the fourth century under the auspices of a king of Ireland, called Nial of the Nine Hostages.—Moore's *History of Ireland*, chap. vii.

‡ The present counties of Cardigan, Pembroke, and Carmarthen.

§ The Silurian Achau y Saint, and Nennius.

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INSCRIBED MONUMENT, ST. DOGMAEL'S.

[The Ogham Rosetta Stone.]

bar being rather oblique, with the end elevated, and in the upright stroke of the L elevated a little above the adjoining letters, approach the *rustic* form. The first letter, s, is ill formed, with the lower half larger than the upper, agreeing in this respect with the initial s in the Paulinus inscription, published in this Journal, ii, Third Series, p. 249. The third letter, o, formed of a semicircle, with a short oblique tail, scarcely extending below the line; and the x in the second line, with the first and last strokes splaying outwards, are the only ones which offer any peculiarity, and in these respects they agree with many of the oldest Roman monuments.

"Hence, were we not guided by the formula, the comparative rudeness of the letters, and the fact of the inscription being carved lengthwise along the stone, we might refer this inscription to the Roman period, so complete is the absence of those minuscule forms of letters which occur in most of the Welsh inscriptions, and of which an instance may be seen in the Euolenus stone, *ante*, p. 56, and which indicate a later period, when, as in most of the Glamorganshire stones, scarcely any of the letters retained the capital Roman form. Under these circumstances I think we are warranted in assigning a date to the present inscription not long after the departure of the Romans, whilst the writing still remained unmodified by a communion either with the Irish or Anglo-Saxon scribes.

"J. O. WESTWOOD.

"Oxford, February, 1860."

Mr. Westwood, on examining the inscription itself, has thus given it as his opinion that the palæographical character of the letters is such as corresponds to the period when the British prince mentioned above is supposed to have flourished. We think, therefore, that the full value of these facts will not fail of being appreciated. We have here a stone which we may, upon palæographical grounds, consider of the fourth or fifth century; and it bears names which may be assigned to British princes, who are said to have flourished at that very period. The Romano-British inscription on its face is translated on its edge into the occult Oghamic alphabet, with a few literal variations such as would be natural for an Irish translator to make. The Oghams, therefore, are either contemporaneous with the inscription, or not long posterior to it; and thus may both be pretty fairly considered as fixed in date between the extreme limits of a century, viz., A.D. 400—A.D. 500.

We now proceed to explain the inscriptions themselves. That in Romano-British capitals, all easily decipherable, runs thus;—

SAGRANI FILI CVNOTAMI

That in Oghamic characters, read *from the bottom upwards, and from left to right* (for such is Professor Graves's theory), runs thus;—

SAGRAMNI MAQI CVNATAMI

It was to be expected that an Irish translator would, according

to the analogy of inscriptions in his own country, use the word **MAQ** or **MAC** (the equivalent of the Cymric **MAB**) for the Latin **FILIVS**,—and so we find it.

A various reading is occasioned by the introduction of **M** in the first word, and by the substitution of **A** for **O** in the last. These are not philological difficulties; the analogies of the Erse and the Cymric tongues easily account for them. The only real difficulty lay in the absence of the Oghamic mark for **A** between those standing for **M** and **Q**. This occurred just at the point where a crack had unfortunately taken place. To most observers it would have seemed as if this mark did not exist; but, by following up the hint given by Professor Graves, and by use of a magnifying glass, the existence of a small circular depression on the edge—*cut in twain by the crack*—was satisfactorily established. All the other characters were so distinct as to admit of no doubt. The true reading of Professor Graves's alphabet was verified; and not only so, but the date of a specific example was closely approximated to.

We need not stop to point out the archæological interest which this stone possesses; it seems to be one of the earliest in Wales of the Romano-British type; and its probable date will henceforth help us in conjecturing the age of other inscriptions, in which the same palæographic characteristics are met with.

It remains only to add that, with the concurrence of our Association, the Rev. H. J. Vincent, who is one of our Local Secretaries for Pembrokeshire, is about to take steps for removing the stone, either to the interior of the parish church, or to some other place where it will be more certainly preserved than it now can be,—reclining, as it does, amid mantling ivy—"half embraced and half retiring"—against a mossy, fern-grown bank in his own beautiful garden.

## THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(Continued from Vol. II., page 384.)

SIR ROBERT CECYL, who had attentively studied the character of his royal mistress, has left it on record that the affairs of Ireland in an especial manner disturbed the composure of the royal mind; and, indeed, at times they were of a nature to ruffle the serenity of the calmest temperament. When the despatches of St. Leger and Norreys, touching the contemptuous marriage of Florence Mac



Carthy, reached the English cabinet, a Tudor hurricane burst with swift and fierce disaster upon all concerned in it. That the writers of these vexatious papers should themselves have escaped uninjured from the lightnings of that ruthless storm, was probably as much matter of wonder as of joy to themselves; but upon every member of the bridal party in the old broken church, the tempest fell with unmitigated fury. That any man should be found at such a moment to step forward and place himself between the anger of Elizabeth and the feeblest of its victims, is even more gratifying than it is surprising. There was one man in Munster who had the courage and the humanity to do this. It was a man who had long lifted up his voice against tyranny and iniquity in high places; who had, for "his own particular, held his even course of justice despite much obloquy and malice;" a man whose loyalty and honour were above attainment; who had suffered many private wrongs from the kinsmen of the prisoners; who had every reason, save a manly feeling of compassion for the helpless, to hold his hand from any petition in the behalf of any of them. To the great honour of Sir William Herbert, he at once applied to the Vice-President in favour of the aged Countess of Clancarty, took upon himself the responsibility of her safe custody, made his own house her prison, and wrote to England the story of the domestic sorrows of that oppressed lady.

"1588. July 12. To the R<sup>t</sup>. HON. SIR F. WALSYNGHAM, K<sup>t</sup>, principal Secretary to Her Most Excel<sup>t</sup> Majesty.

"R<sup>t</sup> Hon: My most humble dewtie premised.

"Since my last letters unto your Honor touchinge the mariage of the Earl of Clin Carrs daughter, thear have been hear apprehended by Mr. Vice President's direction, beasyde Florence Mak Cartye, whom the Bishop of Corke tooke, The Countes of Clincarr, Mak Finnin, and others, whoe wear all comitted to Castlemayne. Mr. Sprenge, whoe apprehended them, had alsoe warrant for O'Suillivan Moore, whoe then was not in the countrey, but upon his retorne hearinge of it, repayred unto me, and submitted himself to Her Majestye, whereupon I took order with him for his repayr to Mr. Vice President; myself having noe further direction for him: but in respect that it was mayde apparant unto me that the Countes had don nothings in the matter, but with the priuitea and approbation of the Earl, and that hea now maketh shew of the contrary, and wishethe the Countess troble and ruin, that by her deathe hea might advance him sealf to som newe mariage, whearbye Her Majestye's right for Remynder may bea impeatched, I was moued both in comiseration of the Countesses poore and lamentable estate, and to preuent what I might the euill that mowght insue of her troble, to bescom a Suiter unto the Vicepresident, for the enlardgment of the Countess out of that uile and unholosome place, and that shea might remayne with me tyll Her Majestye's pleasure wear further known, which it pleased him to grawnt me, whearof I have thought it my part to aduertise your Honor; conceauing, in my poore opinion, that

the Countess beaynge farr stroken in years, and without hope of childearne wear to bea faoured, and wheareas she liued in extream misery, hauinge all this last year but 20 nobles allowed her toe mayntayne her sealf, her daughter and famelye, a stipend more likely to starue them then to sarue them, shea by your honorable fauor may haue soñ portion allowed her of her husband's liuinge to mayntayne hersealfe in soñ goode sort, beaynge the wyfe, sister, and dawghter of an Earl, euer of verye modest and good demeanure, though matched with one most disorderlye and dissolute.

"Her affirmation touchinge the mariage is this (whitch shea offreth to proue by threa goode witnesses), that shea receaued a letter from the Earl toe repayr toe Corke, and thear to geau creadite to that whitch Patrike Galloway showld from him deliuer unto her, whoe thear gaue her to understande that it was the Earl's pleasure that shea showld send her dawghter ouer into Englande, or if shea thought not goode to doe soe, shea showld mary her daughter to Florence Mak Carty, and receau of him a band for the payment of toe or threa hundred pownde to the Earl of Clin Karr in England: to the whitch she answered that shea was willinge to send her daughter to Englande if thear had been any moneys sent ouer to furnish, or any fytt to attend her, or if any Gentlemañ of creadite had written that, at her cominge ouer, hea woolde haue had care of her; but to My Lorde of Clincarrs care, soe unfurnished, and unprouided, shea durst not comitt her, and thearfore enclined to the oother cowra, the Earl puttinge it to her choyce: she protesteth that shea neuer harde that Her Majestye had forbidden the mariage, but had only denied to pass to them the lande. Hearof I thought goode to aduertice your Honor, and that since this mariage I understand of another in hand no less dangerous, between Sir Owen O'Suillevan's daughter, beaynge the Lorde of Bear hauen, and one Donell Mak Cartye, the Earl of Clincarrs bass soñe, whom the inhabitants of Desmonde much affect; hea is the only man in theas toe cowntres that leadeth a loose, disloyall lyfe, shonninge all officers, and standinge upon his garde with some few folowers, though doynge noe oother harme; it wear very requisite hea wear taken; thear is goode matter to bea objected agaynst him to cut him off, he will ells in tyme bread some troble; for in the first discents Bastardie is no impediment, and hea is a person both willinge and able to doe mischeaf. I haue euer bean of opinion that hea was to bea apprehended; the Vice President howldeth another cours.

"It was prouidently layde down in Her Majestye's articles for the inhabitation of this prouince, that noe undertaker showld haue any bands of sowldiers in pay: I woolde it wear as well obsearued. I fear thear are, that to continew themselves in pay, can bea content to continew the province in troble, and I wonder it is soe quiett; for on the one syde the Gentlemen beaynge stroken, euill intreated, and abused, outrageous woordes and violent deads ryfe and coñon towards all sorts of the Irish, on the oother syde the Vice President's sowldiers suffered to goe up and down the countrey, taking of mete and drinke and money for themselves and theyr woomen and boys uppon the poore people; it seameth unto me the ready way to make the Irish weary of theyr loyaltie and of their lyues. Mysealf, accordinge to Her Majesty's directions, and to my most bownden dewtie howldinge an upright cours of justice, without respect of persons or nations, and endeaouering thearby to reduce theas parts

to a loue of justice and government, and to sutch quietnes and perfect obedience as Her Maiesty should noe more need to keap bands or garrisons hear then in Surrey or Midlesex, feal and fynd dayly the mislike and malice that is borne mea for it; whitch as I haue toucht in soñ former letters of myne unto your Honor, so to acquaynt your Honor more thorowly with the estate of things, I make bowld to send to your Honor what of late I haue written theareof to Mr. Vice President and to Mr. Chiefe Justice, although I looke theare for little remedye, yeat to discharge my dewtie, and to clear myself of that suspition that myght bea conceaued of mea, I layd the whole matter before them, whitch I humbly beseach your Honor to vouchsaf the perusall of. Amonge many defects I fynde in theas parts, I fynde none more then of a goode Bishop, whitch I wish to bea an Irishman, for soe might hea doe most goode. I hear that one Pattinson is a suiter for it, a most undiscreat, rash, and dissentious man, no way fytt for any goode function, as hereafter I shall make more clear unto your Honor. In the mean tyme I most humbly recoñmend unto your Honor my poor endeours in theas partes, wheareof sutch shall the effect bea as the countenance is that is geauen them; and without your honorable favor they must and will quayl; but I despayr not of that whitch I have ever found, and whitch I shall ever labor by the best meanes I may to demerite. I haue sent your Honor, for a smale token of my most dewtifull goode will, a Goshawke. I wish shea prove as goode as shea is geauen with a goode hart. I cease further to troble your Honor, and coñmitt the same to the tuition of the most Mightea.

“WILLIAM HERBERT.

“From the Castle of the Iland, 12 July, 1588.”

Posterity will award to the writer of this letter the praise due to an upright, fearless, and kind-hearted man; but to posterity it signifies little that “the countess was farr stroken in years and without hope of childearne,” or that the Queen’s charges would have been diminished by the suppression of the soldiers entertained at her Highness’s cost by the undertakers, contrary to the articles providently laid down; to the contemporaries of Herbert these were no matters of indifference; a child born to the Earl of Clancar would have extinguished many signories, nay, have “empeatched the Queen’s rights;” and the suppression of the soldiers would have suppressed their employers. The reader will presently see how trifling were the mislikes and calumnies to which the writer had hitherto submitted, in comparison with the fierce indignation which this letter excited.

This storm had gathered over the head of Florence at the beginning of July; an aggravated history of his offence had been sent home by Norreys himself, who had accused him of outwitting and deceiving him, and who might, not unnaturally, expect that some portion of the Queen’s anger would fall upon himself; and yet an entire month does not elapse before we find Sir Thomas writing home letters to the minister in favour of Florence.

He had, he said, become better acquainted with him ; he found he had erred in simplicity, not knowing her Highness' pleasure ; he was very penitent for his fault, and there was no denying to his good demeanour and carriage of himself, letters recommending him to favour.

Had this been a solitary instance in the life of Florence in which further acquaintance with him converted fierce hostility into sudden good-will, we might attribute it, as Browne did, to bribery, as probably Burghley did also, when he underlined Browne's bold assertion ; but wilier men, fiercer antagonists than Norreys, were examples of a conversion quite as extraordinary ; and we are at a loss to explain the fact, except by attributing it to the blandishments of his personal address, or a simulation of innocence so masterly as to make men look upon their previous conviction of his guilt as an injury for which reparation was due to him.

"1588. July 28. SIR THOMAS NORREYS to SIR F. WALSYNGHAM.

"R'. Hon. My humble dutie premised.

"By my form<sup>r</sup> l<sup>tes</sup> I did at lardge advertize y<sup>r</sup> Honor of the manner and meanes used by Mr. Florence McCartie, in contriving the marriage betene him and the Erle of Clancarties daughter, and therefore thinke it nedeles to troble your Honor furder therewith ; but beinge now mynded to send over his man, he hath earnestlie entreated me to recomende him by my l<sup>tes</sup> unto your Honor's good favour, wch I have the rather presumed to doe, as well by reason of the good demen<sup>r</sup> and carriage of himself, wherewith I have ben longer acquainted, as also for that havinge sundri tymes sithens his comitment had conference wth him, I fynde him verry penitente for his falt so offensive to her Majestie, protestinge that the ignorance of her Highness' pleasure, and no illmeaning in himself was the cause of his error, the consideraçon whereof I leave to your Honor's grave judgment, and so comittinge the same to Godes holie tuiçon, doe most humble take leave this 28 July 1588.

"THOMAS NORREYS.

"Corke."

The inquiry into this marriage, which had led to Sir Warham St. Leger's tracts upon the state of Munster, had brought many names into discredit, besides those actually concerned in it ; amongst others, blackened by the taint of alliance in blood to Florence, was the Lord Roche, the same who a few years earlier had attended Sir Henry Sidney at the Christmas meeting in Cork ; the interval had not improved his loyalty, whilst certain encroachments upon his country by the undertakers had much diminished his contentment. The minister was reminded that he had married a sister of James Fitz Morrice, the arch-traitor ; but as the Lord Roche set little value upon a character for attachment to the English Government, he

submitted to this revival of suspicions against him without a murmur. Not so another individual, also related to the arch-traitor, who had joined his lot loyally and earnestly with the Queen's cause. John Fitz Edmond Fitzgerald, of Clone, had not been alluded to in the official reports sent home from Munster; but it chanced that he was Florence's godfather, and the rumour in the country was, that the Countess of Clancar had asked his advice touching the marriage of her daughter with Florence, and that he had counselled its accomplishment. Against such an offence, the services of a whole life would have availed him little, and this loyal gentleman hastened to protest against the accusation as a malicious slander; this too was made a matter of state, and needed a despatch from the Vice-President to explain it. This despatch adds something to the details of Florence's marriage, and it is therefore laid before the reader.

“ 1588. *September 30.* SIR THOMAS NORREYS to SIR F. WALSYNGHAM.

“ R<sup>t</sup> Hon: My dutye most humblye pmised.

“ Mr. John Fitz Edmond of Cloyne havynge intelligence that some of his adversaryes in England have informed your Honor that he should be a practyser in compassynge ye matche betwene the Earle of Clan Kartye's daughter and Florence Mc Kartye, and therefore requested me to certyfy my knowlege therin to yo<sup>r</sup> Honor, for the better avoydinge the sayd suggestyon. And for that, upon the fyrst receipt of Her Maj<sup>ty</sup> L<sup>ty</sup>, I made verye earnest and diligent enquirye for all such as were compassers, or anye waye dealers in the sayd matche, it appered that the Countesse of Clankartye hersealfe had bene w<sup>th</sup> the sayd Mr. Fitz Edmond for advise and counsell therein, and that he utterlye refused anye waye to deale in the matter, altogether diswadinge the Countesse, and shewinge what dangers and incommodityes would thereof ensue to all that dealte in the same, as by the testymonye of Mr. James Roanan and Wylliam Roache, boath mē of Corke, and verye suffytyent men, dyd appeere: in respeacte whereof, and the good caryage of the gentlemā beinge, since I had charge in this pvynce, verye forward, and alwayes readye and well furnyshed to answere anye services as neede requyred, and wythall most wyllinge to discour the bad practyses of lewd psones, I could not refuse to afford him my l<sup>ty</sup> to yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>r</sup>, referryng the consyderatyon thereof to yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>r</sup>' grave iudgement. So humblye takinge leave, I comytt yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>r</sup> to God's most holye Tnytyon.

“ THO<sup>r</sup> NORREYS.

“ Youghall, the last of Sept<sup>r</sup>, 1588.”

Time was creeping on; nearly six months had elapsed since the marriage, and no decision had yet reached Munster relative to the ultimate fate of the prisoners. Sir Thomas Norreys' letter of commendation, and Florence's great penitence, might have produced their effect; the heart of the Queen might have relented. Florence and his friends were of good cheer; their restraint had been made as

light as was consistent with their safe keeping; and their evil-wishers were in alarm lest the dark cloud should bear its thunders over them, and explode harmlessly in the void—lest the marriage should be submitted to as a mischief past remedy, and the offenders be enlarged: moreover, certain passages in the noble letter of Sir William Herbert had produced an effect which added bitterness to the distasteful draft which Florence had presented to the lips of his enemies. Certain horsemen, who, rather by the connivance of the authorities in Munster, than by consent from home, had been allotted, at the Queen's charge, to the undertakers for their protection, were to be withdrawn, and the custody of each man's lands to be left to himself. This was considered, and scarcely without reason, as an invitation to every ejected Irishman to deal as he pleased with the men whom the Queen had herself enticed to dispossess him. To Sir Valentine Browne, who had placed himself beyond the barriers of Slievegher, in the remotest and wildest tracts of Desmond, and had some twelve or more of these horsemen for his guard, this determination sounded like the inevitable doom of all his acquisitions, of all his toil, his outlay, and his hopes for his family. He was not an "importunate suiter, and had patiently borne many thwarts without troubling the minister;" but this last blow wrung from him a cry of anguish, which, though as just as it was piteous, fell upon hearts hardened—ears deafened against him.

Upon the memorable occasion when Sir Henry Sidney had passed his Christmas holidays in Cork, he thought it not unbecoming the dignity of the Privy Council, and his own, to inform them how that festives eason had been spent, namely, "in shows and tokens, the best the citizens had been able to devise to evince their loyalty." Sir Valentine Browne, in like manner, thought it not unseemly that he should inform the Lord Treasurer how Florence and his young bride were spending their honeymoon; and how, under mournful presage of coming ruin, he was himself making Christmas doleful in Dublin.

"1588. *Octob* 16. SIR VALENTINE BROWNE to WALSYNGHAM.

"I am not a shameles suitor, and cannot therefore advaunce my longer services w' importunitie, and therefore have the more neade of such Hon: favours, whereof I had never more nead then nowe, havinge w'h manie thwarts beene greatlie burdened by chardge; firste ymployed as an undertaker, and my landes given from me by Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> to th Earle of Clan Car<sup>ty</sup>, and next by dealinge w'h the same Earle for the redempcōn thereof from him; and the more to increase the same, the horsemen allowed untoe me, are w'h the rest to be presentlie discharged, and so layde upon my burden; wherein I crave your healpe to have a contynuaunce for four or five yeares of twelve onlie, for that I stand in greate doubtte that all the Mo Carties will joyne against my three sonnes that are possessed

of those lands w<sup>h</sup> Florence Mc Cartie did chieflie looke to have had upon the marriage of the Earle's daughter; and beinge soe (as I am advertised yt is), withoute her Ma<sup>ty</sup> assistaunce, lyinge so farre remote from this state, they shall never be able to holde owte. Donell Mc Carthie, th- Earle's bastarde, is gone to the woodes, and lyethe as an owte lawe, resortinge contynually to the Mc Carthies of Carbrye, and is there secretlie supported. Yt were not good that those countreis shoulde be loste in th Erle's tyme for puttinge Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> to greate chardge in recoveringe the same, except shee will yealde all unto them, as Florence Mc Cartye and his friendes dothe not sticke to reporte she will; and allso allowe of the marriage, w<sup>h</sup> (as he falslie publishethe) was not forbydden him; and so at Corcke, where he remayneth w<sup>h</sup> the resorte of his friends and th- Earle's daughter, w<sup>h</sup> small restraynte, he rather reioyceth w<sup>h</sup> banquettinge, then that he seemethe sorie for his contempte. And yf he and the rest were removed thence, and broughte to Dublin, it woulde be more securytie to her Highness, and cause them the better to knowe themselves. I am hartelie sorrie to heare of y<sup>r</sup> often sicknes, and so praie to the Lord Almighty to restore you to pfecte health, and longe contynuance of the same.

"At Dublin this 16th of Octobre, 1588.

"Y<sup>r</sup> Honor's bounden at comaundment,

"VALENTYNE BROWNE.

"To the RT. HON. SIR F. WALSYNGHAM, &c."

Smarting under the disappointment attending their overtures with the Earl of Clancar for the hand and inheritance of his daughter, Nicholas Browne had vented his indignation in threats against the Earl, and Sir Valentine petulantly charged Sir William Herbert with having lent himself to promote the designs of Florence, and with using his official influence to bring this shame and indignity upon their family. Much angry correspondence passed between the parties; and Sir William, conceiving that his official character had been impugned, to the injury of the Queen's service, sent copies of the Brownes' accusations, and his own replies, to the English minister. Were it not for much incidental matter contained in these letters, it must have fallen to the author of this life of Florence himself to present to the reader such description as he was able of that remarkable body of men who, under the designation of undertakers, were destined by the policy of the English cabinet to introduce civility amongst our rude ancestors, and to form an Elizabethan nobility, which, reinforced a century later by the distinguished warriors of the Commonwealth, expanded into that brilliant territorial aristocracy which has shed so much splendour upon the country of their adoption.

Sir William Herbert (called, by a pleasantry of Nicholas Browne, Sir William hard-beard) was a grave and conscientious man, and, by his own testimony, was held in repute by all the bishops, judges, and magistrates of cities, and the gravest and

wisest of his province; his opportunities of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the characters of these enterprising men were unequalled, and therefore his account of them bears with it more authority than the author of these pages could claim for any opinion of his own.

“1588. *October 20.* SIR W. HERBERT to BURGHELY.

“I have just caus to be agreed that Her Majestye is abused w<sup>th</sup> sutch undertakers, I associated w<sup>th</sup> sutch companions, and an honourable accion disgraced w<sup>th</sup> sutch lewd, indiscreat, and insufficient men. I thinke myself nothing too hasty in writinge to my Lo: Treasurer, for it is high tyme theas frawdys wear met w<sup>th</sup>al, and tyme doth not alter, but confirm my opinion. Theas horsemen are a superflous chardge unto Her Highnes: soe wrott I to Mr. Secretary som months since, and soe avowed I to Mr. Attorney Generall at his beinge hear in Munster.”

“1588. *December 27.* HERBERT to BURGHELY.

“My dislick of the proceedings hear, contrary to the purport of Her Majesty’s articles, and the ground plott of this accion,<sup>1</sup> hath drawn upon me the enmita of Sir Valentine Browne, Sir Edward Denny, and others of that sort, that measur conscience by comodite, and law by lust. They are growne to a combinacion and a resolucion, resemlinge that mentioned in the 2<sup>d</sup> chapter of the wisdome of Solomon, &c. &c.”

That Nicholas Browne should feel great wrath against the Earl of Clancar, who had made his position at once painful and grotesque, is natural and excusable; and had it not been for the officious interference of Sir W. Herbert, in the matter of the Queen’s horsemen, this anger would doubtless have been concentrated on the Earl and his more favoured rival; but the dispute with Herbert for a while drew away his thoughts from the marriage, and all concerned in it. To this dispute we are indebted not only for considerable entertainment, but for some further illustration of the men who through life were Florence’s bitterest enemies. The entire history of “the honourable accion” (the undertaking), certainly contains nothing more curious or more ingenuous than the concluding passage of the following letter, in which the writer points out to Walsyngham the precautions *he meant to take* to prevent such noble signories from falling into the hands of men that measured conscience by “comodite.” These lands had belonged to the Mac Carthies in the days when the English first set foot in the country; history gravely informs us that they had belonged to them in the days of Heremon and Heber (anno Mundi 2737), who were in their generation twenty-second in descent from Feniusa Farsa, King of Scythia, and

<sup>1</sup> The *undertaking* of the lands of the Irish.



twenty-sixth from Noah! Donel Mac Carthy Mor was in life and health at the time this letter was written, and it may be doubted whether he entertained as clear a perception as the writer, of the nature of English tenure.

1588. Dec. 27. SIR WILLIAM HERBERT to WALSYNGHAM.

"I desire nothinge more then that my whole woords, deads, and demeanure in theas parts may bea called in question. I dowbt not to have the testimonye for mea, of the Bishops, Judges, Magistrates of citeas, and gravest and wisest of this province, the generall voyce of theas toe counties, the judgement of my Lorde Deputye, and of the Chief of this Estate; and the very letters and handwrytinges of my greatest adversaryes, whoes accusations shall prove myne ornament, and whoes combinations shall discover theyr shame, if I may have justice. I must confess, I have in hart abhorred many of theyr actions, but never any of themselves. I have ever wished them well, but could not brooke that whitch I knew evill; they on the other syde detract and detest all my doynge; not becaus they are evill, but becaus they are myne. Hearof it is that Sir Edw<sup>de</sup> Denye mislickes any that affects mea, tells everye body that hea will doe more for them then twenty Sir William Herberts, that hea is your Honor's coosen Germane, and that Ireland shall know him soe to bea before Easter; that I pretend the authoritea I have not, and exercies the Government never committed unto mea, endeavor to dischargde a trust never reposed in mea, and delude the people with hope of reformations of iniuries, that lieth not in my power to procure. But having of recitall of woords far woors, and deads many, marvelous, injurious, which for threa especiall causes (beasydes many other), I have endured with great patience. First, for that hea was a Groome of her Majesty's privye chamber; secondly, for that hea was your Honor's kinsman; thirdly, for that whitch I will pass with greafe and scilence, and whitch tyme and his own actions will discover. Whearin he is spurred on by Springe, Constable of Castlemayne, assisted by Mr. Browne, with all others in theas parts that measure theyr conscience by theyr comoditie. I cannot omitt what passingly displeased mea. Thoes rare things in trewth of goode valew of the Duke of Medina Sidonea's cast into his hands, as I enterpret, by God's providence (to the end they might bea presented to Her Majestyea), hea beayinge Her Highnes' sworne servant, of Her Privye Chamber, sworne counsellor of this province, sworne sheriff of this county, hea shewed ceayrteyn frends of his at his hous of Trally, and declared how hea ment to dispose of every part of them; som to this nobleman, some to that; one thinge thear was whitch coest threa thowsand Duketts in Spayn; that he sayed hea shoulde, but woolde not, bestowe upon your Honor; for that your Honor was allreadye sufficientlye bent to doe him goode; but hea woolde beastow it upon anoother, that had diswaded Her Majestye from forgeavinge him the rent of his signorye, whome by that gift hea hoped to make his frend.

"For that I mean to take 6000 akers within the countye of Kerry, and am desirous to have oother 6000 akers in the countye of Desmonde, after the Earl of Glin carr's death, I beseach your Honorable favour and furtherance to Her Majesty that I may thear have Castle Logh, the Pallace,

and Ballicarbry, with 6000 akers of land about them. I write the rather thus tymely, if not out of tyme, least some other shoold first make means and suit for them."

It was not the fortune of Sir Valentine Browne to see this angry controversy to its end, for he was called away from all his earthly cares on the 8th day of February, 1588; his son Nicholas became the head of that adventurous family, heir to all the anxieties which had haunted his father—and they were neither imaginary nor trifling,—and of all the schemes for saving a noble signory from falling back into the hands of the man from whom he had won it by a shrewd mortgage, the Queen's patent, and the Queen's horsemen. Nicholas, as we shall see, was equal to the occasion. His feud with Herbert long continued to enliven the meetings of the Privy Council; but his fight for the signory of Molahuff displayed an energy and perseverance which fill us with admiration. The last mournfull autograph of Sir Valentine had not been without its effect; the banquettings in the Cork prison, and the festive hours which the young bride was spending with her husband were rudely interrupted. Orders came from England to separate the offenders. Florence was to be sent to Dublin, the Lady Ellen to be detained in safe keeping, though at large, within the city of Cork. Sir Warham St. Leger, as if the spirit of Browne had taken opportune possession of him, poured more of his prophetic warnings and timely remedies into the chamber of the Privy Council. Had the advice of this far-seeing man been taken—and it was, after all, not of a nature to shock the sensibility of the Privy Council by any extreme of severity,—the Queen might perchance have been spared many years of trouble, and what was of equal importance, in the opinion of the writer, more than £100,000 of treasure! The terror of Spanish invasion was the constant subject of despatches between Ireland and the English Ministers; and it was with the view to cut off foreign attempts that this rough statesman now wrote to the Council.

1588. Dec. 7. ST. LEGER to the LORDS.

"To cut of foraine attempts, and the daunger that maie growe to the disturbance of this Realme, the Seneschall, Patricke Fitzmorris, and Patricke Condone, nowe captyves in the Castell of Dublin, woulde be made *shorter* by the *heades* if they maie be brought within compasse of lawe; and if the white Knighte and his sonn in lawe, Donoge Mac Cormack, kept them companie, they were well rydd out of this coõnonwealth; and yf they cannot be brought within compasse of lawe, whereby they maie have their iuste desertes, then woulde they be coõnytted to some safe pryson in Englande; for assuredlie yf they remaine where they are, they will, at one tyme or other, breake pryson, for the w<sup>ch</sup>, yf they doe, they will cause the Queene to spende £100,000! they will never be goode excepte they were to be made againe newe, being periured wretches,

some of them having twyce forsworne themselves before me upon the Testamente, and therefore yt were a good sacryfice to God to rydd them out of this worlde, where they will never do good. We have nowe sente from hence to Dobyln to the L. Chancellor (by dyrection from the L. Deputie) Florence Mac Cartie, whoe contemptuously haith marryed the Earle of Clanker's onelie daughter, to answeere that his doinges. It were good for this Goverment yf he were, for his contempte, keepte a prysoner duringe this daungerous tyme, he being a person that the mailecontentes of this pryvynce greatlie bende themselves unto, and the onlie man, in their conceiptes, lykelie againe to set up the House of the Garaldynes, of which he is dyscended by his Mother, whoe was daughter to Morrys of Desmonde, un kell to the late *wicked* Earle of Desmonde; by which parentage, together with his own, beinge dyscended out of one of the chiefe of the house of the Clankerties, he is like to be a person of greate power, yf he be not prevented, and his ambitious desiers cutt shorte, &c.

"And yf Sir Owen Mac Cartie were also appoynted to remayne in Englande and his twoe sonnes with him, tyll the worlde be quyeter, yt were a happie turne for this ende of Irelande; for assuredlie, My L., although Sir Owen be symple in shewe, yet is he a verey ipocryte, and one that carrieth as cankerd a mynd towardes English Goverment as anie one of them, yf he durste shewe it, &c. And chiefe lie yf the marriage of Florence M<sup>c</sup>Cartie maie be undone, and she marryed to some English Gent<sup>r</sup> by the Queen's appoyntment; whereby her father maie be (by him that shall marrie her) dyrected to governe his countrie accordinge to the lawes of this realm, which is the daungereste countrie for forraine invasyon to attempte, that appertayneth to this realm.

"WARHAM SAINTLEGER.

"From Corke, 7 Dec<sup>r</sup>, 1588."

Some portion of this prompt policy was adopted. The advice was given in a letter dated the 7th of December; on the 19th of the same month came the order to despatch Florence to England. The postscript to the following letter will show how keen had recently become the official scrutiny into Florence's conduct in matters of more moment than his marriage.

1589. Jan. 28. THE LO. DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to WALSYNGHAM.

"SIR,—Your l<sup>r</sup> of the 19<sup>th</sup> of the last, signifyinge your Honor's expectacon of Florence M<sup>c</sup>Cartie's dispatche thetherwards, I received not till the 19<sup>th</sup> of this instant, whome nowe I have sent by my man Chichester, this bearer, hauing not before received other direction thence, then for the separatinge of the yonge Lady from him, and the removinge of him from Corke to Dublin, both which were accomplished, and she delivered by the Erle her father's appointment to the keepinge of certaine of his own servants.

"P. S. I am credibly informed that one William Hurlye, late in England, followinge some causes of Florence M<sup>c</sup>Cartie, his M<sup>r</sup>, under color of going into Ireland, slipt into France, where it is said he is: And that one

Allen Martin of Gallwaie ether is, or the last sother was, with the D. of Parma, from the said Florence. I have sent to Gallwaie for that Allen Martyn to be brought unto me, yf he be there to be had; and I have laied for William Hurley at his retorne, whome yf I gett, I will send over unto your Honor.

“ H. FITZ WILLIAMS.

“ From Her Majesty's Castle of Dublin, 28 Jan<sup>r</sup>, 1589.”

On the 10th of February, 1589, in the company of Chichester, and with the curious attendance of his *fencing-master*,—a certain Patrick Cullen, whom, at his last being in England, he had induced to enter his service, and whom now his evil fortune took back to London, to finish a strange career upon the gallows,—Florence arrived safely in London, and was at once given over into the custody of Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of her Majesty's Tower of London. The domestic arrangements of that establishment required certain quarterly returns to be made to the Privy Council of the expenses incurred for its inmates. From these returns, not all of which have perished, we are enabled to learn more of Florence than was known beyond those walls for a considerable period. For a long series of years those Tower bills had been headed by the name of James Fitz Gerald, the child of the great rebel. To that mournful roll the name of Florence Mac Carthy was now added for the first time. Subsequently it became as unfailing an ornament to those quarterly bills as had been that of his unfortunate cousin!

“The Demaundes of Sir Owen Hopton, Knight, Lewitennant of Her Majesty's Tower of London, for the Diette and other chardges of prisoners in his custodie, from the Nativitie of our Saviour Christe last paste, 1588, till Th' Annunciaçõn of our Blessed Ladye the Virgyn then nexte following, beeinges one quarter of a yeare, as hereafter is particularly declared.

“ Florence Mac Carty.

“ For the dyette & other chardges of Florence Mac Carty from the x<sup>a</sup> of Februarye, 1588, till the xxjv<sup>a</sup> of March then nexte followinge, beeinge vj weekes at xxvj<sup>s</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>. the weeke. For himselfe, viij<sup>s</sup>.”

“ Item, One Keeper at v<sup>s</sup>. the weeke, xxx<sup>s</sup>.”

“ Item, Fewell and Candell at iiij<sup>s</sup>. the weeke, xxiiij<sup>s</sup>.”

“ Tota<sup>l</sup>, x<sup>l</sup>. xiiij<sup>s</sup>.”

A similar bill was sent in for the time intervening between 24th of June, 1589, and 24th of December then next following, with this difference, that two keepers, instead of one, are charged for; and for fewel and caudel, 8s. instead of 4s. were allowed weekly. Attached to one of these bills is this brief notice:—“ Florence Mac Carty, Esquire, prisoner 8 months; the cause best known to your Honors.—Referred to her Majesty.”

(To be continued.)

WHAT WE LEARN FROM WILDE'S "CATALOGUE OF THE ANTIQUITIES IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY."

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.

As a contribution to our knowledge of the armour, weapons, dress, and ornaments in use amongst the ancient people of Ireland, the fourth and fifth chapters of Wilde's "Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," far exceed anything that has yet been written. In a previous article (vol. ii., p. 110) I laid before the Members of the Society the admirable classification on which this Catalogue is based. In pursuance of the plan, the public have now before them a portion double the size of the first instalment of the Catalogue, and profusely illustrated by wood-cuts, in a style of art fully equal to anything of the kind brought out in this country, or England.

In the two chapters which form the recently published portion of the Catalogue, Mr. Wilde treats, firstly, of Animal Materials, and secondly, of Metallic Materials, so far as they are formed of copper and bronze. Useful as the work must prove to those who desire to make a thorough examination of our great national Museum at the Royal Irish Academy, it is no less useful to the student of Irish archæology, who, far away from the advantages of the metropolis, reads it in his own study. In proof of this, I shall proceed to give examples, almost taken at random from the work. Under the head of Class iv. Species iv. we find "articles of household economy, furniture, domestic use, and the toilet, &c.," treated of; and our fair members may not be indisposed to learn the fashion of ancient Irish combs:—

"On Tray A is arranged a collection of forty-four combs, in either a perfect or fragmentary stage, numbered from 116 to 172. From their shape it is evident they were used more for toilet purposes than as ornamental objects; indeed, we have not as yet met with any ancient combs in Ireland specially used for holding up the female hair. If the hair was plaited, it was, in all probability, fastened as well as decorated with a bodkin of bone or metal. We have no warrant for supposing that the early Irish were acquainted with the manufacture of such horn combs, nor were they likely to have had much knowledge of ivory, or the use of tortoise-shell; and there is no evidence to show that our females, in early times, retained the hair in position by means of a comb of any kind, the introduction of which fashion is modern. The Irish, both males and females, were celebrated for the length to which they wore their hair (hence called *glibbs* and *cuil-fion*); and it is not unlikely that the latter sex

adopted the fashion of plaiting it. (See Walker's 'Essay on Irish Dress,' and also Lady Moira's paper in the 'Archæologia,' vol. vii.)

"The combs in the Academy's collection may be divided into three varieties,—the long rack-comb, the single fine-tooth comb, and the double fine-tooth comb. The first vary in length, from No. 123, which is about 4 inches, to No. 120, Fig. 175, which, judging from the half that remains of it, must have been 10 inches: in breadth they range from half an inch to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches. With the exception of Nos. 135, 136, and 137, which appear to be ornamented pocket-combs, there are no specimens in this collection formed out of a single piece. The sides of these rack-combs are generally hog-backed, and taper from the centre to the extremities, the great majority of them being highly decorated, many with pleasing patterns. Between these sides are set the pectinated portions, varying in breadth from half an inch to an inch and a quarter, according to the size of the bone out of which they were cut, the whole being fastened together with metal pins, generally brass, riveted on each face of the side. The back of the pectinated portion generally rises above the handle in the centre and at each extremity, as may be seen in the following illustration,



Fig. 175. No. 120.

Fig. 175, restored from the remaining half of No. 120, which must have been 10 inches in length, and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  wide. These toothed portions are in separate pieces, on account of the grain of the bone, as well as the cavity in its centre: for it is manifest that a durable comb of this size could not have been cut out of a single bone without great liability to fracture. By this ingenious contrivance, also, the pectinated portion, if worn or broken, could easily be repaired by driving out a rivet in the side-pieces, withdrawing the injured part, and inserting a new toothed portion.

"The accompanying illustrations, drawn two-thirds the natural size,

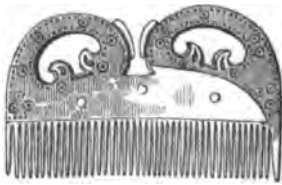


Fig. 176. No. 137.

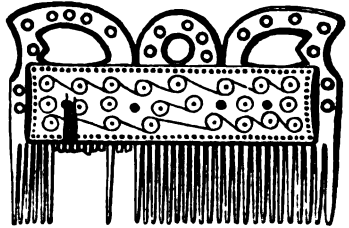


Fig. 177. No. 159.

present us with two beautiful specimens of the short one-sided or single fine-tooth comb, and both of which are highly decorated. No. 137, on Tray A, Fig. 176, is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches long by  $1\frac{3}{8}$  deep, and formed out of a single piece. Its decoration chiefly consists in its graceful outline, and the

number of dotted lines and circles upon its sides. The three elevated rivets projecting above the toothed portion fastened metal plates, which, either in the original formation, or when the article had been accidentally broken, were attached to it. Figure 177, drawn from No. 159 in Rail-case **E**, numbered in continuity with the combs on Tray **A**, is the finest specimen of its class in the Collection. It is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  deep, and the three pectinated portions are held together by flat sides, decorated with scrolls and circles. The top or handle shows a triple open-work decoration, and the side-pieces are grooved at one end for receiving the clasp of a metal tooth, which replaced one of the lost bone ones. It was procured from the Ballinderry crannoge (see Proceedings, vol. vii., p. 129).

“The third variety resembles very much the modern fine-tooth comb, and generally varies from 3 to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, and from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  across, the teeth portions being double, and passing through and through the sides to which they were riveted. The specimen, here figured two-thirds the natural size, is a good example of this variety. The tooth part was originally in five pieces, and fastened between the sides with metal rivets.”

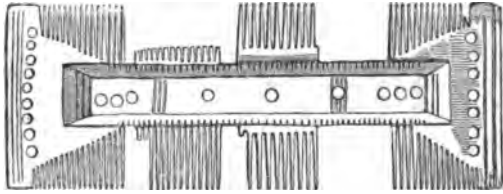


Fig. 178. No. 149.

Dress and Personal Ornaments (Species v.) come next under review. Here is what we learn from the “Catalogue” as to the ancient Irish dress in general:—

“Our only authentic histories afford but meagre references to dress or personal decoration; and the Fenian tales and bardic romances, in the garb in which they now appear, present too many anachronisms and incongruities to be worthy of quotation until they have been carefully edited and annotated.

“The figures in the Books of Durrow and Armagh are altogether ecclesiastical. In the Book of Kells, a Latin vellum MS. of the Gospels, said to be as old as the sixth century,<sup>1</sup> and undoubtedly one of the most beautifully written and most elaborately illuminated works of its period in Europe, there are a few lay figures introduced by the artist, for the mere purpose of decoration, or to fill up space. As the work is thoroughly Irish in every respect, these figures may fairly be presumed to represent the costume of the country at the time they were painted. In some instances the illuminated initial letters are composed of human figures; and although the attitudes are of necessity grotesque, the costume appears to be, in most respects, identical with that of the figures alluded to. The following facsimiles (traced and cut by Mr. G. Hanlon), give perhaps the oldest representations of Irish costume now extant. Fig. 190, from folio

<sup>1</sup> See the Rev. Dr. Todd's paper on 'Irish Church,' in the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal for 20th Sept., 1846, No. 75.”

200, is evidently that of a soldier, armed with a spear and round target and placed either in the act of receiving an enemy, or compressed by the artist to suit the space on the page unoccupied with writing. The head-dress is yellow, with a mitred edge along the brow, as occurs on many other human heads in that work. The coat is green; the breeches, which come



Fig. 190.



Fig. 191.

down below the knee, are light blue, picked out with red; and the beard and moustache brown. The legs and feet are naked. The shield is yellow; and the spear-head blue, exactly resembling some of those of iron in the Academy's Collection, in which the cross rivets project considerably beyond the socket. A line of red dots surrounds the outline of the figure—as is usual in the Book of Kells, and as may be seen in many of the initial letters, especially those used in this Catalogue, which are all copied from that work. At folio 201 there is a sitting figure, in the act of drinking



Fig. 192.



Fig. 193.

from a circular goblet (Fig. 191), wearing a sort of turban, principally yellow, with a flesh-coloured border; the cloak is dark red, bound with yellow; the tunic blue, with a yellow border and green sleeve; the feet are naked, and partially concealed by the letters, which shows that the illumination was made after the text had been completed.

“In the two small equestrian figures on page 300, we have another phase of costume. Figure 192, from folio 89, shows the ancient short



cloak remarkably well, and, from a careful examination of both figures, it would appear that the horses were also clothed or caparisoned. The cap is yellow, fitting tightly to the head, and hanging down behind—or this head-dress may represent the natural hair. The cloak is green, with a broad band of bright red, and a yellow border; the breeches green; the leg covered, but the foot naked. The cover of the horse is yellow; but the head, tail, and such portions of the right legs as appear, are green. The word over which it is placed is engraved, to show the position of the illumination. Fig. 193 occurs on folio 255; the parchment has been injured underneath the cloak, but a sufficiency of the colour remains to show that it was green; the cap is yellow.

“If we seek for documentary evidence before the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion, the earliest accessible authority upon the subject of costume is the ‘Book of Rights,’ already quoted in this work. There, among the tributes paid by the different states or kingdoms of the Irish Pentarchy, we read of the cloak or *brat*, the outer garment,—of which the following varieties are specified:—‘A thousand cloaks not white—speckled cloaks,—cloaks with white borders,—red cloaks,—red cloaks not black,—blue cloaks,—royal cloaks,—green cloaks,—and ‘green cloaks of even colour,—cloaks of strength,—coloured cloaks,—chequered cloaks of lasting colours,—napped cloaks, with the first sewing, which are trimmed with purple,—purple cloaks of fine brilliance,—purple cloaks of fine texture,—purple cloaks of four points,—and cloaks with golden borders.’ The *cochall*, hooded cloak or cowl, is seldom mentioned among these tributes.

“The *matal* (which word is not translated by O’Donovan), was probably smaller than the cloak, and may have been worn beneath it, or as an ordinary coat, and it is remarkable that on only one occasion, where we read of its having a ‘golden border,’ is it mentioned that that article of dress was decorated; but we read of ‘fair beautiful matals,—royal matals,’ and also of ‘matals soft in texture.’”

“The tunic, *inar*, formed a considerable portion of the ancient tributes, and is described as ‘brown red,—deep red,—with golden borders,—with gold ornaments,—with golden hems,—and also ‘with red gold.’”

“The *leann*, translated by O’Donovan ‘mantle,’ would appear to have been a white woollen garment, probably a sort of loose shirt; but, from its being almost invariably mentioned along with ‘coats of mail,’ it lends probability to the conjecture that it was only used in connection with armour. Thus, the chief of Cinèl Eana was entitled, among other tributes, to receive ‘five mantles, five coats of mail;’ and the king of Tulach Og, to ‘fifty mantles, fifty coats of mail,’<sup>2</sup>—but ‘mantles [*leanna*] of deep purple’ are also enumerated.

<sup>1</sup> ‘*Matal* was probably another name for the *Fallaing*, which in latter ages was applied to the outer covering or cloak; but this is far from certain. *Matal* is applied in *Leabhar Breac* to the outer garment worn by the Redeemer.’—See note to *Leabhar na g-Coert*, p. 38.”

<sup>2</sup> The subject of mail and armour will be considered under the head of Bronze and Iron Weapons. Dr. O’Donovan has afforded

the writer the following note:—‘The word *lean* (which has nothing to do with *leine*, a linen shirt) is explained in a MS. in Trinity College Library, H. 8, 18, p. 75, and in Cormac’s Glossary, *sub voce leann*, as a white *brat* of wool; and the word is understood in this sense by Colgan and the writers of the seventeenth century. The word is simply rendered *brat* by O’Clery.’ The Gaulish term *leanna* occurs in Isidore.”

"When flax and hemp were first introduced, has not been recorded. Linen shirts were in use at the time of the English invasion, and are said to have been of immense size, and dyed a saffron colour. Notwithstanding the suitability of our soil to the growth of flax, it was only on the suppression of our woollen manufacture, and the introduction of the Huguenot and Dutch settlers into Ulster that this article of native produce attained celebrity.' We do not possess any specimen of ancient linen in the Academy's Collection; and the only articles containing flax or hempen fibre of any great age are the sewings of some vellum manuscripts, in particular the *Leabhar na h-Uídhre*; but several of our old works of that class are sewn to horse-skin bands, with strong twisted silk.

"The variegated and glowing colours, as well as the gorgeous decorations of the different articles of dress enumerated in the Book of Rights, added to the brilliancy of the arms, must have rendered the Irish costume of the eighth and ninth centuries very attractive. It is remarkable that, except helmets, Benean, in his relation of the Tributes and Taxes, does not enumerate any form of head-dress. Most of the Irish appear to have used their luxuriant hair as a natural covering for the head, even in the time of Elizabeth, and the only term employed by authors for our ancient head-dress is that of *barread* (from the mediæval Latin word, *birretum*), a high conical cap, somewhat between that known as the Phrygian, which was common in England in Saxon times, and the pointed grenadier's cap of the last century, or the present Persian, with which all oriental travellers are acquainted;<sup>2</sup> but the material of which it was composed has not been determined; perhaps it was formed of different textures or skins. The Irish helmet, of which we possess a specimen, was of this shape.

"In the plan or perspective view of the taking of the Earl of Ormond in 1600, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, the figure of O'More is represented in a short, red cloak, fringed round the neck, a high conical cap or barread of a light colour, and tight-fitting pantaloons.

"Cloaks—the *cochall*, and the *fallaing*—were, however, the chief articles of dress in early times, but were probably different either in shape or material. In Cormac's Glossary, the former term is derived from the Latin *cucullus*; and, says Ledwich, 'if any reliance is to be placed on the legendary life of St. Cadoc, cited by Ware, the Irish *cocula*, in the middle of the sixth century, was a cloak, with a fringe [such perhaps as that figured at p. 295] or shaggy border at the neck, with a hood to cover the head.'<sup>3</sup> *Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 359.

"Scarlet cloaks were commonly worn by the Irish chieftains in the

<sup>1</sup> See an Essay on 'The French Settlers,' in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. i., page 209."

<sup>2</sup> The cap of rushes made by children gives a good idea of the ancient *barread*, of which it is possibly an imitation. The old leprechaun, or fairy shoe-maker, was always described as wearing knee breeches and a conical cap; although the moderns usually represent him in a three-cocked hat."

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Whitley Stokes' 'Irish Glosses,' published by the Archæological and Celtic Society, contains much valuable information

on the true etymology of these Irish words; and will be a lasting monument of the deep learning and vast research of the author.

*Cocall* glosses *Casulla*, and is, he says, one of those Celtic words which, by the influence of the Church, has become universal. 'The *Cuculla*, sometimes called *casula* and *capa*, consisted of the body and the hood, the latter of which was sometimes specially termed the *casula*.' In Breton it is *hougoul*, in Cornish *cugol*, and in English *cowl*. *Sléstan*, according to the same writer, was 'probably a cloak covering the thighs and hams,'—and *fallaing*,

fourteenth century, and, as already stated at p. 297, dark crimson-red was the prevailing colour of those used by the female peasantry until the last few years. In early times the cloak was furnished with a hood, which could be drawn over the head like the Suliote capote; but it does not seem to have been worn much longer than the time of Spenser, when enactments were made forbidding its use.<sup>1</sup> It was fastened either in front or on the right breast with a pin or brooch; and the very general use of this and other cloak or scarf-like garments may account for the circumstance of so many fibulæ of different kinds being found in this country. Walker, in his 'Historical Essay on the Dress of the Irish,' gives the figure of a king draped with a long flowing cloak, fastened with a brooch across the breast, and reaching to the ground (see Plate V., Fig. 1). This he calls the '*canabhas*.' It was a long, graceful robe or cloak used by kings, brehons, and priests, and of which we have a vestige in the heavy-caped frieze *cota-mor* of the modern Irish, often worn hanging from the shoulders. The ancient cloak, no doubt, varied in shape, size, and probably colour, at different times and in different localities; but it was evidently the analogue of the sagum of the Celtic Gauls, described by Plutarch as 'particoloured;' the thick, woollen læna of the Belgæ; the *reno* of the early Germans; the *chlamys* of the Greeks; the *pallium* or *toga* of the Romans; the *bornous* of the Arab; the *plaid* of the Highlander; the *capote* of the Albanian; and the *abbas* of the Turk and most oriental people, including the Hebrews.

"In the twelfth century, Giraldus Cambrensis thus briefly describes the costume of the Irish: they 'wear thin, woollen clothes, mostly black, because the sheep of Ireland are in general of that colour; the dress itself is of a barbarous fashion; they wear cappuces, which spread over their shoulders, and reach down to the elbow. These upper coverings are made of fabrics of different textures, with others of divers colours stitched on them in stripes. Under these they wear woollen fallings (*phalingæ*) instead of the *pallium*, and large loose breeches and stockings in one piece, and generally dyed of some colour.'—*Topographia Hibernia*, Book iii., chap. ix. This description of the *braccæ* or *trowsers* accords perfectly with a specimen of this portion of dress in the Academy's Collection. The same author tells us that the native Irish went 'naked and unarmed to battle;' by which latter assertion he must have meant unprovided with defensive armour, in contradistinction to the Anglo-Norman soldiery, who, at that period, wore metal breast-plates and helmets. That armour had, however, been used by some classes of the Irish, is proved by the fact,

a mantle, may, he says, be connected with *pallium*; and he quotes the Welsh expression in which the same word is used, *mal y Gwyddyl am y ffalling*, 'like the Irishman for the cloak.' In a MS., quoted in the same work, we find *brois buit* used in a passage thus translated, 'an old man in a yellow cloak, in a blue tunic of full size,' which, while it explains the meaning of the word *brat*, is also illustrative of the colours used in Irish costume."

<sup>1</sup> In Dineley's Account of his Visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II., published by Mr. E. P. Shirley in the *Kilkenny Archæ-*

ological Journal, it is stated—'The common people of both sexes wear no shoes, after the English fashion, but a sort of pumps called brogues. The vulgar Irish women's garments are loose-body'd without any manner of stiffening.' And again, of these common Irish, he states—'Never at any time using hats, after y<sup>e</sup> manner of the vulgar English, but covering and defending their heads from rain with a mantle, as also from the heat of the sunne, to which Spanish lazy use the Irish men apply their cloaks.'—'Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society,' vol. I., N.S., p. 186."

that 'coats of mail' (in Irish *luireacha*, from the Latin *lorica*) are enumerated among the Irish tributes, at least two centuries prior to the visit of the Welsh historian. (See Book of Rights.) The former statement is possibly founded on fact; for we know that another Celtic race, the Highlanders of Scotland, stripped off the greater portion of their clothes at the battle of Killiecrankie, several hundred years later.

"From an illuminated copy of Giraldus, in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., some small sketches have been given by Mr. Planché, in his History of Costume, in which the cloak and trews, as well as a short jacket, like the *bauneen*, or flannel vest of the modern Connemara peasant, are represented. Diarmaid Macmurrough is figured in a short tunic and tight trews; with a long beard, and uncovered head, as shown in the accompanying figure, given the natural size, from the drawing in the original manuscript, and for which we are indebted to that distinguished antiquary, Mr. Albert Way. The ex-king of Leinster being at that time an ally of the English, this portrait may very probably have been taken from life. He is armed with a long-handled hatchet or battle-axe, the blade of which is shaped like some specimens in the Museum (see the Iron Collection in the Southern Compartment on the ground-floor, Trays I and K). It does not resemble the gallowglass axe of later times; but is that known by the name of the Sparthe—a '*sparthe de Hibernia*,' such as 'Gentel Mortimer' had in his armoury at Wigmore Castle, in 1322. The hair is sandy; the tunic or short coat (*inar*) is of a brown colour, fastened round the waist with a belt, and bound tightly to the wrists with bands, that were probably ornamented. The tight-fitting trews are green. Of this memorable Irish character, Giraldus elsewhere says: 'Dermon Mac Morogh was a tall man of stature, and of a large and great bodie, a valiant and a bold warrior in his nation; and by reason of his continuall halowing and crieng, his voice was hoarse; he rather choce and decided to be feared than to beloved: a great oppressor of his nobilitie, but a great advancer of the poore and weake. To his owne people he was rough and greevous, and hatefull to strangers; he would be against all men, and all men against him.'



Fig. 195.



Fig. 196.

he would be against all men, and all men against him.

“Mr. Way has also furnished us with the two following illustrations from the same source . . . That given above (Fig. 196) shows the short cloak or falling of olive green, like those in the Book of Kells, already described at page 300. The trews are, in the original, of a light brown; this figure also wields the sparthe or battle-axe, but with a shorter handle than in the foregoing.

“In 1824, a male body, completely clad in woollen garments of antique fashion, was found in a bog, six feet beneath the surface, in the parish of Killery, county of Sligo. No weapon was discovered near the body; but a long staff lay under it, and attached to the hand by a leather thong was said to have been a small bag of untanned leather, containing a ball of worsted thread, and also a small silver coin, which was unfortunately lost. The head-dress, which soon fell to pieces, is said to have been a conical cap of sheep-skin, probably the ancient *barread*.

So perfect was the body when first discovered, that a magistrate was called upon to hold an inquest on it. In the accompanying figure, drawn from a photograph of a person clad in this antique suit (except the shoes, which are too small for an adult of even medium size) we are enabled to present the reader with a fair representation of the costume of the native Irish about the fifteenth century. The cloak or mantle, composed of brown soft cloth, closely woven with a twill (but not so fine as that in the coat), is straight on the upper edge, which is nine feet long, but cut into nearly a segment of a circle on the lower. In the centre, where it is almost four feet across, it consists of two breadths, and a small lower fragment; the upper breadth is fifteen, and the lower twenty inches wide. It is a particularly graceful garment, and is in a wonderfully good state of preservation.

“In texture, the coat consists of a coarse brown wollen cloth or flannel, with a diagonal twill, or diaper. In make it is a sort of frock or tunic,

and has been much worn in the sleeves. The back is formed out of one piece, extending into the skirt, which latter is two feet long, and made very full all round, by a number of gussets, like the slashed doublets of Spanish fashion. It measures 8 feet in circumference at the bottom. Gussets, broad at the top, are also inserted between the back and breast, below the armpits, and meet the gores of the skirt gussets at the waist. It is single-breasted, and has fourteen circular buttons ingeniously formed out of the same material as the coat itself, and worked with woollen thread. The breadth of the back is 18 inches, which was probably the width of the cloth. The collar is narrow, as in some of the most fashionable frock-coats of



Fig 207.

the present day. The sleeve consists of two portions joined at an angle across the elbow, below which it is open like that of the modern Greek or Albanian jacket, and has twelve small buttons extending along the outer flap. Where the sleeve joined the back, a full gusset is inserted, and the cuff consists of a slight turn-in, an inch and a half wide. The inside and lower portion of each sleeve has been much worn, and is patched with a coarse felt-like material of black and orange plaid, similar to that in the trowsers found on the same body. All the seams of this garment are sewn with a woollen thread of three plies.

“The trowsers or trews are of a coarser material than the coat, and consists of two distinct parts, of different colours and textures. The upper is a bag of thick, coarse, yellowish-brown cloth, 19 inches deep, double below, and passing for some way down on the thighs. It is sewn up at the sides, and made full behind. The legs are composed of a brown and orange yellow (or saffron colour) plaid, in equal squares of about an inch wide, and woven straight across; but each leg-piece has been cut bias, so as to bring the diagonal of the plaid along the length of the limb, and it is inserted into a slit in the front of the bag, extending inwards and upwards from the outer angle. The legs are as narrow as those of a pair of modern pantaloons, and must have fitted the limbs tightly; they are sewn up behind, with the seam outside, while in the bag portion the seams are inside. Below, the legs are scalloped or cut out both over the instep and the heel, the extremities coming down to points at the sides. The angle in front is strengthened by an ingenious piece of needlework like that used in working button-holes. It is said that these ends were attached behind to the uppers of the shoes, Nos. 16 and 17, described at page 291. All the sewing in this garment was also effected with woollen thread, but of only two plies. These close-fitting trowsers are evidently the ancient Celtic *braccæ* or chequered many-coloured lower garment, the *triubhais* or *truis*, now drawn from nature, and explaining by the way they were attached to the sacculated portion above, and the shoes below, many hitherto unaccountable expressions in Giraldus, especially when he says, ‘The Irish wear breeches ending in shoes, or shoes ending in breeches.’”

Here I shall conclude the present brief and necessarily imperfect notice of this truly national work, which I hope soon to bring again under the notice of the Members. The reader, when turning over its pages, is carried back to the period of which it treats, and has vividly brought before him the old Celts, as they lived, and dressed, and fought; and that, not by the invention of wild theories, but as illustrated by the actual remains of the several periods, preserved in the matchless Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Every Member of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society should procure (at the small cost of 7s. 6d.) this most important volume; and so, whilst adding a valuable work to his library, aid in the completion of the forthcoming portion of the Catalogue.

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, April 3rd, 1861.

The VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LEIGHLIN, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

Thomas Prendergast, Esq., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's-square, London; Harris Prendergast, Esq., Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London; and Napoleon Bonaparte Wyse, Esq., Manor of St. John, Waterford: proposed by J. P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Matthew Esmonde White, Esq., M. D., J. P., Carlow; and J. Cliffe Vigors, Esq., J. P., Burgage, Leighlin Bridge: proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin.

Andrew Wilson, Esq., Collector of Inland Revenue, Wexford: proposed by Patrick Duffy, Esq.

James Kennedy, Esq., Manager, National Bank, Athlone: proposed by J. H. Browne, Esq.

Rev. Thomas Kieran, P.P., Swords, County Dublin: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Henry Patterson, Esq., Architect, Royal Engineer Department, Kilkenny; and Mr. Francis Hunt, High-street, Kilkenny: proposed by J. G. Robertson, Esq.

The Secretary reported that the January part of the Society's "Quarterly Journal" had been issued, and was now in the hands of members. A good deal of the subscriptions for the current year had been already got in; but there were still arrears due for the past year, which, with the arrears of the current year, members, on reflection, ought to see the propriety of remitting to the Treasurer without delay. In other respects, the state of the funds was not to be complained of. A sum of over £30 had been subscribed by various Members, in addition to their ordinary subscriptions, towards the "Illustration Fund," which was a very satisfactory beginning in that way.

The Chairman suggested the propriety of getting out a Catalogue of the very interesting objects in the Society's Museum, on the plan of Dr. Wilde's Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy's Museum. He considered their own collection of antiquities, as already formed, fully worthy of such a catalogue; and as the collection increased, supplementary catalogues could be issued.

Dr. Delany fully coincided in the Chairman's opinion. The catalogue could be made to aid the Society's funds, as the Members would willingly pay additionally for it; or it could be made to form a portion of the Society's Journal. At all events, it ought to be printed to correspond with the Journal, so that the Members could have it bound with the volume of the year in which it should be issued.

The Secretary said it rested entirely with the Members whether such a catalogue were issued or not. If four hundred Members deposited 10s. each with the Treasurer, the Committee would engage to furnish a Catalogue of the Collection in the Society's Museum, which would be a credit to the Society. It should be an understood condition that such subscription was not to be used for the general purposes of the Society, but be invested in the Savings' Bank, or elsewhere, until the sum required was accumulated. The chief source of expense of such a catalogue would be the engravings, without which it would be useless.

The Rev. Luke Fowler mentioned that when recently at Caen, he had been present at a meeting of the members of the Archæological Society of Normandy, who seemed to take some interest in Irish antiquities. He begged leave to move that friendly relations should be established between the Archæological Societies of Kilkenny and Normandy, and that an exchange of publications should be effected between them.

The proposition of the Rev. Mr. Fowler was then unanimously agreed to.

A Member and zealous well-wisher of the Society wrote, offering a prize of £3 for the best essay "On the best mode of Writing and Publishing a History of Ireland from the earliest period to the year 1509." The conditions would be made known at the July meeting of the Society. The proposer of this prize, writing to the Rev. James Graves, Hon. Sec., suggested the necessity of an exertion being made for obtaining the preparation of a copious history of Ireland to the beginning of the sixteenth century, as down to that period there would be a greater concord of feeling between all sections of Irishmen, and besides, after that the materials for history were more accessible. It appeared to him that an effort should be made to have men of sufficient skill in the Irish language, such as Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. Curry, engaged to search out the Irish manuscripts existing throughout England and the Continent.



On the motion of the Rev. James Graves, Honorary Secretary, seconded by Rev. J. Mease, Robert Malcomson, Esq., was elected Honorary Local Secretary for the Carlow District.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By J. G. Robertson, Esq.: An Architectural Drawing of the outer Arch of St. James's Gate, Kilkenny, by Mr. H. Patterson, from measurements made by Mr. Robertson himself, shortly before the gateway was taken down by the Corporation, last year.

By the Ven. Archdeacon Cotton: a manuscript "Rent Roll of the Estate of the Mayor and Citizens of the City of Kilkenny for two years, ending Lady Day, 1772," together with an account of "Disbursements by the Treasurer out of the foregoing rents." The rental mentioned several names of places long changed or gone out of use in the city, such as "Kyran's Well," now the site of the Corporation market in King-street, then set to Nicholas Ronan, at 12s. 6d. per annum; the "Shade(?)" in John-street, &c. The "Rampart," in Tobin's-lane, was let to Thomas Shervington at £4 per annum. "Pent-houses"—being in fact "Rows" of arcades forming a covered footway along the streets, and serving also for shops, as still in use in Chester—were very common at the time. John Cramer paid 10s. a year for a "Pent-house in North Ward," and Thomas Young and John Archdekin rented pent-houses in the same ward at 2s. 6d. per annum; but Robert Tobin paid £1 5s. yearly for a "Pent-house in High-street;" Captain John Baxter paid 10s. per annum for the "Sconse near Walkin's gate;" "wastes" and "incroachments" on the streets are frequent items. It appears that "The Scavengership" was "received by the Mayors for the time being to pave the streets of the city." The "City Customs" were set for £165 per annum. Amongst the items in the account of disbursements are—

	£	s.	d.
"Paid for Judge's Lodgings, viz., Mrs. Whitehead, £5;			
Peter Alley, £8; do. £5, . . . . .	18	0	0
Paid two years' Hearthmoney [for] Tholsel, November,			
1771, . . . . .		0	16
Paid for News Papers to 5th April, 1771, . . . . .	13	16	11
Paid Vicars Chorals, Warren, Martin, and Wheeler, . . . . .	2	7	6

The following were the disbursements for salaries of the officials:—

*"Payments made for Salaries, viz:—*

"Paid Antho. Blunt, Esq <sup>r</sup> , May <sup>r</sup> , Michaelmas, 1771, Salary and Charity Money, . . . . .	202	0	0
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	£	s.	d.
Paid James Percival, Esq', Deputy Mayor, Michaelmas, 1772, . . . . .	202	0	0
Paid Sheriffs Keogh and Blunt, Michaelmas, 1770, . . . . .	40	0	0
Paid Sheriffs Keogh and Blake, Michaelmas, 1771, . . . . .	40	0	0
Paid Eland Mossom, Esq., Recorder, 2½ years salary, ending March, 1772, . . . . .	100	0	0
Paid Godfrey Cookseye, Esq., Town Clerk, 2 years ending Michaelmas, 1771, . . . . .	40	0	0
Paid Ditto for lodging Sheriffs' Certificates, 7 years ending Michaelmas, 1771, . . . . .	7	0	0
Treasurer's Salary 1½ year, 24 June, 1772, . . . . .	70	0	0
Pen, Ink, and Paper; Ditto; Time as usual, . . . . .	1	15	0
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	£702	15	0

*"Payments made to City Servants:—*

" Paid Sword Bearer, William Harty, 2 years, March, 1772, . . . . .	24	0	0
Paid Great Mace Bearer, William Wilkinson, 1½ year, ending 24th June, 1772, . . . . .	21	0	0
Paid Small Mace Bearer, Thomas Hewet, 1½ year, ending 25th March, 1772, . . . . .	12	0	0
Paid Ditto, William Foster, 1½ year, ending 25th March, 1772, . . . . .	12	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£69	0	0

In the "Payments made for Bailiff's wages" occurs a name which Banim has immortalised by introducing it into his tale "The Mayor of Windgap"—Roger Divey, more likely to be recognised as "Yellow Roger":—

	£	s.	d.
" Paid Roger Divey, Mayor's Bailiff, 1½ years, 25th March, 1772, . . . . .	12	0	0
Paid ditto, for sweeping Wastes, the like, . . . . .	1	10	0

There was then an officer of the Corporation not known in more recent times but worthy to be restored:—

	£	s.	d.
" Paid John Somers, Whipbeggar, to 25th March, 1772, . . . . .	5	10	0
Paid Stephen Rix, Whipbeggar, to 14th November, 1770, . . . . .	0	10	0

There were numerous "City Pensioners" at that period, it appearing to be the custom not merely to superannuate the officers of the Corporation, but to give annuities to the widows or daughters of deceased officials. The pensions, chiefly paid at the time to females, amounted, for the space over which the account went, to £210 1s. Several of these annuitants were the descendants of

foreign settlers, if not settlers themselves, such as "Jane Vantreight, 2 years' pension, £20;" "Catherine Vantreight, the like, £12;" "Orianna Danbichon, 1 year, £6;" "John Ximenes, 2 years, £16." The last-named was a musician, and had been, or was at the time, organist of St. Mary's Church. Amongst the "payments made by orders of Assembly," and "payments by Mayor's orders," were the following:—

	£	s.	d.
"Paid Antho: Blunt, Esq., for securing the arch at St. John's Bridge, . . . . .	21	14	1½
Paid John Rothe for making Guard Fire—an old order, . . . . .	1	0	0
Paid Geo: Brown for matts for ye Tholsel, per order James Percival, Esqre., . . . . .	0	18	4
Paid David Perry for attending Potatoe scales, . . . . .	0	12	0
Paid James Fitzgerald for making Bayliffs' cloathes, . . . . .	2	0	0
Paid John Brennan for candles for the City Guard, . . . . .	2	17	6
Paid William Harty for Serv <sup>ts</sup> Cloathes, &c., . . . . .	26	18	7½
Paid for Ropes for ye Tholsel Bell, . . . . .	0	7	7

By Mr. William Lawless, Rose-Inn-street: a Waterford token, struck for Edmond Russell, being No. 518 on Dr. A. Smith's published list of Irish Tokens.

By the Author: "Brief Sketches of the Parishès of Bootertown and Donnybrook, County of Dublin," part 2, by the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker, A. M., Incumbent of Bootertown. This work was highly spoken of by the Chairman and other Members present at the Meeting.

By the Surrey Archæological Society: their "Collections," Vol. II., part 1. 1860.

By the Royal Dublin Society: their "Journal," Nos. 18 and 19.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 935 to 946, inclusive.

By the Publisher: "The Dublin Builder," Nos. 21, 22, 24, 25, and 26. No. 23 had not been received.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for January, February, and March, 1861.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal" for December, 1860, with a Supplemental Number.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne: "Archæologia Æliana," part 17.

By the Architectural and Archæological Society of the County of Buckingham: "Records of Buckinghamshire," Vol. II., No. 5.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, &c.: "The East Anglian," No. 9.

By the Rev. George R. Mackarness: the first volume of plates issued by "The Ilam Anastatic Drawing Society," being that for 1860. This volume is a handsome quarto, and contains several

views of Irish antiquarian remains. The principle of the Society is, that each subscriber receives a copy of the publication; the drawings being exclusively the work of the Members, and executed by the anastatic lithographic process.

The Rev. H. T. Ellacombe wrote, calling attention to the curious paper on the coat-armour assigned to our Saviour, published in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for December, 1860. This paper and its accompanying illustration, by his late friend, R. Pearsall, Esq., were published editorially in the periodical alluded to by some strange oversight. Mr. Ellacombe stated that he had a drawing of a similar coat of arms from Elgin Cathedral; and wished to learn if any example occurred in Ireland.

The Secretary observed that the symbols of the Crucifixion were common in Ireland, especially on monumental sculpture of the seventeenth century, but he had never met with an instance in this country of a regularly quartered coat of arms being assigned to the Saviour.

The Rev. Samuel Hayman contributed the following notice of two inedited Youghal tradesmen's tokens, having also presented to the Society the wood-cuts by which the paper was illustrated:—

"Mention has been already made in this volume (pp. 83, 84) of some inedited Youghal Tradesmen's Tokens. I am now enabled to present the Society with wood-cuts of two of these; and I shall subjoin a few words of description. The earlier token of the two is that of—

"1. ROBERT ROBENS.<sup>1</sup>—The engraving is made from a unique specimen in the collection of Mr. John Burke, Sexton of St. Mary's Church, Youghal. It is of brass, and weighs 25 grains. On the obverse we have 'ROBART. ROBENS. 1<sup>o</sup> 1656;' and on the reverse 'DUNGARVEN AN[D]



YEOGHAL,' encircling a merchant's mark, having the initials of the striker of the token on its shaft, and a pendant sheep at the base. It is evident, therefore, that Robens was a clothier, or woollen-draper, who, in Commonwealth days, carried on his business in the contiguous towns of Dungarvan and Youghal. And it is worthy of remark that, although situated in different shires, these towns have maintained, from remotest times, a very close connexion. Until 1826, Dungarvan was a creek of the port of Youghal; and its customs and excise were accounted for in the collector's returns from the latter place. It is still united with

<sup>1</sup> In page 84, *supra*, by a typographical error, this surname was given as "Tobens."

Youghal as regards military arrangements, and receives its quota of troops from the Youghal garrison. The second token was issued by—

"2. THOMAS COOKE.—Of this merchant's money a single specimen has been found. It was dug up in the summer of 1860, in the garden of the Presentation Convent, Youghal, anciently a portion of the grounds of the Franciscan Friary. With the coin noticed already, it passed into the appreciating hands of the Sexton of St. Mary's, who has kindly consented to its being engraved for these pages. The token is of copper, weighing 25 grains. We have, on the obverse, 'THO[MAS. CO]OKE. MERCHANT,' encircling a balance; and, on the reverse, 'HIS PENNY (over which was subsequently stamped 'FARTHING'), 1671,' with Cooke's initials. The token



was originally of value for one penny; and was probably made current for a farthing in 1680, when the large copper half-pence of Charles II. were issued.

"The family of Coke, or Cooke, has been for ages settled in the eastern counties of England. Numerous cadets passed into Ireland, in the seventeenth century; and their descendants are now found among the gentry of Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary. Two distinct branches flourished in Youghal. Of these, one claimed descent from John Cooke, author of 'A Vindication of the Profession of the Law,' and yet better remembered as the Solicitor-General of the Commonwealth, who officially arraigned the unfortunate monarch, Charles I., for which he suffered death with the surviving regicides at the Restoration.' The other Youghal line of Cookes was also of Cromwellian settlement, and maintained the favourite and distinctive Christian name of 'Thomas.' Of them came the striker of this token; and, if we can record little of himself, we have to tell some pleasing things of his descendants. His grandson and namesake, Thomas Cooke, Alderman of Youghal, and Mayor in the two consecutive years of 1746 and 1747, was the compiler, in 1749, of a very curious history of the town, which is yet unpublished.' He died in March, 1769. His son, again, was the Rev. Thomas Cooke, a clergyman of the Established Church, and Master of the Endowed School of Middleton, Co. Cork. He was the author of a well-known school-book, the 'Analysis of the Latin Language;' which, despite of the changes in education since his time, yet maintains its ground in our classical seminaries. The Rev. Thomas Cooke died in 1775, while in the flower of life and genius. His grand-nephew, Thomas Cooke,

<sup>1</sup> This line, failing in male issue, is represented in Youghal by another Cromwellian family, that of Taylor. Of the latter family came the versatile *litterateur*, William Cooke Taylor, LL. D., who was born at Youghal,

16th April, 1800, and died at 20, Herbert-street, Dublin, 12th September, 1849.

<sup>2</sup> The exact title of Alderman Cooke's compilation is here subjoined:—"Memoirs of the Town of Youghal, giving an Account

now represents the family locally, and is the medical officer of the Youghal Electoral Division, in the Poor-Law Union of the same name."

The Rev. James Graves described an ancient incised slab existing at Jerpoint Abbey, which had been recently brought under notice at the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, by Mr. Du Noyer, whose observations were thus reported in the "Journal" of the Institute (vol. xvii., p. 72):—

"Mr. Du Noyer assigns the date to the close of the thirteenth century. It will be seen that immediately over the head there is a square cavity (see woodcut) in which, as he conjectured, might have been affixed a brass plate, or some accessory to the staff in the right hand of the effigy, such as a gonfanon or small banner. This is, however, improbable; it is difficult to explain the intention of this receptacle, in which a relic, or some object connected with the deceased, may have been placed. The cists cut out of the rock near St. Patrick's Chapel at Heysham, Lancashire, appear to present a feature in some degree analogous; we there find, at the head of coffin-shaped cavities, of which some are fashioned according to mediæval usage to fit the head and shoulders, small rectangular depositories, of which the intention has not been explained. The costume of the effigy here figured is curious; the tight tunic or *cote-hardie* of the times of Edward II. and Edward III. was frequently buttoned down the front, as shown, among many examples, in the miniature bronze figure of William of Hatfield, on the tomb of Edward III. in Westminster Abbey. On this slab at Jerpoint, however, two rows of buttons appear, and a singular little garment, resembling a short smock-frock, reaching only to the girdle, which, according to the fashion of the period, encircles the hips, not the waist. The tight hose and long-pointed toe are familiar features of the costume of the period; and some kind of hood is doubtless here represented, possibly dropped on the neck, and forming a roll like a collar, but the details of the head and its covering are not very intelligible. Unfortunately, the upper portion of the object held in the right hand is defaced. The costume being wholly secular, although scarcely to be designated military, this object, which at first sight is somewhat cruciform in appearance, is probably a spear provided with a cross-bar, like the *mora* of the Roman *vanabulum*, or hunting-spear. Two good examples of such spears, but of an earlier period, are figured in the catalogue of Mr. Roach Smith's Museum, p. 103; another, found at Nottingham, is figured in this Journal, vol. viii., p. 425. The spear, with one or more short transverse bars at

of the Laws and Customs of the Town, the Offices, Gates, Walls, Church, Immunities, and Privileges: with a Catalogue of the Mayors, Bailiffs, and Burgesses from the year 1542 to 1749; a List of present Freemen; an abridgment of the Charter granted by King James I., reciting several Grants made by Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII., Kings of England, and Elizabeth, Queen: with the several Oaths of Office

and Rules of Court. Collected by Thomas Cooke, Alderman, [1749]." This curious local history was evidently modelled after Isacke's "Antiquities of the City of Exeter," printed in 1677, as a comparison of the two books will show. The original MS. was bought in at the Literary Sale Rooms, 81, Anglesea-street, Dublin, April 25th, by the owner, the Rev. Doctor Nelligan, of Cork, for the sum of six pounds.

the head, appears frequently in illuminations of the Anglo-Saxon and later times, and many examples will be found in Mr. Hewitt's *Arms and Armour in Europe*. Compare Hefner, *Div. I. pl. 33*. We have not found



Incaed Slab at Jerpoint Abbey, Co. Kilkenny. Length 6 ft., width at the head, 2 ft. 7 in.

instances of such a weapon, probably used in the chase, at the period to which the curious memorial at Jerpoint Abbey may be referred."

Mr. Graves said that having sketched this slab in August, 1840, when it was in a far better state of preservation than now, he was able to depose to the indications of a beard, where the regular scallops are given round the face of the figure in the wood-cut which accompanied Mr. Du Noyer's notice—here reproduced. He had no doubt that a hood was attached to the upper short coat, but he was not quite clear that the rows of buttons shown in the cut were in existence at all; at least, if so, they were not indicated in

his sketch. He was forced to place the slab a century later in time than Mr. Du Noyer, as he had distinctly read the following portions of the inscription, carved in incised Lombardic capitals:—

HIC IACET TOMAS . . . . M C<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup> . . . .

which brought down the date to some year in the fourteenth century. Twenty years ago the object, held in the right hand of the figure, showed no indications of terminating like a spear, but the slab was even then very much injured by time.

The following Papers were communicated:—

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WHAT WE LEARN FROM WILDE'S "CATALOGUE OF THE ANTIQUITIES IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY."

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.

IN fulfilment of my promise to bring this admirable publication again before the Members of the Society, I proceed to lay before them the section of the Catalogue which relates to the several modes anciently used in Ireland to protect the feet. The examples of ancient shoes and sandals here described and illustrated are of singular interest, as the ornamentation on some of them are identical with that to be found on undoubted works of Irish art,—such as our ancient crosses, shrines, brooches, and in the adornments of our most ancient manuscripts. Here is what Dr. Wilde says of "Shoes and Boots":—

"SHOES AND BOOTS, of what may be termed antiquity, present, upon a close examination, several curious artistic details and ingenious devices. When the Irish first learned the art of tanning, is at present unknown; but as this branch of manufacture is of great antiquity in most countries possessing any degree of civilization, it is not likely that we were unacquainted with it during historic times.<sup>1</sup> Most of the specimens in the collection are evidently made of tanned leather, and are also considerably worn; but a few are of untanned hide. As nearly all the antique objects

<sup>1</sup> See an extract from one of the Brehon Laws relating to the penalties for stripping bark for tanning purposes, given as a specimen

of the Irish language in the fourteenth century in Doctor O'Donovan's 'Irish Grammar,' p. 448."



of skin were discovered in peat-bogs, to the tanning properties of which they were subjected for so many years, it is now difficult to state with precision whether each article was originally tanned or not.

“For the sake of arrangement, these articles of dress may be divided into the single-piece shoe or buskin, and that in which two or more pieces were employed in its fabrication. To understand the antique single-piece shoe, it is well to inquire whether anything approaching thereto is worn in the present day. In the western islands of Aran, the majority of the people wear a sort of moccasin or slipper of untanned hide, which envelops the foot for about an inch and a half all round, and is tightened by means of two pieces of cord, the one lacing up the toe-part, and the other the seam at the heel. The string from the latter passes through loops along the inside, and that in front by the outside, to the instep, round which they are then fastened like a lady’s sandal. These flexible coverings to the sole and edge of the foot formed out of the fresh hide, with the hair externally, after a short time assume a certain degree of firmness, while they adapt themselves to the form of the wearer’s foot. They are admirably suited for climbing the precipices, and progressing upon the great stone fields of these islands, and are, perhaps, the most ancient remnant of the aboriginal Irish dress which has come down to modern times. The name given to these feet-covers by the islanders is *Pam-poota*, which is not Irish, nor, as might be expected Spanish, but resembles the German word ‘Pamposheen,’ a galosh or warm shoe-cover. It is, in fact, the *pantoufle*, a low shoe or slipper laced to the foot, analogous to the Latin *solea*, ‘a sandal or slipper covering only the sole of the foot, and fastened with laces.’ There are two pairs of modern pam-pootas in the collection, one purchased many years ago with the Dawson collection, and which have been placed for exemplification as Nos. 1 and 2 on Tray D. The second pair, Nos. 24 and 25, on Tray F, were purchased by the Author of this Catalogue from one of the islanders, during the recent ethnological excursion of the British Association to Aran in 1857. They are made of untanned calf-skin, the strings or latches being formed of fishing-line.<sup>1</sup>

“Although vegetable material, flax, hemp, or pegs, are now used in the manufacture of boots and shoes of the strongest description, the oldest coverings for the feet which antiquity has brought to light were sewn together, and also laced to the foot with thongs or straps of leather. Sewing with a thong, however, has been in use in the manufacture of the *brog*, or rude unbound shoe of strong cowhide, commonly called ‘kip,’ up to recent years, as for such purposes it was much more durable than the waxed-end of hemp or flax; and, swelling or collapsing according to the state of dryness or moisture of the material it united, it formed a much more durable fastening than either of the latter. Both brogues and pumps,

<sup>1</sup> “Froissart, in his account of Edward III.’s expedition in 1326, tells us that ten thousand pairs of old worn-out shoes, made of undressed leather, with the hair on, were left behind by the Scotch on that midnight retreat which baffled the English, and termi-

nated the inglorious campaign.—Planche’s ‘History of British Costume.’ It does not appear that Froissart was ever in Ireland—whatever his Chronicles contain respecting this country, was derived second-hand from Henry Castide, whom he met in France.

the latter made without a welt, and turned after the sole was attached, were usually sewn with a thong.

"In the accompanying illustrations are shown two forms of thong-closed, single-piece shoes. Fig. 181, No. 6, on Tray D, is a large shoe of strong, tanned leather, 10 inches long, gathered round the toe in full plaits by means of a flat thong, on the principle of the pampoota; but the fulness of the gathers in front resembles the cloth or velvet round-toed shoe worn in the time of Henry VIII. The back seam is closed by a broad thong, ingeniously fastened, as shown in the accompanying cut. This very ancient shoe was found in a bog near Roscrea, county of Tipperary, and was presented by the Hon. A. Prittie to Dean Dawson, with whose collection it came into the Academy's Museum. Of the same variety, but smaller, and evidently belonging to a different class of society,

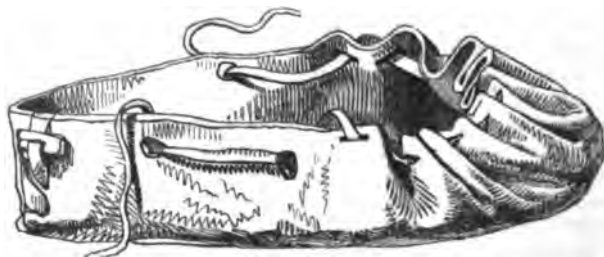


Fig. 181. No. 6.

is the single-piece, thong-laced shoe, No. 23 on Tray F, figured below, and found on the foot of a female discovered in a dry bog at Castlewilder, county of Roscommon. It is now  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and was laced with thong in front and behind. The front seam is elegantly plaited, and must originally have come high up on the instep. This specimen is of much thinner material than that employed in any other ancient shoe or buskin in the collection, and it appears to have been bound round the ankle with the leather thongs, which close the seams, after the fashion of the pampoota sandal. It is said that the body from which this curious relic was removed was clothed in a woollen garment, had an abundance of long, black hair on the head, and was decorated with golden ornaments. From the mystery attending this discovery, and the endeavour to conceal the body, the latter statement is not improbable.



Fig. 182. No. 23.

"Still forming the shoe out of a single piece of leather, and without any attached or additional sole-piece, a double step in advance seems to have been made contemporaneously: that of closing the seams by their flat edges instead of overlapping or intermixing them, and also of carving and

decorating the surface of the leather, as shown in the annexed representation drawn from No. 11, on Tray D. To effect the former object gut<sup>1</sup> (*ionnathar*) was introduced, and with this substance all the other single-piece shoes in the Collection, except those already shown to have been kept together with thongs, have been sewn. Moreover, this description of shoe was evidently closed upon a last, stitched by what is termed graft-

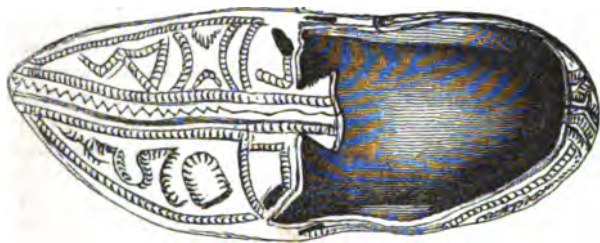


Fig. 183. No. 11.

ing, and then turned. The front seam is now so very close as to form a regular zigzag pattern, produced, no doubt, when the leather was wet, and each side drawn so tightly as to indent the opposite edge. This shoe is pointed in the toe, and has a triangular piece of the sole-portion turned up to form a round heel, which, as well as the quarter, is also decorated with a regular pattern. There are oblong holes cut out of the sides, for attaching sandals to. Nos. 10 and 13 are decorated shoes of this description, although presenting great variety in ornamentation.

“Of the double, or many-piece shoes or buskins, the two following examples will suffice. Figure 184, from No. 22, on Tray E, is the upper of a curiously formed and decorated shoe, 10 inches long, of dark, well-

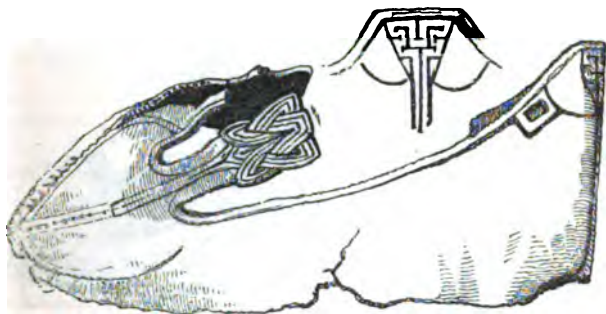


Fig. 184. No. 22.

tanned leather, and differing in shape from any of the foregoing, being cut down as low as possible in front, and rising about 4 inches over the heel. It is formed of one piece, sewn on the inside with gut, and has the longest quarter of any shoe in the Collection. The square apertures at the back

<sup>1</sup> “This has been proved by macerating portions of the sewing of every shoe in the

Museum of the Academy, in which it was employed.”

were intended for laces, and the upper edge of the part above the heel is decorated with an angular form of ornamentation, which is shown to advantage in the separate drawing on the foregoing woodcut. The front of the upper is cut out very low down, but has an ornamented flap  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and an inch wide, decorated with a twisted device, carved out of the substance of the leather. A comparison of this beautiful interlacement (which partakes of the character of that form of ornamentation displayed in some of our early manuscripts, crosses, and shrines, and which may be styled the *Opus Hibernicum*) with the rude, irregular decoration represented by figure 183, shows the great advance in art which had taken place between the periods when these two specimens of leather-work were made. The toe-piece presents a semicircular cut carried round in a heart-shape, where, probably, a portion was taken out, and the edges sewn together with fine gut, so as to turn up the extremity like an oriental slipper. It was found in a bog at Carrigallen, county of Leitrim, and presented to the late Dean Dawson by the Hon. and Rev. J. Agar.

"In No. 13 the toe-piece of the upper is decorated with an open-work pattern, which passes through the leather. In No. 8 we find the transition from the leather-sewing to that effected with gut, with which the hind seam is closed, while the front lacing is accomplished with a thong.

"So far as the means of closure is concerned, a third stage came into fashion, apparently long prior to the use of flax or hemp, and was that in which the seams were closed by woollen threads, of which we have examples in Nos. 16 and 17, on Tray III. Whether shoemakers' wax, or any such adhesive material, was employed in sewing leather with a woollen thread, cannot now be determined.

"Among the many-pieced, gut-sewn coverings for the feet, besides those already described, we possess two strong leather buskins, or half boots (*coisbheirt*), Nos. 19 and 20 on Tray IV, the former of which forms the subject of the accompanying illustration. It is of thick, coarse leather, of a tan or dirty-yellow colour, similar to that of the boots worn in Madeira and the islands of the Canary Archipelago. It is now 11 inches long, and was formed on the plan of a turned pump, with a double sole: both, however, together with

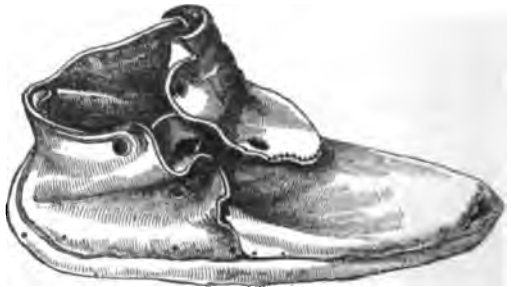


Fig 185. No. 19.

the upper and welt, being included in the same stitch. A long triangular heel-piece, carried up from the sole, is ingeniously inserted between a slit in the upper, as in some of the very rudest single-piece shoes, so as to give a comfortable rotundity to that part. A large flap overlaps the instep, the loops for fastening which still remain, and a stout piece of thong is stretched across the angle between the vamp and upper, to prevent breakage or straining. It was found in 1790 in a bog in the townland of

Balladrihid, parish of Ballisadare, county of Sligo, and—*Presented by the Duke of Northumberland*, who purchased it with the collection made by Mr. R. C. Walker.

“A fourth period in the progress of leather-working dates from the introduction of vegetable material such as flax or hemp, for closing the seams, and consequently, so far as such an artificial arrangement is concerned, brings down the art to the present time. As an exemplification thereof, the accompanying illustrations of a very curious pair of double shoes are presented, drawn from Nos. 24 and 25 on Tray F, and here shown, both in profile (Fig. 187), and upon the sole aspect (Fig. 186). These represent a pair of right and left shoes, very curiously made, and united by a double strap of the common sole, each about 2 inches long, and 1 wide. This sole consists of a single piece, and is attached to the uppers without the intervention of a welt, after the manner of a turned pump. The heel, which is the first instance of such that occurs in the Collection, is composed of several plies of leather, fastened on with pegs. The upper in each shoe is formed out of a single piece of thin leather, grooved, tooled, and embossed like cordovan; the quarters are double, the inside leathers being opened behind, and the only seam in the upper is a delicate grafting with thread along the front of the toe-piece. This continuity of upper is well seen in the right shoe, but there are three seams in the left, apparently from a defect in the leather. In each quarter it slopes from the point above the heel, where it is 3 inches high, to its junction with the front, about the middle of the foot; and the entire border is mitred or pinked. A toe-piece, or ornamented vamp, passes all round the edge of the upper, which it overlaps, and interlaces with the back portion at its free scalloped edge. Not the least curious

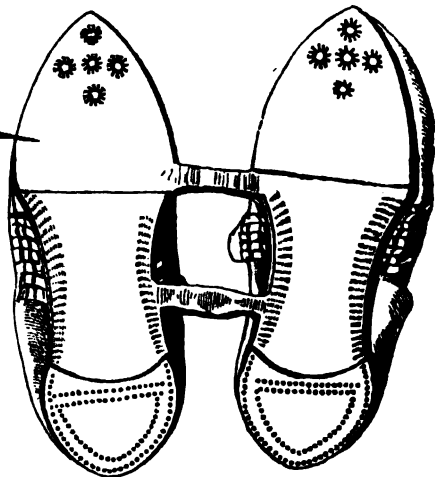


Fig. 186. Nos. 24 and 25.

part of these shoes is the ingenious mode by which the uppers are attached to the soles by a double thong, showing wonderful perfection in the art of stitching. These shoes were probably turned after one half of the soles were attached. Where the fronts and quarters join, at the point where the double back runs into the ornamental over-lapping of the upper, there

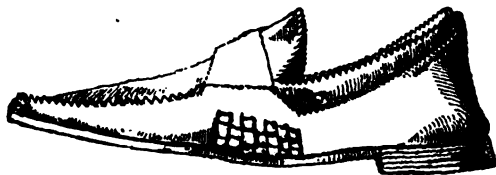


Fig. 187. No. 24.

part of these shoes is the ingenious mode by which the uppers are attached to the soles by a double thong, showing wonderful perfection in the art of stitching. These shoes were probably turned after one half of the soles were attached. Where the fronts and quarters join, at the point where the double back runs into the ornamental over-lapping of the upper, there

is an open-worked or interlaced strapping, about 2 inches long, and 1 broad. They are said to have been found, wrapped in a piece of leather, in the rampart of a fort in the parish of Kill, near Cootehill, county of Cavan, about forty years before they were purchased by the Academy, in 1843. During the interval they remained in the roof of a peasant's cabin, near the place where they were discovered. They are evidently much more modern than any of the foregoing, except the pampootas. Conjecture as to the use of these marvellous specimens of the Crispinian art might suggest the possibility of their having been used as inauguration shoes by the chieftains. Certain stones used at that ceremony in ancient times still exhibit the indentations in which the feet were placed on such occasions. These shoes are worthy of examination as a curious instance of the ingenuity of the maker, like shirts woven without a seam, and many other similar examples of handicraft."

I feel sure that, although the entire work cannot be fairly judged from such fragmentary examples, yet that enough has been placed before the Members of this Society to induce them, by purchasing the two parts of this Catalogue already issued, to aid in the completion of this truly national undertaking.

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#### THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(Continued from page 246, *supra*.)

Florence was now withdrawn from the country which his adversaries had declared he alone had kept in trouble and disaffection. What effect his withdrawal had upon the calm and the loyalty of Carbry and Desmond we shall shortly see.

It is not a little remarkable that, amidst so many arrests, the Earl of Clancare himself should have been passed over. Had there been no head cleverer than his own to guide him through the tortuous ways by which he had advanced to this marriage—the seeming quarrel with Florence; the bargain with Browne; the appeal for the Queen's consent, and his absence from Ireland at the time of the marriage,—Donell Mac Carthy Mor would probably have been in the Tower of London, to welcome his son-in-law; but the contingency had been foreseen, and well provided for:—at an opportune moment, five gentlemen stepped forward and deposed that they were themselves witnesses that the Earl had consented to the marriage but “conditionally.” So great had been his respect for

the will of his sovereign, that he had, on the delivery of the marriage deeds, expressly stipulated, in their hearing, that unless the consent of her Majesty were first obtained, all that he had done should have no effect in law. The evidence of these gentlemen, set forth in the document following, bore the Earl harmless through his share of the offence:—

“ 1588. *March 9.* A true copie of a condicion made betwixt Maister Florence Mc Carty and the Earl of Clancare.

“ To all Xpian people to whome thies pnts may appertayne; knowe ye that we the pties whose names are underwriten thinking it charitable to testifie the truethe, especially being therunto required, at the request of the Right Hon: the Earle of Clancare, do witnesse as followethe, that wheare the said Earle hath covenanted and passed writings to Mr. Florence Mc Carty for the injoyning of his daughter, dame Ellen, to wife, and hathe by several deeds contracted w<sup>th</sup> the said Florence for the same; that upon the deliverye of all the sayd deeds, a condicion was mencioned by the said Earle by wordes, and agreed unto by the said Florence, viz.: that yf the said Florence might procure Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> assent to the same mariage, and procure his patent to his Daughter aforesaid, and to the heyres of her body, then they meant the said deeds should staund in full force, otherwise should be of no effect in lawe.

“ In witnes whereof we have hereunto subscribed, and put our seales, being present at the delivery of the said Deeds, and the said contract between the said Earle and the said Florence.

“ Dated the 9th day of the monethe of March, 1587.

“ RYCHARD POWER.  
 “ JAMES TRANT.  
 “ DENIS FALVEY.  
 “ PATRICK GALWEY.  
 “ DERMODE LEYNE.”

Had nothing further happened to exasperate the mind of Elizabeth in the matter of Florence's marriage, it is probable that her womanly heart would have relented, and the storm have passed away without much damage to any of the parties concerned in it; but this was not destined to be the termination of the matter. The marriage itself had been sufficiently romantic; celebrated “ in the old broken church, and with a mass,” amidst the magic scenery of the lake country, attended only by the aged Countess and O'Sullivan Mor, the first of the Earl's subordinate chieftains, with whom was the giving of the rod, the symbol of sovereignty over the half of Munster,—much more romantic was its sequel.

It has been seen that Sir Warham St. Leger had not contented himself with sending to the Minister a narrative of all he could discover concerning the time, manner, and contrivers of the marriage, but had traced out a dismal series of calamities likely to fall upon

the country, unless something effectual and speedy were done to cut off Florence in this first of his ambitious designs. The remedies he prescribed were reducible to two—to weaken his alliances, and to annul his marriage. The former consisted in prosecuting by course of law all who were connected with him, and in excluding him, if possible, from succession to the captaincy of Carbury. The present chief of that country was Sir Owen Mac Carthy. The tenant, or successor to him was Donell, called “na Pipy” (from certain pipes of wine cast ashore upon his lands); and the successor to Donell was Florence. Donell, as we have mentioned, had bound himself in bonds of £10,000 not to surrender his lands to the Queen, and to turn the succession from its due course. The existence of this contract was well known in Munster; for it had been submitted to Sir John Popham, the English Attorney-General, when in Ireland. Donell had sons of his own, and would willingly have evaded this contract, had there been any possibility of escaping from the bonds: it occurred, or was suggested to him, that his ancestor, Finin M'Dermod, had, several generations back, placed his country under English law and succession, and that by virtue of letters patent then granted, he, Donell, ought at that very moment to be Lord of Carbury; for his father had been Sir Owen's eldest brother, and he ought to have succeeded to him. The support of this claim, which Donell was thrust forward to assert, was one of the devices proposed by St. Leger. Its success, at best, was very doubtful, and must under any circumstances be a work of time. It gave Florence no concern.

The second suggestion—the disallowing of the marriage, and the bestowing the heiress, together with a patent of inheritance of the Earl's country, on some English gentleman who would be answerable for her father's loyalty—was a more serious matter. Florence knew that this was no idle threat; he knew that overtures had already been made to the Earl to induce him to claim the custody of his daughter; and the lawyers had pronounced that with him rested the power to dispose of her hand, for she was under age. Florence knew too well the character of his father-in-law to doubt for an instant what course he would take, if the Queen insisted upon divorcing his wife from him. His resolution was taken at once; there had been no hesitation in the old broken church—there was none now! It would appear from Sir Warham St. Leger's letters that the Lady Ellen had been delivered to the custody of the “gentleman porter;”<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Norreys says, “to a merchant of the town,” where she was allowed all freedom consistent with her safe keeping: the Lord Deputy wrote that she had been entrusted to “certain servants of the Earl,” and Florence declared that the

<sup>1</sup> An officer attached to the staff of the Presidents of Munster.



Earl had, by Sir Valentine Browne's means, procured letters to the commissioners of Munster to deliver her into *his* hands. However this may have been, and whoever were her keepers,—and the issue makes it highly probable that the officers of the Earl were really the parties,—it happened that one day early in February, a few days after Florence's arrival in London, and towards dusk, at the closing of the town-gates, two female figures passed outward from the city of Cork without question; they were joined by a peasant who had been seen loitering about in the neighbourhood, and in a few minutes the three became dim in the distance—lost in the twilight. That night the gentleman porter, or the merchant, or the servants of the Earl, saw no more of their prisoner. The Lady Ellen was gone! and for nearly two years she might have been numbered with the dead for aught that the Vice-President, the Lord Deputy, or Mr. Justice Smythe, could discover to the contrary.

To the lot of Sir Warham St. Leger it fell to announce this flight, as it had fallen to advertise Her Majesty of the marriage of Florence. Sir Thomas Norreys was absent, as he had been formerly absent; and now, as then, his despatches followed, telling, with trifling variations and the addition of a few conjectures, the same provoking story. Instant was the pursuit, keen the search after the fugitive! The authorities of Munster, and the Lord Deputy, were not without their practised espys and intelligencers; but the prisoner in the Tower was better served than they were. Mr. Justice Smythe, as it appeared, could make a discovery that was sufficiently curious; but how this girl, probably not above sixteen or seventeen years of age, had managed to escape, or what had become of her, it passed his ingenuity to find out.

“1589. *February* 18. SIR WARHAM ST. LEGER to L<sup>d</sup> BURGHLEIGH.

“I judge it my dutie to advertise you what hath happened since I last wrote. The yonge Ladie (beinge comytted in this Towne to the safe keepinge of the Gentleman Porter), on Fridaie was a sennighte, late towarde nighte, aboute the shuttinge of the gates, stale out of this Towne disguysed, and a maide of hers with her. What is become of her it cannot yet certenlie be learned. I am informed (by a gentleman of good credyt, of the countrie of Carburie, whence Florence Mc Cartie is) that a man of the saied Florences, called Bryan Carda, in English called Bryan of the Cardes (a nickname geven him, because he is cunnynge at the cardes), receyved her without the gates, beinge her guyde. Whither she is gone; and yf that be true, then her departure out of this Towne is not without the consente of the saied Florence; and it is greatlie to be presumed that he is acquaynted with her goinge, for that he sente a messenger unto her secretlie from Doblin, upon whose cominge unto her, and returninge unto him againe, she the morrowe after stale out of this Towne.

" Her conveighance is marvellous secretlie kept, and a greate cunnyng used by her close keepinge, thinkinge thereby to keape her absent tyll she be of full yeres of consente irrevocable, he doubtinge, that yf she sholde have ben delyvered unto her Father (she beinge under yeres), her father might persuade her to yeld to be devorsed from Florence; the which might very well have ben doñ, had she not ben conveighed awaie as she is.

" She was the slenderlier lookte unto by the gentleman porter, for that the said Florence, before his departure out of this Towne to Doblyn, entered in hand of recognisance before me of fower hundred poundes to the Quenes Ma<sup>m</sup> use, that she sholde remayne in this Towne true prysoner till she were delyvered by order from Her Highnes out of Englande: the which bande he haith forfected to her Ma<sup>m</sup> (a thinge that wolde not be let goe with him); by this (and other) forfeitures Her Highnes maye take into her handes a castell and lands of great importaunce, called Castell Lough, the which the said Florence haith in mortgage of the Earle of Clancartie for the sum of fower or fyve hundred Poundes he lente to the saide Earle. It is the strongeste scytuaçon of a castell that is in Irelande; a thinge of that force, as a lytle fortyfycaçon would make yt imprignable, and therefore (not offendinge in this my writinge), a matter not to be forstoude, but Her Highnes to enter thereon. (The Castle stands in a great Lough, where there is great store of orient pearls found.)

" WARHAM SAINTLEGER."

" 1589. *March 8. NORREYS to WALSYNGHAM.*

" R<sup>e</sup> Hon: my dutie pmised w<sup>th</sup> all humilitie. At such tyme as I was called by the Lo. Deputie to the service in Ulster, it pleased His Lp. to send direction to Sir Warham St. Leger, and the Justices to whom in my absence the chardge of the Province was comitted for the sendinge upp of the yonge Ladie of Clancartie to Dublin, w<sup>h</sup>, as well in respecte of her yong yeares, as for wante of convenient meanes to convey her thether, they did not greatlie hasten; and moved w<sup>h</sup> pittie, not suspectinge any gyle, were pswaded to allow her the libertye of the Towne, and to comitt her to the chardge of a merchant, onelie takinge bandes of Florence Mac Carty that she shold remayne treu prisoner there, who, as I am credible informed, hath by secret meanes seduced her to abandon the place, and to convey herself either to England or ellswhere, covertlie to be shrowded, abusinge thereby the lenity that hath ben used towards her, and practisinge by this meanes to pvnt y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Honors hath determined, w<sup>h</sup> I have hetherto consealed, beinge still in hope, by some means to have notice of her, whereof beinge now somewhat dowtfull, and having w<sup>th</sup>all so good opportunity, I thought it my dutie to advertise yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> thereof, as well in myne owne dischardge as to make him better knowen unto yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> who hath ben the worker of it, leaving the consideraçon thereof to your Honor's grave judgment, and so forbearing at this tyme furdur to trouble your Honor, comitt the same to Gode's Holie tuiçon.

" THO<sup>s</sup>. NORREYS.

" Shandon, 8 March, 1588."

"1589. *March 11.* MR. JUSTICE SMYTHE to WALSYNGHAM.

"My dewti to your Honor most humbly remembred. Pleasth the same to be advertised, that wee cannot learne as yett whether Clancarty's daughter hath conveyde herself, although eversithens her departure, nowe a monthe paste, her neareste alies, fosterers, and frinds remayne in durance, to make them thereby declare their knowledges of her. It is thoughte by us here to have happened by the practices of Mr. Florance M'Carty. She is nowe knowne not to be w<sup>h</sup> chyld, as he untreuly made us belive she was. In my late beinge in Dublin, I heard that Florence was appointed by our foreyne enemyes to be L<sup>d</sup> President of Mounster by a Spanish comyssion. He hath forfeited a Recognizans of £400 by her escape and flight, in w<sup>h</sup> he was bound shea shold remayne trew prysoner, and nett seeke to escape.

"J. SMYTHE.

"11 March, 1588."

No wonder that the Irish despatches should force from Elizabeth the exclamation that "she was weary of hearing them," and from Cecyl the remark that "he could not blame her." They had scarcely had time to lay the letter of Sir Thomas Norreys in favour of Florence before the Queen, and to consider it in the Privy Council—the assurance of Florence's good carriage and repentance was still sounding in their ears, when the tidings of this fresh contempt reached them. One single crumb of comfort the Munster correspondents could find in this banquet of evil news. The lady's husband *must* have been cognizant of her escape, although their endeavours to prove such knowledge had utterly failed, and although he forfeited a large sum of money by her flight: he *must* have known it, reasoned the Vice-President, and therefore his securities were forfeited. And Castle Lough was worth the Queen's notice; for great store of orient pearls were to be found in the lake in which it stood, and a little outlay might make it impregnable. Thrice happy the man who should find himself commanding a garrison there!

In dispensing with the Queen's permission for his marriage—in seducing away his wife from her keepers in Cork,—for so Sir Thomas Norreys asserted that he did,—Florence had, doubtless, made up his mind to the consequences, and he could not have been taken by surprise at finding himself a prisoner in the Tower. In viewing his position at the worst, there was not in it, after all, anything to cause him very serious alarm: the question of divorce was at an end; and for what remained, a word adroitly spoken by Cecyl or Burghley, Stanhope or Raleigh, might suffice to make his peace with Elizabeth. Browne, Norreys, and St. Leger had their enemies, as well as other men—and all men's enemies were to be found at the Court—and every passage connected with that marriage, from the day when Florence's plausibility induced Sir Thomas Norreys to send him into Desmond with authority to possess him-

self of the Earl's lands, to that autumn evening when the lady vanished from the custody of St. Leger—from the time when Browne the elder settled to his satisfaction the price for his son's bride, to the day on which, to the great scandal of Sir William Herbert, Browne the younger raved about "an Italian fig" for the lady's father—possessed too many traits of solemn absurdity for the gravity even of the Privy Council to resist. That Florence's enemies looked upon his offence as a matter not likely to be attended by any lengthened or severe punishment, may be judged from the alacrity with which they dropped all mention of the marriage as soon as they bethought them of anything more serious with which to charge him. That any man in Ireland could find aught else of which to accuse him, Florence was ignorant till he reached London. On the day after his arrival he had passed from the hands of Chichester to the custody of Sir Owen Hopton, and nearly six weeks passed away before any further notice was taken of him. This interval was doubtless spent in collecting—not, indeed, evidence against him, for none was eventually produced—but such loose charges as were thrown out by his enemies, with the hope of inducing his judges to make the offence of his marriage a plea for his continued imprisonment. At last, on the 23rd of March, the important examination, which Florence must have been daily expecting since his arrival, took place; whether in the imposing presence of the Privy Council, or of officers deputed by them, we know not; if before the Lords themselves, Florence must have found himself in the presence of old acquaintances, and even friends. There was a certain stern simplicity about the examination that ensued: the questions were put to him, and his answers noted down; there was neither pleading nor reproach; no attempt was made to cross-question him, or object to his replies. It might seem like a formality used by men whose opinion was already formed. Great must have been the amazement of the prisoner at discovering that not one single syllable about his marriage, or his wife's flight, was produced against him.

Clearly to understand the gravity of the charges about to burst upon the head of Florence, it will be necessary to introduce to the reader the name of a man who had been long held in honour, but who had recently become as fatal as a pestilence to all who had ever been connected with him in amity or companionship.

Amongst the many brave men who had for years sustained the power of Elizabeth in Ireland, who formed the barrier between the wild warriors of O'Neill and the counties of the Pale, who had served through the fierce struggles of the despair of the Earl of Desmond, there was not a braver, nor an abler, nor a more respected soldier than Sir William Stanley. Nor of the multitude of knights created by Sir Henry Sidney, and the various deputies who were privileged to bestow that honour, was there one who more signally

than he did shed a lustre upon the chivalry of his country. This gallant man had held posts of high trust in Ireland; he had been a constant and intimate adviser of the cabinet of Dublin, the correspondent and friend of Burghley. Who would have imagined that there could be danger or disgrace in being the friend of such a man? Florence had served with Sir William Stanley through the seven or eight years of the wars in Desmond, and so long an association in a common enterprise and peril might justify the claim of friendship. Whilst Florence had been loitering, apparently without an object, about the Court of Elizabeth, Sir William Stanley had been sent at the head of certain bands of Irish soldiers enlisted by himself to serve under the Earl of Leicester, his especial friend and patron, in the Low Countries. How he had conducted himself there may be judged from that nobleman's despatch of 28th September, 1586, to Walsingham.

"There was not in the field (at the battle of Zutphen) of ours, of horse, in the whole ij c. whereof these Lords and gentlemen, with their followers, to the number of iij score at most, did all this feate, with the help onlie of Sir William Stanley, who had but 300 for their 3000 foote, and he did most valiantlye himself, and his owen horsse receaued viij shott of the muskett, and yet himself not hurt. He and old Read are worth their weight in pearle, theie be ij of as rare captens as anie prince living hath."

Scarcely more could be written of the gallant Sir Philip Sidney, who fell upon that fatal field. And yet Stanley had seen rougher work than that fight of Zutphen. Who would suppose it possible that the loyalty of such a man could falter? Who that had known him, served and fought at his side for years in the country where he had enlisted that brave band of 300 foot, could imagine, whilst reading that choice sentence of his general, "that he was worth his weight in pearl," that the most hateful charge which an enemy could bring against him was that he had been the friend or associate of such a man?

Amongst the successes of the Earl of Leicester had been the capture of Deventer on the Isel; mainly by the address and daring of Stanley this prize had been secured, and it was not considered an undue reward that its captor should be appointed the Governor of the city. Great was the dismay, greater the grief of all who had known the long and loyal career of Sir William Stanley, when the following letter from the Privy Council was read by the Lords and the Deputy of Ireland!

"1587. January 30. *Draft of a Letter from the LORDS to the LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND.*

"After, &c., &c., we have verie latelie receaved advertisements from the Lowe Countries that Sir William Standleie and Rowland Yorke, the

one appointed by my L. of Leicester to the governm' of the toune of Deuenter, a place of great importaunce upon the Isell, the other to the commaunding of the fort before Zutphen, recovered this Sommer by his L<sup>p</sup>, have about the 19th of this pnt most disloially and treacherouslie deliuered over the places committed to their severall charges into hands of the enemy, and w<sup>th</sup>all not onely for there owne persons made a most shamefull and traiterous revolt and defection, but also seduced and drawn after them diverse others of her Ma<sup>m</sup> subiects, and namely those Irish bands serving under the said Stanley to do the like, to the great dishonour and sclauder of the nation, and detriment of her Ma<sup>m</sup> service, which fact, as we find it straung, in respect of the said Stanley, considering the generall good opinion conceaved of his loialty and fidelity; so, nowe by many circumstances induced to thinke that this treasonable revolt of his hath proceeded of some other grounds then is yet discovered. And because we have receaved many advertisements of some foreine invasion intended this yeare by the Spaniard against that realm, wherein his long trauell and experience may make him a daungerous instrument for the enemy, we have thought it meete to give your L<sup>p</sup> knowledge thereof to thintent you maie carry a watchfull eie upon all such as you knowe to have bene his secrett freinds and dependants, and especially one Jacques de Francesco his lieutenaunt; of whom both in respect he is a straunger ill affected in relligion, and noted to have had some intelligences w<sup>th</sup> Ballard, lately executed here for the conspiracie against her Ma<sup>m</sup> life, we thinke fitt to be removed out of his charge, and sent hither before this fact of his capten be divulged; bestowing such charge and commaundement as the said Stanley hath yet in enterテインement there upon such other as by y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup> and the rest of the Council shall be found most meete and worthie for the same. We think it also meete that y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup>, immediatly upon the receipt hereof, do cause his house to be verie narrowly searched, and his wife and children restrained, and such of his freinds and followers as you shall suspect, to be very diligently examined. [The rest is in Burghly's writing]. And for y<sup>r</sup> we here y<sup>r</sup> befor this his treaterross act, he did send sōe of his followers or servants from hym, as may be supposed to pass by sea into Irlād, we thynk it cōvenient that inq'rey be made, what parties are come frō hym, or may hereafter arryve in y<sup>r</sup> realm, ether in y<sup>r</sup> province of Moūster or elsewhere, and theruppō to mak stay of any such, and diligently to examy them of the cause of ther cōing, and of y<sup>r</sup> tyme of ther deurtur frō Stanley; and furd<sup>r</sup>, to use them as you shall thynk cōvenient, both for discovery of any ther lewd purposes; and also to stay thē frō any evill attempt y<sup>r</sup> may be in their power, and of your doyngs we reqre to be advīsed."

It will be within the reader's recollection that this Jacques de Franceschi, the Lieutenant of Sir William Stanley, thus arrested, had been mentioned by Sir Thomas Norreys as a chief counsellor of Florence in the affair of his marriage, the man who had advised him, "whatever you do, go through with the marriage; when all is done, it will be easy for your friends to skreen you from any serious consequences." Jacques had served under Stanley, and with Florence, in Desmond, he had borne a good name too; for upon an oc-

casion of his going to England, Adam Loftus, the Chancellor and Archbishop of Dublin, had not hesitated to give him a letter to Burghley, couched in these strong terms,—“I crave pardon for my continual boldness in troubling you so often in the behalf of such as I know to have well deserved, as especially this gentleman, amongst the worthiest of his sort, is one. During all the time of his service here, I have been thoroughly acquainted with him, and do certainly know he hath spent his time both in Ulster and Munster in her Majesty’s service, as Lieutenant to Sir William Stanley, in as forward and valiant manner as any gentleman possibly may do; sundry times lost his blood, and very hardly escaped with life; his behaviour otherwise such as may beseem a civil, honest gentleman.”

With this civil and honest gentleman, as with Stanley, Florence had been on terms of much intimacy. Here then was material for his enemies for accusation, far weightier than the contemptuous marriage.

The revolt of Stanley and the arrest of Jacques had taken place some months before the marriage; and the advice alluded to by Norreys, if ever really given, must have been given from a state-prison; the inference was damaging, as it was meant to be, to the loyalty of Florence. There had probably been a little statecraft used in dealing with this foreigner: for so summary an arrest, and committal to the tower, something more like a crime must have been urged against him than the fact of his having served under Stanley in the Queen’s army; and an accusation quite sufficient to justify this, or even a greater amount of severity, was not wanting; he was charged with having been an accomplice with Ballard, who had been executed for attempting the Queen’s life. Jacques was kept in prison for a season; the charge was then discredited, and he was sent out of the country, when his first act, naturally, was to seek Stanley, who made him his lieutenant again. To accuse Florence of high treason, to force him upon the Queen’s notice as the friend of a traitor and of an assassin, even if the charges should eventually be unproved, showed more worldly wisdom in his enemies than to make a matter of state out of the romance of his marriage.

Such, accordingly, were the charges which formed the subject of Florence’s first examination—

“1589. *March 23. Articles to be mynistred unto FLORENCE MAC CARTY.*

“1. What acquaintance he hath had w<sup>th</sup> Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Stanley? How long, and when he laste sawe him?

“2. What l<sup>tr</sup> he hath written to Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Stanley, or received from him, and by whom the same were conveyed? as also what messages have passed betwene them since their first acquaintance?

"3. What message he hath sent unto the said Stanley, or to any other in the partes beyond the seas, by William Hurley, his late agent ?

"4. What was the cause of the said agent's going beyonde the seas ?

"5. What l<sup>tes</sup> or messages have passed betwen one Jaques Francischi, sometimes Sir William Stanley's Leutenant, and one Wayman, Ensigne to the said Stanley, and whither he did not speake with the said Wayman before his departure out of Ireland.

"6. Whither he do not knowe one Ed. Bremyngham that hath remayned some good time here in England ?

"7. Whither he was not previe unto certaine messages or l<sup>tes</sup> sent by the said Bremyngham unto Sir William Stanley, or anie other pson in forraine partes ?

"8. Whither he did not knowe one Donough O'Conar, an Ierish man and an artificer dwelling in London, and whither the said Donough O'Conar were not sent about some sp<sup>iall</sup> matter w<sup>h</sup> Edw<sup>d</sup> Bremyngham to the D. of Parma.

"9. What messages or l<sup>tes</sup> have passed betwen the said examinate and certaine Ierish Busshops, and others of that nation remayning in Spaine, w<sup>h</sup>in the space of 2 yeares ?

"10. Whither he did not knowe one Allen Martin of Galloway, and whither he were not made previe to certaine messages and l<sup>tes</sup> of his that were sent to the D. of Parma ?"

1588. *March 23. The Exa: taken of FLORENCE MC CARTYE the 23<sup>d</sup> Mar, 1588.*

"1. To the fyrst he saythe that he grew acquaynted w<sup>h</sup> S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Stanley at sooche tyme as the sayd Sir W. was Shrive of the C<sup>o</sup> of Corke.

"2. To the second he sayeth y<sup>e</sup> he never had any dealynge w<sup>h</sup> the said Sir W<sup>m</sup> Stanley sythence his departure from Her Ma<sup>ty</sup>s servyce.

"3, 4. The thirde and 4 he denyeth, sayeing y<sup>e</sup> he never heard of Hurley sythence his departur out of this realme.

"5. To the fifth he saythe that he receyved a message from Jacques by Wayman, w<sup>h</sup> was only to requyre the said Exa to pay £20, dewe unto one Mr. Marberry, servaunt to the L. Chaunceler.

"6, 7, 8, 9. To the 6, 7, 8, 9, he aunswerethe negative.

"10. To the tenth he saythe that he knowethe one Allen Martyn a student of one of the Innes of Coort, and that he was made acquainted with him by one Mr. James Fitz Edmonde's sonne, or by one Garrett, Sir Walter Rayley's servant, but dothe not knowe that the sayd Allen had any dealynge w<sup>h</sup> the D. of Parma."

Eight days after this examination, Florence wrote his first letter from the Tower; the first of a long series from that gloomy residence. It will be seen that it was written in good heart; indeed, it took a great deal to wring a murmur from him; and sharp must have been his trials in later life, when his letters and petitions became peevish and desponding.



“1589. *March 31.*

“After hartie cōmendañons, and for as much as I am as yett uncerten when I shall retourne into those parts, I have thought good, to desire yō, that uppō sight hereof, yō do not fayle to deliuv my blak silk stoquenes (which I left yō in trust to receive with the three bookes wch I left with you to be kepte) to Mr. Browne, prainge him, in my behalf, that he do not fayle to deliuv those to som marchant of Dublinge that is his trusty frend, gevenge him express charge to see those thinges safely deliuv<sup>rd</sup> at M<sup>r</sup> Clasies at Westmester, in Kinges-streete, to M<sup>r</sup> Catherne Buttler, Attendaunte uppon the La: of Ormond, to be deliuv<sup>rd</sup> to me, writtinge a letter to the sayd Catherne to that effect. Thus leueinge to trouble you further, with my hartie cōmendañons to my Friends, I take leue.

“At the Towre, the last of March, 1588.

“Your loueinge Frend,

“FLOR: M<sup>c</sup>CARTHY.”

To whom the above letter was written appears not; from its tone, it is evident that the writer desired to produce amongst his friends in Ireland the impression that his restraint would not be of long duration, and that a few books would suffice to keep his mind tranquil until he should have occasion for the “blak silk stoquenes” to complete the adornment of his person for attendance at the court. The autograph of Florence, which has been preserved, would seem to have been rather a rough *copy* than the letter actually sent into Ireland; for it is written, not upon a sheet or half sheet of the paper he commonly used, but upon some stray scrap; it bears no superscription, and on the back of it is written a rough *copy* also of matter foreign to the subject of the letter, namely, a list of the sureties ready to be bound for his remaining true prisoner. The letter and the list force upon us the conviction that, by some member of the august tribunal that had judged him, Florence had been led to believe that his imprisonment would not be of long duration, and that the formal security of a few of his own friends would suffice to restore him to freedom.

“1589. *March 31.*

“The sureties that are now psently readie to enter into bonds for my true imprisōmeñ are these whose names are under written.

“Mr. Charles Mac Carthy, son and heire to Donogh Mac Cormack Mac Carthy, als M<sup>c</sup>Donogh, Chefe Lorde of the contrie of Dowalla in Cork.

“Mr. Piers Butler of Knok-in-anama w<sup>h</sup> is his chefe house. He is son to the Lo: of Caher, and brother to the Lo: of Cahir that now is, his liueing stands in the cōm: of Tiperyary nere the towne of Clounmell.

“Capten Edwarde Fitz Geralde, son to Sir Maurice Fitz Thomas of Laidkagh. He is of the House of Kildare, and his liueing stands in the cōm of Kildare in the province of Leinster.

“M<sup>r</sup> Ceallaghan Mac Conoghoir, son and heir to O<sup>c</sup> Ceallaghain, chefe

Lorde of O'Ceallaghan's countrie, that stands in the coñ of Corck by the Towne of Mala.

"They are all knowen to those of the Councell of Ireland that are appointed comissioners to heare Ireish causes, and to diuers other Gent<sup>o</sup> of this land, such as dwells, or hath to do, in Mouster chiefelie."

No sooner was Florence safely shut up in the Tower, than the effect of it was felt in Desmond; and it was found, contrary to the opinion of Carewe, expressed at a later period, that it was possible to have a worse man at the head of his restless kindred. As long as he had been at liberty, the evil nature of the Earl of Clancare had been kept under some control: to what extent that reckless man had allowed himself to be guided by the advice of Florence, how efficiently that advice had operated upon his timely abandonment of his unfortunate brother-in-law of Desmond, may be matter of conjecture; but justice would seem to demand, that if Florence were denied credit for the tranquil and orderly behaviour of his father-in-law whilst he was by his side, he should not have been blamed for the excesses into which the Earl fell when he was removed from him; and yet to the "revengeful feelings of Florence" was attributed every irregularity that now disturbed the peace of Munster. Very vague and cloudy seems to have been the comprehension of the Earl of Clancar, of the terms on which he stood with Browne, in consequence of the so called mortgage of his lands: and to assist him in his perplexity, he had but a strange counsellor to appeal to. The life of this nobleman had been dissolute and scandalous; a family of bastards, if they did not actually live under the same roof with his Countess and his daughter, certainly were openly acknowledged by him; and the fame of their evil conduct filled the country in which they resided. Of this base brood, Donell was his father's favourite. He had certainly one virtue, for he was brave; but his vices were especial and past numbering. Of very limited intelligence, with such acquirements only as he could derive from the outcasts of his father's swordsmen, Donell is represented as an utter savage. He was a murderer, and less a rebel than a robber. He had been so fortunate as to break his way out of Her Majesty's prison, and from that time lived under the ban of every ruler in Munster, in woods, and bogs inaccessible, the enemy of all honest men, but most especially the hater and tormentor of Nicholas Browne and all that belonged to him. That fearless undertaker, with two of his brothers, had made their home, as we have mentioned, in the wilds of Desmond; they had imported numerous English labourers, and by their intelligence, capital, and industry, raised a thriving settlement in the howling wilderness in which Donell, and evil spirits like him, prowled and ravened. Peace and the Brownes parted the day they first had dealings with

the Earl of Clancartie. Their cattle were seized, their horses were maimed or slaughtered, their villages plundered and burnt, their English followers murdered, and, as the eldest of the brothers truly said, everything was done to scare them from the country. But Nicholas Browne was not a man to be intimidated. He had obtained from Sir Thomas Norreys a guard of horsemen in the Queen's pay, to protect his property; and every now and then he sallied forth at their head, in pursuit of his arch enemy. In these "journies" Donell lost many of his followers, but they were more easily replaced than the burned villages, or even than the slaughtered horses. In spite of Browne, Donell kept his head upon his shoulders; and when the horsemen returned, jaded and disappointed from their chase, he was again down upon village and homestead, burning, maiming, murdering, till the heart of Nicholas Browne was frenzied by rage. In the midst of this exciting domestic warfare, Browne learned to his dismay—Donell, doubtless, in a transport of exultation—that the queen would no longer tolerate the burthen of these charges of horsemen quartered through the country wherever there was an undertaker to be protected. The former wrote at once to the minister, that his ruin was inevitable if his guard were to be withdrawn, and that without them he must abandon his signory, after all the pains and charges he had been at.

With Donell there was no reasoning; the filmy niceties of the law lay beyond his intellectual perception. Sufficient was it for him to know that Mr. Browne's stacks of corn were unguarded; a garran, a cow, or an Englishman astray at dusk, or early dawn, for him and his forty loose swords to burst upon them without mercy, to appropriate to himself what he could remove, and to hang the Englishman if he had the address to capture him; but from the Earl more moderation might fairly be looked for; and, in fact, not until his son-in-law had been sent to England did he evince any inclination to defy the law. Every atrocity committed by Donell, Browne had ascribed to the malice of Florence, who, as he declared, set him on by secret advertisement from England. To Florence certainly could not be attributed the "presumptuous dealinge" which, in proof of the accomplishment of his many evil prophecies, St. Leger now reported to Burleigh:—

"1589. June 22. S<sup>t</sup>. LEGER to BURGHELY.

"The Earle of Clanker upon Tuesdaie laste cam wth a hundred men with him in forceable manner to a peece of grownde founde in offyce for the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> called Clan Donnell Roe, being xxv<sup>th</sup> plowe landes, the which Landes one Alexander Clarke holdeth as an undertaker from Mr. Attorney geñall of Englande, yt beinge parcell of the Seignyorie that her highnes dysposed on the said Mr. Attorney, and dyspossessed the said Clarke, threatning him that yf he wolde not departe the landes he wolde

kyll him and all his, usinge farder prowde contemptuous wordes to the said Clarke, whose reproved him for his presumptuous dealinge, in dysspossessinge him out of the Queenes landes, sainge to him that yt wold not be well taken of the L: Deputie, and Vicepresydent when he shold complaine to them of these his doingea. The said Earle prowddie answeringe him, that nether the L. Deputie nor Vicepresydent sholde have to do with those landes, for rather he wolde spende his lyfe then anie man shold enioy those landes but him selfe. Sainge further to the said Clarke that yf he and his companie wold not departe those landes, he wold cut them in peeces. And presentlie willed his men to kyll the said Clarke, which they had don, he beinge amongste them, had he not ben mounted upon a good horse, they beinge a foote, and through a pystall he had, which he bent againste them, and by that meanes and his horse together broke from amongste them, otherwyse he had not come hither to have declared his grieve. And not thus contented with his unlawfull acte, he tooke from the said grounde twoe paier geldinges and a hackney caryinge them with him into his contrie, and will not dellyver them. And besydes sent certen of his men to take such other cattell as there was upon the saide grounde, but those were rescued by Clarke and his companie. By this his outragious doinge and threatninge wordes the poore gentleman is constrained to forsake the grounde, a matter (under correction) not to be let passe over without severe punyshment, for yf this be suffered to be let goe with him unpunysed, in vayne will it be for anie undertakers to settle in this contrie. I wold to God the said wicked Earle had ben kepte in Inglande when he was there, for he was never borne to do good to this contrie. It is greatlie to be feared that his doinges ys but a preparatyve to a furder myschiefe. The cause that moveth me thus much to wryte is for that a Base sonn of his called Donnell Mac Cartie haith latelie mordered an honeste subiecte of the Queene dwellinge in Desmonde for reprovynge him in usinge Irish extorcofis, who presentlie (upon fyndinge falte with with him therefore) with his skeyne stobd him in thre or fower places in the bodie, whereof he presentlie dyed. Synce which his detestable morder he is out with xvj<sup>th</sup> or xx<sup>th</sup> swordes, playinge the Robyn Hood in takinge meate, dryncke, and spoyle where he can get yt, not without the consente of his wicked father, as yt is here generallie geven out; and to confyrme yt to be true, he contynueth and his companie in his fathers contrie within fower myles of him when he is fardeste of. The which he colde not do, were yt not by his fathers sufferance, considering how he is prosecuted by the Vicepresidentes forces, for yf his father had a good will to bannyshe him, yt were unpossyble for him to nessel in that contrie as he doeth. It is thought that this detestable morder was comytted by the Earles consente, for that the partie mordered wolde not relyeve him with money, to beare out his druncken charges at Dobyln."

This raid by the Earl upon his own lands of Clan Donnell Roe appears to have attracted very little notice beyond the report made of it to Burghley; indeed, it seems exceedingly doubtful whether any offence against the law had been committed at all; and notwithstanding Sir Warham St. Leger's talk of severe punishment, this

military promenade seems to have concerned the Privy Council of England very little; and had Mr. Alexander Clarke not been so fortunate as to terrify the hundred followers of the Earl with his pistol bent against them, had the hasty command to kill the said Clarke been executed, it would but have cost Sir Warham St. Leger the addition of a line to his letter, and Mr. Attorney-General Popham an advertisement for a new undertaker. Such were not the elements out of which quarrels were made in those days between the authorities and the native lords.

The nature of the transaction between the Earl and Browne was worthier of the shrewdness than of the wisdom of Sir Valentine, who had not lent his money at a given rate of interest upon security of the Earl's lands, but had received a large tract of country,—33 quarters, nearly double the quantity for which he figures in the list made out by Phyton and Popham,—out of which to indemnify himself for the interest of his loan. How little Browne ever contemplated the parting with a single acre of these lands, is manifest from his subsequent proceedings. In the contract made with the Earl was a clause empowering him at any time he pleased, on payment of the moneys advanced to him, to reclaim his lands: that he would never do this—that, if he had the will, he would never have the means—Browne was quite certain; and as by law this land, with all the Earl's inheritance, would at his death revert to the Queen, it followed that at that time Browne must lose all security for his money. To guard against this contingency, he applied for letters patent, granting him a lease in perpetuity of the said lands at a moderate rent, urging with great truth that he had introduced English civility, and obedience to English law, into that wild country—that he had invested a large capital there, and imported many English Protestants, whose loyalty was unquestionable. His petition was granted; a patent prepared under his own eye, and to which no formality or legal learning was denied, was accorded to him; and from that moment the utmost foresight of Browne could perceive no hindrance, save Donell and his outlaws, to the full enjoyment of his acquisition. He had yet to learn how easily the most wary may sometimes slip, and how elastic are the ingenuities and resources of the law. For the present he had overreached a needy and unprincipled man, and appears to have excited little sympathy with his complaints against the acts of violence which troubled his repose. It was not until Florence became his adversary, instead of Donell, that the law moved in the matter.

Many months had elapsed since Florence had been withdrawn from the society of his fellow-men, and no more was heard of him than if he had slept the while within the vaults of the Tower Chapel. No murmur against her Highness' decision escaped him, no petition for mercy kept alive his offence in the memory of the Queen;

but his Irish chronicles, and his own dreams for the future, sustained him in good courage, whilst the conduct of his relations in Desmond was such as might almost have made Browne himself a suitor for his release. Much that is obscure in the career of Florence would be presently enlightened, if we could give ready faith to that declaration of Nicholas Browne,—“I know him to be a great briber to his power.” It is certain that from the prison in which his silent life was gliding by, he found means to awaken the interest of some one in his behalf. What had become of his young wife all this time no one seems to have known; all search after her had long ago ceased; the lady was probably of sufficient age by this time, certainly had been too long married, to allow, with any decency, the renewal of the project of a divorce. Florence was not a man to trust anything to hazard; and we may therefore conclude that he knew well beforehand what would be the result of the following petition, which, after sixteen months of imprisonment, was presented to Lord Burghley. If this petition were granted there was an end for ever to all question concerning his marriage, or the withdrawal of his wife. The tone, also, of the petition plainly shows his conviction that all anger upon the subject had passed away from the mind of the Queen; for he has not denied himself some little triumph in the address with which, in spite of the vigilance of the Munster authorities, the escape had been conducted, and in the secrecy with which, from that time to the present, the lady had been concealed. Of the formidable charge against him of treasonable complicity with Stanley and Jacques, not a word more was uttered for several years:—

“*May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1590. To the RIGHT HON<sup>OR</sup> THE LO. BOURGHELEY, L. Highe Tresorer of England, 14 May, 1590.*

“In most humble manner besecheth yo’ Hon<sup>OR</sup> good Lo: Florence Mc Carthy; that where ThErle of Clancarty, hath by S<sup>R</sup> Valentine Browne’s meanes, and by misinforminge the Lo: Deputie of Ireland, procured his letters to the commissioners in Mounster to deliuv<sup>er</sup> yo<sup>ur</sup> sup<sup>er</sup> wife, Ellyn McCarthy, into his hands, who was accordingly deliuv<sup>er</sup>ed into the hands of such of his men as he apointed to receive her, by whom she beinge somewhat hardly used, she is about a yere and a half ago escaped frō them, and hath eu<sup>er</sup> since kept herselfe in such sorte as few men knowes what is become of her: And for as much as the sayd Earle doth dayly make search for her there, to have her brought into his owne hands, with intent to dispose of her, accordinge to his pleasure, and contrary to her will, and mynd; he therefore most humblie besecheth yo’ good L<sup>OR</sup> to direct yo’ letters to the Vice President of Mounster, that the sayd Earle or anie other be not permitted to offer her anie wronge, or other molestacōn, and that she may be sufferd to liue at his house, or w<sup>ith</sup> his frends, where she shal be always forthcoṃinge at yo’ Lo<sup>OR</sup> pleasure; and that none of her frends that hath kept or reliev<sup>ed</sup> her, may be troubled for the same; and he shall pray, &c.

“FLOR: M<sup>C</sup>CARTHY.”

The signature of Sir Owen Hopton, on a slip of separate paper, is affixed to the foot of this letter.

Florence had occasion at a later period to refer again incidentally to this flight of his wife; but then, as now, prudence withheld him from giving any more details concerning it. His petition was granted, and the fugitive now appeared openly at the court of Elizabeth as a suitor for her husband's release from the Tower. The Queen could scarcely have given this young bride her liberty without being prepared to restore her husband to her; for the wife at Court, and the husband in the Tower, was a position so false for all parties concerned in it, that it could scarcely last; seven months more, however, elapsed before she obtained his liberation; but in the meanwhile all who were skilled in interpreting the royal mind might unerringly have predicted, not alone the freedom of the prisoner, but his reinstatement in royal favour. Calculating that the ruin of Florence was complete when they had seen the Tower gates fairly close upon him, a flight of human vultures had descended upon his lands, the hungriest of whom, and the most audacious, were the son-in-law of Her Majesty's Attorney-General, Rogers—and his agent, Worth.

The next venture of Florence was to petition the Queen that his property might be protected as long as it was her royal pleasure to disallow his return to Ireland. The following order, extracted from the Registers of the Privy Council, will show the progress he was making in the royal favour:—

“ 1590. *December 15th.*

“ For as much as Her Majesty's pleasure is that the suppliant shall not during the time of his restraint here receive any prejudice in his right, these are to require you to take present order as well that his servants officers and tenants may be continued in the peaceable possession of the said lands and castles, and that they may not be removed or evicted from the same until he shall be able to answer for the defence and title thereunto. As also that such sureties as have been committed to prison, or otherwise damnified by distresses taken upon their goods for default of the presence of such of the suppliant's servants as could not by reason of their attendance here upon the Lady Ellen Mac Carthy his wife repair unto that Realm, according to their bondes, may be released and set at liberty, and their goods restored unto them. And likewise that Daniel Roche, Alonse O'Brien, and Edmund Slabagh, or any of the servants of the said Florence Mac Carthy may be permitted at all times to repair into that province, or any other parte of that Realm, and to return hither again, behaving themselves as dutiful subjects, with such commodities and other necessary things as they shall transporte for the use and relief of their said Master, whereof praying you to have such convenient

regard that there may be no further occasion of complainte by them made unto us in this business.

“ To the LORDS JUSTICES.”

By the preceding official communication the Irish authorities must have been made aware that powerful influence was busy in working for the pardon of Florence. Of all his friends none served him more practically than the Earl of Ormond, who came forward to stand security for him in the sum of a thousand pounds. This security availed to obtain his freedom. On the 19th of January an order from the Privy Council was directed to the Lieutenant of the Tower—

“ To set Florence Mac Carthy at liberty upon certain notice given him by Mr. Wills and Mr. Wade, Clerks of Her Majesty's Privy Council, that the Earl of Ormond is entered bond for £1000 here to Her Majesty's use, with condition that the said Florence now under his charge shall not depart the realm, nor three miles from the city of London, nor repaire to the court without special license in that behalf first had and obtained from Her Majesty's Privy Council; He likewise having first taken bond of the said Florence himself of £2000 with condition as above said: and touching the charge of his diete &c. during his being there, because of his present inability, the said Lieutenant must staie till the next warrant.”

On the 24th of December, 1589, terminated the hospitality which Florence had, under successive governors, received for twenty-three months in Her Majesty's Tower of London. A few days later, Sir Michael Blount duly entered on his domestic register the charges for which he sought reimbursement. One of these Tower bills the reader has already seen; that which follows evinces no unbecoming stint in the entertainment of his guest:—

“ For Diett and charges of Florence M'Carty beginning the 24<sup>th</sup> June 1589, and ending the 24<sup>th</sup> of December then next following, being 26 weeks at 26<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> the week for himself £33 ,, 13 ,, 4. Two keepers at 10<sup>s</sup> the week £13. Fewell and candells at 8<sup>s</sup> the week £10 ,, 8. Total £57 ,, 1 ,, 4.”

The imprisonment of Florence had lasted two years all but a month; but though actually confined all this time within the walls of the Tower, and to that portion of it precisely called “ The Cold Harbert,” the nature of his imprisonment was by no means the same during the earlier and later part of his stay there; so different indeed was it, that whilst he describes himself during the first few months as a *close prisoner*, he alludes to the later period as to his



*first liberty.* We have seen that the earliest letter written by him from the Tower was not allowed to go forth without the signature at foot of Sir Owen Hopton; his later petitions are without this stamp of his captivity.

Florence was now comparatively free; he was not indeed free to return to Ireland, nor to stray three miles from the city of London; but he was at liberty, for the first time since his marriage, to live in the society of his wife, and to resume without restraint the acquaintances he had had at court before his troubles commenced, and thus to take more effective measures to obtain his entire liberty to return to his own country. No murmur is extant in any of his writings during these last two years against the restraint he had suffered; but how bitter was the impression produced by it in his mind we shall learn a few years later, when he declared to Carewe, in scarcely disguised terms, that he would rather break into open rebellion, or fly from his country, than expose himself to a second imprisonment. No charge is more frequently made against Florence by his enemies than that of *ingratitude*. In the hypocritical language of the day, this liberation from the Tower, after two years' imprisonment, for having made a contemptuous marriage, is described as a great grace and bounty of Her Highness! That Florence did receive favours from the Queen, his letters frequently and emphatically declare, but it does not seem to have occurred to him that this was one of them. What he would indeed have considered as an especial favour at this time, would have been the permission to return to Munster; and to obtain this he became one of a portentous list of suitors, who wearied the heart of the minister with his petitions. The rigid conditions of his bond were speedily relaxed, for we find him attending the royal progresses with his petitions; but no entreaty, no influence could for some time longer obtain for him permission to make a brief visit to Ireland; and when at last he had recovered so much favour with the Queen as to accomplish this, it was still as one nominally a prisoner, and within the restraint of the penalties of his bail, should it please the minister to enforce them.

Had Florence been able from his abode in the Tower, or even from his lodgings in Westminster, to manage his Munster estates, and derive a regular income from them, it would have been by far the most surprising thing that he ever achieved. This he found impossible. Several of the undertakers, and some even of his own family, concluding that he was not likely ever to pass out from his cell in the Tower, had scrambled for his lands; confusion had ensued; his money resources were cut off, and, like other gentlemen in similar difficulties, he was driven to seek the means of subsistence by mortgaging and leasing his estates; and it may be remarked, as a little suggestive at least, that these transactions, ruinous to himself

as he represented them, and consequently beneficial to the other parties concerned in them, were entered into, not with undertakers of Browne's stamp, but with Sir Thomas Norreys, and others in authority in Ireland, and with gentlemen living, like himself, at the court. These transactions became the subject of litigation in after years; and we thus learn the names of many who, when the time of his second trouble came, strove to profit by his friendless position, to extort an interest almost as usurious as that of the Brownes; but even this resource began to fail him at last, and he fell into the inevitable misfortune of contracting heavy debts in London. These debts increased, for at this time his wife was living with him, and he had no longer Sir Owen Hopton and Sir Michael Blount to pay his monthly bills for "diette," "fewell," and other necessaries; his Munster remittances diminished, and the tone of his creditors ascended by the usual scale of hints, remonstrances, and threats.

Ever since his liberation from the Tower, Florence had been earnestly pressing his suit for permission to return to Ireland. He had fairly won the good opinion and friendly influence of Burghley, and of his son, Sir Robert Cecyl, the former of whom joined with Lady Ellen to solicit this grace from Elizabeth. The friendly endeavours of Burghley are made known to us by Florence's writing; but for the influence which prevailed with the Queen to render all solicitations in his favour vain for a considerable time longer, we must look elsewhere, and the search is neither long nor difficult. Every enemy of Florence in Ireland,—Barry, Fenton, Browne, the Bishop of Cork, Denny, and a host that was countless,—poured their insinuations, auguries, charges, and warnings into the ear of Sir Francis Walsingham. The Attorney-General, Sir John Popham, defeated in his designs of carving signories for himself and his son-in-law, Rogers, out of Florence's lands in Carbury, corroborated every tale of his ambition and disloyalty; and thus was formed around the Privy Council and the Queen an united opposition, which effectually resisted the friendly exertions of Burghley, and the entreaties of Florence's wife, until delay had so greatly multiplied his pecuniary difficulties, that he was compelled to abandon his suit to return to his home, and in lieu of it to solicit for "relief and some present means of living." The petition which he sent to Burghley at this time is, for many reasons, one of peculiar interest. So involved was he in difficulties with his creditors, that he was afraid to venture abroad, even to call on the minister, lest he should be arrested. His wife was now far advanced in pregnancy, unable to travel with him to Ireland, even had permission been granted to him to go, and he had no resources to leave with her for her support in England; hence he writes to Lord Burghley that he no longer desires his return; but prays that Her Majesty may be moved to allow to him and to his wife some maintenance, as long as it

shall please her to keep him in England. This letter is one of the most pleasing of the many extant in Florence's writing. It is valuable, not only as proving that Burghley's conduct to him was really friendly, but as showing that up to this time, at least, the fruits of his marriage were not wholly bitter.

Had Carewe not forced Florence to extremities, he might possibly in his great prudence have kept Carbry and Desmond from insurrection; and had the same unscrupulous man forborne to tamper with the vain weak mind of his wife, Florence's matrimonial life might have endured happily to the end. That his disposition was singularly forbearing and gentle, that he was averse to strife, even with his enemies, is sufficiently proved; and certainly not his bitterest enemy ever reproached him with any failing that could justly forfeit the confidence and affection of his wife:—

“1592. June 17. MR. FLORENCE M<sup>rs</sup> CHARTIE TO MY LO. BURGHLEY.

“Right Hon. my most humble dutie remembered. Having heeretofore divers times entreated your Hon Lo<sup>p</sup> to be a meane unto Her Ma<sup>t</sup> that I might have leve to go into my countrey seeing I have no meanes to maintain myself here, and perceevinge by Your Lo<sup>p</sup> at my last being with your Honor that you moved Her Ma<sup>t</sup> therein whom your Lo<sup>p</sup> found unwilling to grant it, I have thereupon caused my wife not to trouble Her Ma<sup>t</sup> any further for the same, and willed her to sue for some maintenance whereby myself and Shee might live until Her Ma<sup>t</sup> granted my libertie which she hath don still since my being with your Lo<sup>p</sup>, all which time I could never acquaint your Lo<sup>p</sup> withal, because I dare not go before your Lo<sup>p</sup> or anywhere else abroad for fear of being arested for myne owne and my wyfes diet; and for as much as she doth now fynd Her Ma<sup>t</sup> well inclined thereunto, and that Her Highness doth daily promise to give order to your Lo<sup>p</sup> for her, I am therefore most humble to beseech your Hon. Lo<sup>p</sup> to move Her Ma<sup>t</sup> now for me, and to be a mean that I may be partly releived with some maintenance whereby myself and my wife and folkes may live whyle Her Ma<sup>t</sup> shall think good to kepe me here, beseeching Your Lo<sup>p</sup> not to move her Ma<sup>t</sup> for my libertie to go into Ireland, because I am not desirous to go thither, knowing Her Ma<sup>t</sup> to be unwilling, as also that I have no meanes to leave my wyfe any maintenance, who is great with child, and not able to go any where, thus beseeching your Lop to be myndful of me, herein I humbly take leave this 16<sup>th</sup> of June 1592.

“Y<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> most humble to command,

“FLOR. M<sup>r</sup>CARTHYE.”

This petition, seconded by the influence of Lord Burghley, was graciously accepted by the Queen. Amongst Her Majesty's virtues, few were so conspicuous as her frugality; her royal grandsire himself had not more reluctantly parted with the smallest coin of the treasure of the commonwealth than she did. Florence's dis-

tresses increased daily, and his urgent prayer was for prompt rescue from the pursuit of threatening creditors, and for money for his maintenance. Both suits were graciously acceded to; the one immediately, and the other without unreasonable delay. In the manner in which the Queen administered to his present relief there was an admirable simplicity. Florence obtained, not indeed a sum of money, but what was for the time of equal value to a receipt in full from every money-lender whose bailiffs were on his track; it was a warrant of protection against arrest for debt. The second portion of his suit required a little more deliberation; but we shall see in the sequel that in the means by which this also was accomplished, there was even greater proof of royal ingenuity than in the former. Florence had been married nearly three years, and was still childless; the circumstance of his wife's pregnancy, which he mentioned to Burghley, to show how urgent was his need of present assistance, it is no exaggeration to say, moved the hearts of men in Munster more than would the birth of a royal child have stirred the feelings of Englishmen. A male child would one day inherit Carbery from his father, Desmond from his mother, and save from extinction the time-honoured and historic designation of MacCarthy mor. It pleased Providence that a male child should be born, and as we should judge from Florence's last letter to Lord Burghley, in humble lodgings in London, and under circumstances of painful pecuniary privations; but no sooner was Lady Ellen restored to health, than she repaired with the young heir to Ireland; and how this child was there welcomed, the keen eyes of the Bishop of Cork were the first to perceive. A year earlier his Lordship had made a discovery somewhat akin to this, viz., that this babe's grandmother, the old Countess of Clan Carty, was with child. After thirteen months of patient gestation that venerable lady had not yet produced a male heir to mar the welcome of Florence's child; that welcome now scandalized the Bishop, who at once wrote to Sir Geoffrey Fenton upon the matter, and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, not less affected, passed the tidings on to the Lord Treasurer:—

“ 1593. *March 8th.* *The BISHOP OF CORK AND CLONE to SIR G. FENTON* (enclosure in Fenton's letter of 15th March to Wals”).

“ My dewtie remembered to y<sup>r</sup> Worshipp. I thought yt my dutie to certifie you of such thinges as are of importance, and concerne the state. Heare is a yonge childe of Fynnyng M<sup>c</sup>Chartyes, who after this countrey manner is used amonge the people as a yonge Prince, caryed abowt the contrey wth three nurses, and six horssmen, when he removeth to anie place; and happie is he that can have him to foster for a moneth! and so from moneth to moneth, to the best of the contrey to be fostred, wth such songes of reioycinge in the praise of his father Fynnyng, and the yong Impe, that yt weare good his father at his cominge over shold be looked

unto, wch wilbe very shortlie, as his cossyn Donnell M<sup>c</sup>Chartye, wch came latelie owt of England told me; and delyvered unto me manie other matters, wch I cannot now sett downe because of the hast of the messenger; but at lardge you shall haue yt by the next that cometh. So humble take my leaue.

“Yo’ Wō’s at Coñmaundm<sup>t</sup>”

“vij M<sup>c</sup>ij 1592.

“WILLIAM CORKE & CLONE.”

“1593. *March 15.* SIR GEOFFRY FENTON to BURLEIGH.

“My dutie used, uppon p̄closinge of the joynt l<sup>r</sup> now sent to your L. consistinge uppon manie ptes I received this adu<sup>t</sup>isement inclosed from the Bushop of Corke wch I am bold to sende to yo<sup>r</sup> L. wth the priuilege of the Ld Deputie whome I first acquainted wth the contents thereof. This outward pompe used towards the childe, beinge far above the usage of the best and greatest p̄sons in that province, maketh shewe of an inward pretente to raise an extraordinarie greatnes to the parents, and to drawe a multytude of followers to be readie to serve a torne, when fyttē oportunitie shold offer: wch beinge considered wth the father’s former ambiçōn not unknowne to yo<sup>r</sup> L. mynistrēth cause to dowbt further inconveniences by that famly, and to pvent them. Fynnyn Mc Arty the father is as yet about London or the court, who though he be (as I heare) in some towardnes to retorne hither yet (wth y<sup>r</sup> L. favor) yt weare not amyss to have him still detyned there, either directlie by authoritie or by device, at least tyll this sommer be passed over, for yf any attempt be made in Mounster by the forreine enemye, there is none in all the province so likely to become the head of a faction, or to move or countenance a tumult, as he, whereof I make bold to adu<sup>t</sup>ise yo<sup>r</sup> L. onely, and so to leaue yt to yo<sup>r</sup> L. further will and pleasure. In grett haste.

“At Dublyn the 15 M<sup>ch</sup> 1592. G. FENTON.”

An account, thus substantiated, might be very opportune to furnish the minister with a ready answer to Florence when he should next appear with the story of his pecuniary grievances; but it needed local jealousies, and enemies as bitter as Fenton and the Bishop, to put it forward as a fit reason for prolonging Florence’s restraint. Donell Pipy had carried back from London to Munster tidings of the approaching birth of Florence’s child. He had carried back also news of other matter more alarming. Florence was in favour at court! and especially protected by Burghley and Cecyl! the common enemy would assuredly be let loose! The amount of Florence’s influence with those statesmen was greater than Donel reported, or his enemies would have readily believed.

(*To be continued.*)

A JOURNEY TO KILKENNY IN THE YEAR 1709. FROM  
THE MS. NOTES OF DR. THOMAS MOLYNEUX.

COMMUNICATED BY J. P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ.

EDITED BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.

[THE following Notes of a journey to Kilkenny, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, are preserved in a manuscript volume in the handwriting of Dr. Thomas Molyneux, at present to be found in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (MSS., Class 1., Tab. i., Nos. 2 and 3). The volume contains several tours through Ireland, of which the "Journey to Connaught," undertaken in the April of the same year, has been printed by the Irish Archaeological Society, in the first volume of their "Miscellany," pp. 161-178, under the editorial care of Aquilla Smith, Esq., M. D. From a note at page 161 of the publication just cited, we learn that Dr. Thomas Molyneux was the "younger brother of the celebrated William Molyneux, and Grandson of Daniel Molyneux, who was appointed Ulster King-of-Arms, by patent bearing date 28th June, 1597." Thomas Molyneux was born in Dublin in 1661, and educated in Trinity College; after having studied abroad, he became a Fellow of the College of Physicians in Ireland in 1711; he was elected Regius Professor of Physic in the Dublin University; in 1718 he became Physician-General of the Army in Ireland, and Physician to the State in 1725; on the 4th of July, 1730, he was created a Baronet, and died on the 19th of October, 1733. Sir Capel Molyneux, of Castle Dillon, county Armagh, is the present representative of the family.

The tour, in the course of which Dr. Molyneux visited Kilkenny, was commenced on Tuesday the 8th of November, 1709, on which day he left Dublin, and in five hours' time came to Naas, where he lay that night. He then passed through Blessinton, Ballymore-Eustace, Dunlavin, Timolin, and Kilkea, and so to Bealin, "a fine, improved seat of Mr. Stradford's;" about an hour from whence he crossed the Barrow, "at a very deep ford at Shroule," and a half a mile from thence "to cousin Best's, at Knockbeg, in the Queen's County." From Knockbeg he made some excursions, and returning again, stayed there until the 19th. From this point the MS. shall speak for itself] :—

Saturday y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup>, went to Kilkenny; two hours brought us thro' a noble fine open sheepwalk countrey,—[p. 90]—all along the Barrow, from Carlow to Loughlin Bridge, which is a pretty

small Town, pleasantly situated on the River. Half an hour more brought us thro' the same kind of countrey to Wells, a small village also in the county Carlow. From hence we had eight miles to Kilkenny; part over mountains<sup>1</sup>, but, as we drew near Kilkenny a more improved and better countrey. We passed by m' Garriduff, among the mountains to the right, from whence there was, in '95, a great Irruption of water from the Bowells of the Hill. Kilkenny is a long stragglng citty, with Iristown. I think it has as much ground under it as any I have seen, except Dublin. The houses are but ordinary; there are here several old abbeyes and buildings, one of them, the Cathedral of S<sup>t</sup> Kenny's, a fine old Gothic building; in the Church yard, near the door, stands one of the old round Towers, or Steeples, exactly such another as is at Kildare, the top so formed. I climbed into the door, which is some four or five yards from the ground; from hence looking up, I could see remaining yet a beam across of wood supporting a Floor of Board<sup>2</sup>, severall of which yet remain; and this was placed, as near as I could judge, just under the four windows<sup>3</sup>. Kilkenny is finely watered by the waters of several excellent springs, one of which, called Grainborough well<sup>4</sup>, I am tould, is lighter, by an ounce in a quart, than any other water, by the noble River Nure and two others<sup>5</sup>. From a Bridge on the former you have a fine prospect—[p. 91]—of the Castle, which belongs (as does most of the Town) to the Duke of Ormond. 'Twas built by the old Duke<sup>6</sup>. It is finely situated to the River, but in no other respect answerable to the character it bears. There is not one handsome or noble appartment. The Rooms are Darke, and the stairs mighty ugly. In the Duchess's Close, there are, indeed, some fine Pictures, as also in the Gallery, which is grand enough. Here is a picture of the Lord Strafford, and his Secretary, Sir

<sup>1</sup> The old road, leading over the mountains by Freneystown Castle and the church of Tascoffin, was, probably, that followed by Dr. Molyneux. It is likely he turned out of the level and more direct road to Kilkenny, for the purpose of examining the site of the eruption of water mentioned in the text as having taken place in 1695. No other mention of this phenomenon has been met with.

<sup>2</sup> This shows that it had been made use of, probably, as a watch-tower up to a comparatively recent period. No traditional memory of this flooring has been handed down; and when the present floors and ladders were erected by the Dean of Ossory, in 1846, it was believed that the summit of the tower was made accessible for the first time for several centuries.

<sup>3</sup> This is a mistake. The upper windows are six in number.

<sup>4</sup> This well has not been identified.

<sup>5</sup> The Nore receives but one tributary at Kilkenny, viz. the Bregach; perhaps, however, the Dinan is the second here alluded to.

<sup>6</sup> For built, read remodelled. After the Restoration, the Duke of Ormonde divested the castle of its defences, and in accordance with the fashion then prevalent, converted the fortress erected by William Earl Marshal into a French chateau. The gate-house was constructed of Caen stone, unloaded from the ships, in which it was imported, at Inistogue, and brought up the Nore in boats, and French artificers were employed on the work. The accounts of the money expended are preserved in the Evidence Chamber, and fully bear out the strictures on the great outlay. The present entrance is part of the Duke's gate-house. The capitals of the two northern Corinthian pilasters remained in block until lately.

Henry Slingsby<sup>1</sup>, which seems to be an excellent piece. The Gate House, and new range of buildings belonging to the Castle, are mighty ugly, crooked, and very expensive; tho' not yet finished, the gate house having already cost, as we are tould, 15 hundred pounds: having viewed the Town and Castle, we went—

Munday 21<sup>st</sup>.—To Dunmore Parke, belonging to the Duke of Ormond; tis a well sheltered Parke, with furs, good land, and well divided into pretty, small paddocks; here is a good Pheasantry kept, which stocks the whole country about; here was also, formerly, a handsome Countryhouse belonging to the Duke, called Dunmore House, which is now pulled down<sup>2</sup>, and the furniture and pictures all carried to the Castle: about half a mile without the Parke lies the famous cave of Dunmore<sup>3</sup>, which we went to see. At the upper

<sup>1</sup> This picture is no longer preserved at the castle. There were two portraits of Strafford in the Ormonde collection. The "Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland" (Dublin, 1778), at p. 101, describes "a three-quarter length of Earl Strafford, said to be taken but a few days before his catastrophe; to which is contrasted the picture of the same person, taken in the full career of his ambition." Ledwich ("Antiquities" 2nd Ed., 1804), gives a "Head of lord Strafford," in the list of pictures hung in the "Gallery," and does not allude to any other portrait of that nobleman. Brewer, who compiled his account of the pictures from the information supplied him by the Chevalier de Montmorency, states that some of the best pictures had been removed. He notes but one picture of "Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; a fine and interesting portrait."—"Beauties of Ireland," 1824-25, re-issued as the "History of Leinster," p. 422). A head of Strafford, said to be by Vandyke, undoubtedly a fine picture, still remains at the castle of Kilkenny.

<sup>2</sup> Dunmore was an ancient manor of the Ormonde family, and became the favourite country residence of the first Duchess of Ormonde, whose letters, still preserved at Kilkenny Castle, are full of allusions to the works there. Carte ("Life of James Duke of Ormond," vol. ii., p. 588), gives the following anecdote:—"When she [the Duchess] set about building *Dunmore*, intending to make it her residence, in case she should survive the Duke (for she said Kilkenny Castle ought always to belong to the head of the family); she laid out vast sums of money on that building. *Cary Dillon*, walking with his Grace and others on the leads of that castle, from whence there is a fine view of the country about, and particu-

larly of the house and park of *Dunmore*, made a pun upon that place, saying to the Duke of *Ormonds*: 'your grace has done much here (pointing to Kilkenny), but yonder you have *Done more*.' 'Alas! *Cary* (replied the Duke), it is incredible what that has cost: but my wife has done so much to that house, that she has almost *wadone me*.'"

John Dunton, who saw Dunmore in 1698, when it was in its splendour, thus describes the house:—"I rambled to Dunmore, another seat of the Duke of Ormond's, which is the finest house in Ireland. On some of the floors of this house I reckoned twenty-four rooms; the staircase that leads to them are [*sic*] hung with curious landscapes, and is so large that twenty men might walk abreast; had the house another branch, it would be a perfect H; but without this additional beauty, perhaps, it may boast of more rooms than are to be found in some whole towns."—"Some Account of my Conversation in Ireland," pp. 58, 54.

"A Tour through Ireland, by Two English Gentlemen" (Dublin, 1748), at p. 195, mentions Dunmore as "a noble proportioned body falling to the grave with a daily decay;" and compares its avenues and rows of lofty trees to the walks from Petersham to Ham, in Surrey, giving the preference to Dunmore; and adds, "in short, such a place, formed by nature for Grandeur or Pleasure, is not often found in England." "The Post-Chaise Companion," 4th Ed., describes its ruins as still standing, "near a large and fine plantation of trees, which extends two miles." (col. 389). The ruins of the mansion were removed, and the trees cut down, about the commencement of the present century.

<sup>3</sup> This description of the limestone cavern, called the Cave of Dunmore, is very faithful. The Celtic name of the cave is *Dearc*



part of a gentle rising sheep walk hill you meet a vast hole down to the earth, some 20 or 30 yards over, and I believe so more in depth, running near directly downwards. The sides of this Hole are—[p. 92]—rocky, and earth surrounded. Trees: you go down y<sup>m</sup> by one small path, which is steep tho' not dangerous; when you are down at the bottome, the sun and Light coming down such a depth, the water distilling from the rock above, make a most dreadful Romantick appearance there are two passages which go further, and strike more horizontally into the Rock: the first I entered, by the help of a guide, with my left hand; here we were received into the hollows of the Rock, we lost all light but that of our candles. The very Irregular figure and craggy inside of the Cave made it impossible, any way, to judge of the dimensions of it; or, indeed, to give any adequate idea of it that has not seen it: however, generally, I may say, the passages and appartments of this Cave were, for the most part, vast and great, bigger than the largest roome, some as big as a room; no where so small as to make us stoop; our candles were not large enough to discover the just shape of most of the passages, they were so large: the side, top, and bottome were all brownish Rocks; but from the top the water distilling in a 1000 places trickling down the sides, was petrified, so that the inside of the Cave is almost entirely covered with this petrified substance, which drop, as it falls from the top, forms every where long thick pipes of a whitish stone, of the bigness of a goose quill, some some shorter; generally of four or five inches long.—[p. 93] Of these pipes the Cave is almost everywhere covered and correspondent to them below, where the drops fall in little lumps of a petrified substance, of the bigness of one of a dirty whitish colour, as of snow congealed. Several of these are grown vastly larger, so as to be as tall as a man; the trifactions are also in vast quantity where the water trickles down the sides of the Cave. We went on in this Cave some 20 yards, sometimes up, sometimes down to another, till at length

*Fearna*, and it is mentioned in an ancient MS., preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, called the "Irish Triads," as one of the three darkest caves of Ireland. See Wilde's "Beauties of the Boyne and the Blackwater," p. 180. The Four Masters, under the year 928, record the plundering of Dearc Fearna, and the slaughter of a thousand persons therein, by Godfrey, grandson of Imbar, and the Northmen of Dublin, and give, as their authority, the ancient quatrain:—

"Nine hundred years without sorrow,  
Twenty-eight, it has been proved,

Since Christ came to our relief  
To the plundering of Dearc-Fearna  
O'DONOVAN'S "Four Masters"

Dearc Fearna means the cave of hell, there is no record of who Fearna was, the slaughter of the thousand persons, the Northmen in the recesses of the cave for the human remains, mentioned in the text, and still, with the excellent skulls, to be seen there. It is that suffocation by the ruthless Northmen, not more ruthless, however, than the Algerians in our own day.

came to a place where the floor was most earth, and here was a burrow of rabbits, as appeared by the holes and dung. 'Tis incredible these creatures should go in so far into this cave, so dark and uneven a bottom, and not always fall and break their necks in the hollows and interstices between the rocks, which we could but avoid with our lights. We went on somewhat farther till we came to a well of excellent water, which is at the right hand of the cave. 'Tis some two or three feet over, pretty deep, and so clear that you can scarce discern the water to be there; the whole bottome of the well, and of this part of the cave, is full of human bones, but especially the well, in which there are several skulls; our guide told me we might go on much further; but the top and bottom of the cave were here so close together, that we must have stooped to go on, and believing there was nothing new to be seen, we returned. We fired two or three shotts of a pistoll in several places, which made great report, and made so sensible a concussion in the air pent up here, that we all agreed we could perceive the rocks to tremble under us: another effect—[p. 94.]—Some of us observed, was, that on the firing the pistoll, he breathed much freer than before. We could not perceive that the aire was colder here than above; but, indeed, it seemed to have been somewhat damper.

Having arrived again at the light, we entered the second cave, which is much like 'tother, onely, I think, somewhat more irregular and scraggy: we went in not so far, and came to a large appartment, which the Guide would call y<sup>e</sup> 'Tholsell, from its figure; here are severall Pillars, from top to bottome of the cave, all covered with, or, perhaps, entirely composed of the petrified water, one more especially, which is very odd, large, and pretty regularly shaped; at one side of this appartment is a flat rock, high out of reach; we perceived a large round opening of four or five feet diameter, which goes off to one side, we could not see where; the water falling from the bottome of this opening has filled the whole breadth of it with this petrified substance, which hangs down out of a considerable way, so that it appears like a vast river flowing out of an urn done in stone by the hands of some excellent statuary. Beyond this appartment, called the Tholsell, this cave goes on considerably, as the Guide assured; but we went no further, but by the same way we entered we returned to the light: having viewed the coal, and put up several pieces of the petrifications, we mounted to return home. The countrey herabouts is a lilly sheepwalk countrey, but appears to be all rocks under ground, by the rocks that peeped out in several parts of the hills hereabouts. An hour and a half—[p. 95]—brought us back to Kilkenny. From a hill near a [the?] City, which you pass over on this road, we had a very fair prospect of it, the Castle, Cathedral, and all the old buildings,



conveniency of levell for carrying of the water better, &c. Here also they have iron mine as in the other Collieries. I went down one of the Pitts and found the works much like the other. The Pitt was, indeed, much deeper, and so was the vein, too, by six or eight inches. Having viewed the Coal Pitts, we went on towards Knockbegg. One hour and a half brought us to the end of the mountains, which were here vastly high, so that you have a vast prospect of a noble countrey belonging (*viz*<sup>t</sup>) to the three counties, Carlow, Kildare, and Queen's County—[p. 97.]—Near the foot of the mountain, on this road, stands the old church of Killeshen, which [is] a very old building. Here lately stood, over against the Doore of the Church, one of the old round steeples<sup>1</sup>, which, I am told, was very high, old, and well built, so that when the owner of this place had it fallen, it came to the ground in one solid piece, and was not even by the fall against the ground so broke, but that several vast pieces yet remain sticking together, so that you easily discover what this building was. It plainly appears to be of the same building and age with the adjacent church, and this was certainly an Irish building, as appears by two Inscriptions at each side of the door as you enter, which I transcribed, and are as follows:—[ . . . . . ]

If so, we may rather think these old Round Towers to be Irish built, rather than Danish, as some think. In the rock here is observed a remarkable quarey of stone, whose joints are so regular that every stone you raise is a most exact parallelipeton, as if hewn, and of this stone the church is built. From hence, less than an hour brought us to Knockbegg.

Fryday, 25<sup>th</sup>.—Left Knockbegg, and arrived in one hour and a half by Kilkea to Bealin, Mr. Stafford's, in the C<sup>o</sup> Kildare. Here is a very—[p. 98]—handsome improved garden of greens, grass, and gravel, very pleasantly situated by the banks of a small river, which is very prettily cutt into canalls and fish-ponds, and well sheltered by well grown trees. From Bealan by [*blank in original*]

<sup>1</sup> I am not aware that the occurrence of a round tower at Killeshan has ever been noticed by any of our writers on Irish architectural remains. Dr. Petrie, who probably was aware of this proof of the former existence of a round tower here, is silent on the subject, having, it is likely, reserved his notice of it for the long-promised sequel to his prize essay on the subject. Are we ever to have the fruition of this hope deferred?

<sup>2</sup> It is much to be lamented that the space for this inscription is left blank in the original. The inscription still partly remains on the doorway of Killeshan Church, but has been so much defaced by wanton injury that

only a portion of it can be read, as follows:—

OĪ DO ART RI LAĜEN . . . . .  
DON AIRCHINDECH . . LENA . . .  
DO . . TOISECH HUA NOUACH

A PRAYER FOR ART KING OF  
LEINSTER . . . FOR THE ARCHIN-  
DECH . . . LENA . . . FOR THE  
CHIEF OF UI-DUACH.

See "Ancient Tribes and Territories of Ossory," in the Transactions of the Society, vol. i., first series, p. 233.

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BILINGUAL MONUMENT, LLANFECHAN, CARDIGANSHIRE.

to Naramore, Mr. Keating, is four miles thro' the finest open sheep walk champaign country that ever I saw, excellent land, but all unenclosed and under sheep. From Narramore two hours and a half brought us by Mr. Nixon's to Kildare thro' a sheep walk and corn country. At Kildare we lay Saturday, y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup>.

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OGHAM STONE, WITH BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION, AT LLANFECHAN, CARDIGANSHIRE.

[Extracted from the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. vii., third Series, p. 42.]<sup>1</sup>

THE early inscribed stone which still exists in this locality, in a position where it may be easily injured, though it is known but to few, is thus noticed in Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* :—

“LLANVAUGHAN.—In the kitchen garden, by the side of the gate, is an ancient inscribed stone, about nine feet three inches in height above the ground, and one foot eight inches in breadth. The inscription may be read as follows: TRENACATUS IC JACET FILIVS MAGLAGNI; who was buried, in all probability, in the chapel called *Capel Whyll*, as this stone was found in the eastern wall of the ruins of that building, a few feet below the surface of the earth” (pp. 191-2).

It is somewhat remarkable that Sir Samuel, who was so acute and accurate an observer, should have made no mention of the Oghamic characters upon one of the edges and the top of the stone; for although the existence of an Oghamic alphabet was then not known in Wales, yet the marks in this instance are so peculiarly well defined that they could hardly have escaped his notice. Edward Lhwyd had delineated some of them on the SAGRAMNVS stone, though he said nothing about them. His worthy disciple in the present instance passed them equally *sub silentio*.

Such being the history and description of the general condition of this stone, it remains to consider the inscription itself. The letters indicate a very early period; the same, in fact, *whatever that period may really be*, as that of the SAGRAMNVS stone, so well known to our members. The absence of the H in the second line; the uncertainty, or the mistake, in the cutting of the T and the F; the peculiar forms of the G,—are all points of interest, and may help to

<sup>1</sup> This notice of a Welsh monument, bearing in a most important manner on the question of the age of our Irish Oghams, is

contributed by the author of a paper on a similar bilingual inscription, laid before this Society at p. 229, *supra*.—ED.

the determining of its palæographical date. It will be observed, too, that the letters do not touch each other, nor inosculate, as is so often the case in inscriptions of the kind. The letters were correctly read by Sir Samuel Meyrick, and there is no obscurity about them. The name in the third line would seem to show an Erse connexion, as in other instances in Wales; and another peculiarity of the inscription is, that the terminations of the nominative cases are here preserved,—the words end in *us*, not in *i*. On the whole the inscription testifies to knowledge and care.

The Oghamic inscription reads as usual, from the bottom upwards, and from left to right; and it reads exactly the same as the first three syllables of the name in the first line, only that the letter C is in the Ogham reduplicated—indicating the accent on the penultimate, and therefore testifying to the Cymric origin of the name itself. The two Oghamic marks which terminate this inscription constitute an enigma. They stand for the letters L O; but what they may signify must be left as a problem unsolved for the present. It is remarkable that the Oghamic characters do not go on further with the Latinized inscription so as to give the equivalents of the remaining lines.

The importance of the inscription consists in this, that so far as it goes, it confirms the alphabet of Professor Graves, and is in harmony with most of the other Oghams hitherto noticed in Wales.



## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July 10th (by adjournment from the 3rd), 1861.

The REV. JOHN SAUL, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Mrs. Madden, Hilton House, Scotshouse, Clones : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Thomas Keogh, Esq., Fishmonger's Hall Wharf, London : proposed by Edmund Smithwick, Esq.

Edward Solly Flood, Esq., Kyle-cottage, Kyle, county Wexford ; and John W. C. Redmond, Esq., J. P., Wexford : proposed by Beauchamp Colclough, Esq.

The Rev. Edward J. Hartrick, 25, University-square, Belfast ; H. B. Armstrong, Esq., Burnchurch, Bennett's-bridge ; and William Wright, Esq., Newtown-cottage, Kilkenny : proposed by James G. Robertson, Esq.

The Rev. John Fitzpatrick, R.C.C., Johnstown : proposed by Mr. John Hogan.

Francis J. Connell, Esq., J. P., Betteville, Wexford ; and Michael Coleman, Esq., Francis-street, Wexford : proposed by Andrew Wilson, Esq.

On the motion of the Rev. James Graves, seconded by Mr. Robertson, J. T. Gilbert, Esq., M.R.I.A., Librarian of the Royal Irish Academy, was elected Honorary Local Secretary for the Dublin district.

The Secretary reported that, the formation of the "Illustration Fund" having been fairly successful, several engravings were in hands for the illustration of the forthcoming numbers of the Journal. He had received an anonymous letter, signed "A Member,"

advocating a general increase of the subscriptions to 7s. 6d., in place of an increase left optional to each individual. Mr. R. R. Brash, Architect, Cork, had also written to him to the same effect, except that he suggested 10s. per annum as the increased subscription. Two other members had likewise expressed their opinion to him privately to the same purport—in all, four members were thus opposed to the voluntary principle; whilst upwards of 80 had given their full sanction by sending in contributions.

The Chairman observed that, under these circumstances, the voluntary arrangement must be deemed so far a success, and therefore it would be injudicious to make any change at present.

The meeting unanimously concurred in the Chairman's opinion.

The Hon. Secretary said that the Government seemed at length to have become more alive to the propriety of doing something for the preservation of national antiquities. The following notice had been issued to the various constabulary stations in Ireland, headed "Treasure Trove," and subscribed by the Under Secretary of State:—

"His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant having been informed by the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, that they have been pleased to authorize the payment to finders of ancient coins, gold or silver ornaments, or other relics of antiquity in Ireland, of the value of the articles, on the same being delivered up, notice is hereby given to all persons who shall hereafter find any such articles, that on their delivery of them up to the sub-inspector or head or other constables of constabulary in the locality, they will receive, through the department, rewards equal in amount to the full value of the articles."

The Secretary said he was happy to perceive, by the reports of the meetings of the Royal Irish Academy, that the plan was already working well, and that several valuable antiquies had been secured to the Museum of the Academy thereby, the Government having very properly chosen our national collection as the depository of all antiquies thus rescued.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 946-50, inclusive.

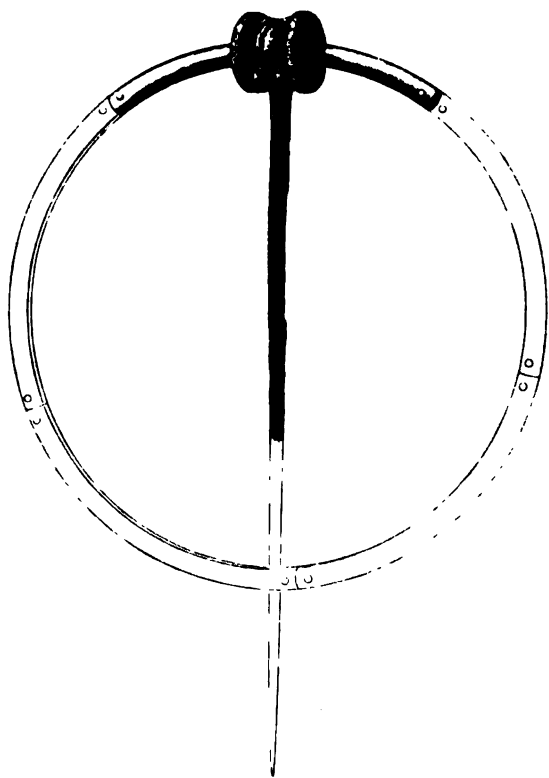
By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 33.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, Nos. 25 and 26.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for April, May, June, and July, 1861.

By the Smithsonian Institution: their "Annual Report," for 1858.

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PROPOSED RESTORATION OF BRONZE FIBULA, WITH HOLLOW JOINTED RING.

[Half the size of Original.]

By the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: their "Proceedings," Vol. III., part 2.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," Nos. 65-68, inclusive.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology: "The East Anglian," No. 10.

By the Royal Irish Academy: their "Proceedings," Vol. VI., parts 3 and 4; Vol. VII., parts 1-12, inclusive.

By the Cambrian Institute: their "Journal," for March, 1861.

By the Associated Architectural Societies of the County of York, Diocese of Lincoln, Archdeaconry of Northampton, County of Bedford, Diocese of Worcester, and County of Leicester: their "Reports and Papers," for 1860.

By the Numismatic Society: "The Numismatic Chronicle," new series, No. 1.

By the Rev. John Saul: two copies of the "Wexford Herald," dated May 9th, 1796, and May 1st, 1797.

By the same: a large copper Turkish coin of Sultan Selim III., bearing a legend in Arabic, which he translated—"The Glorious, Victorious, most Illustrious of men, for ever just"—the date being Hejira 1200, equivalent to the year of our Lord 1794.

By Mr. W. Lawless, Rose-Inn-street: an Irish farthing of Queen Elizabeth.

By Head-constable Francis Harkins, Johnstown: a gun-money shilling of James II.

By Mr. James O'Bryan, Jenkinstown school-house: one of those round perforated objects of the class commonly known as "fairy millstones," and supposed to have anciently served as distaff weights. It was composed of coarse jet, very rough, and rudely formed, and was found at a considerable distance beneath the surface, in soil alleged to have been previously undisturbed.

By Mr. Prim: several antiquities, recently discovered in trenching the small rath lying south of the great rath of Dunbel, which forms so conspicuous an object from the Waterford and Kilkenny Railway. He said it would be recollected by the members that the Museum contained a large and valuable collection of similar objects discovered in the Dunbel group of raths, which he had previously described in detail in this Society's Transactions. The articles which he now brought under notice were, with one exception, of the same general character of many of those already described, comprising three small iron knife-blades; four iron pins; one iron shuttle-end; three bone pins; a fragment of a jet bracelet; and three bronze pins, one with a curiously ornamented acus; and another, while having a yellow bronze acus, being furnished with a movable white bronze ring. The exception alluded to consisted of portions of a large bronze fibula, unique, so far as he was aware, in its cha-

acter. The peculiar feature arose from the portion of the ring which was extant being formed of sheet bronze, bent into a hollow pipe, not soldered, but the edges brought together with the most beautifully accurate joint. This tube was apparently one of five similar segments, which, being riveted together at the ends, would form the ring of the fibula, six inches in diameter. The acus had a very massive head, with rude annular ornaments, the portion remaining being four inches long, and having apparently lost about four inches of the point. The accompanying plate gave his idea of the restoration of the fibula.

By the Rev. James Graves: a bronze tag of a book-strap, which had also been found in one of the Dunbel raths. This curious antique terminated in a dragon's head, and was ornamented on both sides with the interlaced and other patterns peculiar to our ancient Irish metal work, crosses, and manuscripts. Mr. Graves said that the Rev. James Mease had, at a former meeting, presented a similar antique of a considerably more recent date, found at Ballylarkin, near Freshford; and that he himself possessed a manuscript missal of the fourteenth century, which had probably once belonged to the Cathedral of St. Canice, and which still retained its original oak binding fastened by two straps of strong leather, tagged with the metal called "laten," which doubled over the fore-edge of the book, and caught on pins riveted into small plates of the same metal fastened to the middle of the cover; the accompanying illustration represented both sides of the Dunbel tag, and one side of that found at Ballylarkin; also one of the pins from the missal above described.

Mr. Laurence O'Brien, of Mullinahone, sent for exhibition, through Mr. John Dunne, Garryicken, a small flat stone, having on one side a mould for casting a rude crucifix, and a round object resembling the reverse of ancient silver coins, with a cross in the field, and a number of short strokes to represent the legend. On the other side of the stone was a mould for casting a similar round object, of larger size. This stone was dug up by one of Mr. O'Brien's labourers, amidst the *debris* of an ancient building at Mullinahone, said by tradition to have been formerly a preceptory of the knights of St. John; and hence Mr. Dunne suggested the derivation of Mullinahone, i. e., the mill of St. John, as, according to tradition, a mill which had belonged to the preceptory stood close by.

Mr. William Skehan, Clonmel, sent a rubbing of an inscribed stone, preserved in the wall of the old spa-house, situated on the Corporation lands, south of the Suir, near that town. The inscription read thus:—

W I L L I A M  
S T A N L E Y  
E S Q<sup>R</sup> M A Y O<sup>R</sup>  
O F C L O N M  
E L L. 1 5 9 3



ANCIENT IRISH BOOK FASTENINGS.

[Full size.]

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Mr. Skehan also communicated the inscription on the pommel of the Corporation sword of Clonmel, which seemed to have been the gift of one of the same family. The legend ran—*Ex dono Thome Standly 1656* and surrounded a shield charged with a coat of arms.

The Rev. James Graves said that Mr. Skehan had forwarded him impressions of the inscription and coat of arms; the latter were those of Stanley—on a bend three stags' heads caboshed, on the sinister canton a crown of three points. The other side of the pommel bore an engraving of the arms of Clonmel, viz., a hound chasing a stag over a bridge of three arches embattled, which were also the arms of New Ross; there was the following inscription round this device—*Fidelis in eternum*.

The Rev. James Graves laid before the meeting some documents connected with the ancient but much-decayed charitable institution situated in Ross-Inn-street, in the city of Kilkenny, and modernly known as the O'Shee Alms-house. They consisted of copies of the royal charter of foundation, dated 7th of November, 6th James I., and the rules for the government of the institution, of the same date, extracted from the Patent Rolls of Chancery, Ireland. The charter (with a translation) was as follows:—

“*Jacobus Dei grā Anglie, Scotie, Franç et Hibnie Rex fidei defensor, &c. Omnibus ad quos pntes lfe nre pervenerit saltm. Cum dilectus & fidel nř Richus Shee de Upp Court in Com nřo Kilkenny miles nup defuncti religiosa erga pauperes et indigentes fratres et sorores suos in Xpo qui sub gravi necessitatis & inopie onere gemescunt charitate motus & inflamatus ad honorem laudem & exaltaçdem gloriosissimi nois Salvatoris nři Jesus Christi quoddam meš sive dom hospital in vilf de Kilkenny in dco com nřo Kilkenny p uno magro sex pauperibus hoibus non maritat & sex viduis, dum vixerit, sumptibus suis proprijs erexit et edificabat, quod quidem meš jacet inter semiteriu Beate Marie Virginis in Kilkenny pť ex boreali parte et Regiam Viam ibm ducent versus pontem ejusd vilf ex pte Australi et quoddam meš ibm voç Lombard's Chamber ex pte occidentali et meš modo in tenuř Willm O'Haran ex pte orientali. Cumque etiam dçus Richus Shee miles diem suũ claudens extremũ antequã ipse pđcam dom hospital cũ aliquibus terř sive tenitis dotare potuisset, in extremo vite sue articulo mandavit Luce Shee ařo filio et heređ suo quod ipse idem Lucas Shee nob humillime supplicaret ut nos pđcos magřm pauperes et viduas uñ corpus incorporať et perpetuã here successionem facere dignaremur, et ut nos eidem Luce Shee et heređ suis licentiam concederemus ad danđ & concedend eisdem magro paupibus hoibus et viduis et successũ suis impřm medietatem rectorie de Kilmokabell, in com Kilkenny et Catherlagh sive in eoř aliquo, ac quod itidem licentiam concederemus pđ magro pauperibus hoibus & viduis et successũ suis ad acquirend et recipiend sibi et sucđ suis in ppetuã eleemosinam ať terř tenita & heredit ad valentiam quadragint libř legal monete Anglie p meliori manutencõe & sustencõe predict magři paupeř et viduař. Sciatis quod nos laudabilem illam intencõem et preposit pđ Richi Shee alacriter approvantes ad huñlem peticõem predci Luce Shee in performacõe & comple-*

mentē mandati p̄dci Patris sui de gr̄a nr̄a sp̄iali ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nr̄is necnon ex assensu & consensu p̄dici & fidelis consiliarij nr̄i Arthurē Chichester miſ deputat̄ nr̄ general̄ dci regni nr̄ Hib̄n, dedimus, concessimus, fecimus, & ordinavimus ac p̄ p̄ntes p̄ nobis hered̄ & succ̄ nr̄os damus, concedimus, facimus, et ordinamus quod p̄d messuagm̄ sive domus hospital̄ p̄ p̄fat̄ Ricum̄ Shee milit̄ sic ut prefert̄ erect̄ et edificat̄ Hospital̄ Jesu de Kilkenny vocet̄, nuncupet̄, & appellet̄ de cetero imp̄pm̄, quodque in eodem hospital̄ de cetero imp̄pm̄ erunt unus maḡr sex paupes hoies laici non maritat̄ et sex vidue laice comoran̄ et inhabitantes. Et quod ijdem maḡri sex paupes hoies et sex vidue et success̄ sue p̄ nomen maḡri, frat̄, et soror̄ Hospital̄ Jesu de Kilkenny de cetero imp̄pm̄ vocent̄, appellent̄, nōinent̄, & nuncupent̄, ac etiam volumus concedim⁹ et ordinamus ac p̄ p̄ntes p̄ nobis hered̄ & succ̄ nr̄is damus concedim⁹ et confirmamus prefato maḡro, fratribus, & sororibus p̄d Hospital̄ Jesu de Kilkenny qđ ip̄i & success̄ sui de cetero imp̄pm̄ sint unū corpus incorporat̄ & politic̄ in re facto et noie, et ip̄os p̄fat̄ maḡr, fratres, & sorores & success̄ suos in unū corpus politic̄ & incorporat̄ imp̄pm̄ durant̄ p̄ nobis hered̄ & success̄ nr̄is plene facimus, creamus, stabilimus & unimus per presentes. Et quod ip̄i & success̄ sui imp̄pm̄ heant success̄ōes p̄petuas & coē sigillū, in quo imago sive effigies serenissimi principis d̄m nr̄i Jacobi, Regis Anglie, Scotie, Franc̄, & Hib̄n inscrip̄t erit, pro chartis et al̄ negotijs, ejusdem hospital̄ consignand̄ & sigilland̄. Et ulterius gr̄a nr̄a sp̄iali ac ex certa sciē & mero motu nr̄is p̄ nobis hered̄ & succ̄ nr̄is facimus constituimus & ordinamus Xpofer Shee de Kilkenny gen̄ maḡr hospital̄ predict̄ p̄ tenō vite sue q̄m̄diu ip̄e idem Xpofer Shee se bene gesserit in eodem offic̄ scđm̄ ordinacōes ac̄ & constitut̄ hijs p̄ntibus annex̄ vel imposteſ constituend̄ sive ordinand̄. Et quod de tempe in tempus imp̄pm̄ post mortem cessiōem sursum deddicoñ, resignacōñ, deprivacōñ sive amocōem p̄dci Xpofer Shee ab officio maḡri hospital̄ predict̄ p̄dict̄ Lucas Shee et hered̄ sui p̄ fact̄ suū sigillo suo sigillat̄ cū assensu & consensu p̄dcoſ fr̄m̄ & soror̄ hospital̄ p̄d sive majoris p̄tis eor̄dem heant p̄tatem et auctatem de tempe in tempus imp̄pm̄ quotiescunq̄ opus fuerit eligendi nominandi admittendi & constituendi in vel ad hospital̄ p̄d unam discret̄ & idoneam p̄sonam fore maḡr̄m ejusdem hospital̄ p̄ tenō vite hūimōi p̄sone qui sic erit electus noiat̄ admissus et constitut̄ ut prefert̄ q̄m̄diu se bene gesserit in eodem officio, scđm̄ ordinacōes ac̄ & constitucōes hūis p̄ntib⁹ annex̄ vel imposteſ p̄ bono p̄d hospital̄ constituend̄ sive ordinand̄. Et quod de tempe in tempus hujusmod̄ maḡr hospital̄ p̄d quoties opus fuerit super vel p̄ causis racōnabilibus scđm̄ dc̄as ordinacōes ac̄ et constitucōes hijs p̄señ annex̄ vel imposteſ constituend̄ deprivand̄ amovend̄ et expellend̄ & ab officio suo p̄d deponend̄ & aliam idoneam p̄son̄ in ejus loco constituend̄ eligend̄ noiant̄ admittand̄ et acceptand̄ scđm̄ dc̄as ordinacōes & constitucōes. Ac ulterius de gr̄a nr̄a sp̄iale ac ex certa sciē et mero motu nr̄is volumus & concedimus quod ip̄e p̄fat̄ Lucas Shee et hered̄ sue sex honestas paupes laicos hoies non maritat̄ et sex paupes viduas laicas nō iabit eliget et admittet et constituet in p̄d hospital̄ ib̄m remanen̄ durant̄ vī suis juxta ordinacōes actus & constitucōes predict̄. Et quod p̄d paupes hoies & vidue sic noiat̄ elect̄ admiss̄ & constitut̄ unacum p̄d maḡro sint unū corpus incorporat̄ imp̄pm̄. Et quod p̄d Lucas Shee et hered̄ sui imp̄pm̄ de tempe in tempus toties quoties aliquis aliqui vel alique p̄dcoſ pauper̄

hōm sive viduā sive alioꝝ paupē hōm sive viduā in hospitali p̄d noianđ eligend̄ admittand̄ & accipiend̄ obire resignare sive p̄ raconabilibus causis juxta ordinacōes act̄ & constitucōes p̄d deprivari amoveri sive expelli contigerit sive contigerint heant cū assensu & consensu p̄dcoꝝ maḡr, frat̄, & sorōꝝ hospitali p̄d sive majoris ptis eoꝝdem plenam p̄tatem & auctat noianđ eligend̄ admittend̄ & constituend̄ alios honestos paupes laicōs hoies & viduas laicas scđm ordinacōes actus & constitucōes p̄d in loco cujuslib̄t p̄dcoꝝ hōm & viduā qui sic obire resignare amoveri deprivari sive expelli ut prefert̄ contingent in societate pdic̄i frat̄ & sorōꝝ hospitali p̄d, et ip̄os et eoꝝ quemlibet p̄ raconabilibus causis juxta ordinacōes act̄ & constitut̄ p̄d deprivand̄ expellend̄ & ab inde amovend̄ quotiescunq̄ opus fuer̄; et insuper de ampliori grā nrā sp̄iali ac ex certa sciētia & mero motu nr̄is de assensu p̄d damus & concedimus p̄d maḡro, frat̄ibus, & sororibus p̄d Hospitali Jesu de Kilkenny et success̄ suis quod ip̄i & success̄ sui maḡri, frat̄es, & sorores hospitali p̄d sic elect̄ noiat adms̄ & constitut̄ per nōen maḡri, frat̄, & sorōꝝ Hospitali Jesu de Kilkenny erunt persone habiles & in lege capaces ad contrahend̄ & barganizand̄ cū quacunq̄ p̄son̄ sive quibuscunq̄ p̄sonis et ad perquirend̄ Habend̄ & possidend̄ sibi et hered̄ suis imp̄m in feod̄ simplici & p̄petuitat̄ sive alio modo ter̄ ten̄ redd̄it̄ revercōes servicia et heredit̄ quecunq̄ ad clar̄ annū valorem quadragin̄ lib̄ legalis monete Anglie ultra onera et repr̄is̄ preter mēs sive hospitali p̄dcm̄ et medietatem rectorie de Kilmakahell in com̄ Kilkenny et Catherlagh sive in eoꝝ aliquo et non ultra tam in dic̄i vill̄ de Kilkenny & infra franchises ejusd̄ qm̄ alibi infra p̄d regn̄ nr̄m Hibernie de quibuscunq̄ p̄son̄ seu quacunq̄ p̄sona ea sibi et success̄ suis dare legare concedere vel resignare volenti vel volentibus dumodo ead̄ ter̄ ten̄ta redd̄it̄ revercōes servicea et heredit̄ nec eoꝝ aliqua non sint tenta de nobis hered̄ vel success̄ nr̄is in capite nec per serviĉ militare nec de aliqua al̄ persona sive aliquibus al̄ p̄son̄ per serviĉ militare Habend̄ et tenend̄ ip̄is & success̄ suis maḡri, fr̄ibus, & sororibus hospitali p̄dic̄i in feod̄ & perpetuitat̄. Et quod ijdem maḡr, frat̄es, et sorores et success̄ sui per idem nomen maḡr, frat̄, & sorōꝝ Hospitali Jesu de Kilkenny placitare possent & impl̄itare respondere et responderi in quibuscunq̄ cur̄, necnon d̄es accōes sec̄i querel̄ et causis real̄ p̄sonal̄ et mixt̄ cujuscunq̄ geñis vel nature sint vel fuerint coram quibuscunq̄ Justiciariis vel Judicibus temporalibus vel spiritualibus seu alijs p̄sonis quibuscunq̄ in quibuscunq̄ cur̄ prosequi et in eisdem p̄litare et impl̄itari, respondere et responderi, possint et valeant, necnon oīa al̄ facere et recipere prout ceteri ligei nr̄i hered̄ et successor̄ nr̄oꝝ aut aliquod aliud corpus incorporat̄ & politic̄ in d̄co regno nr̄o Hibernie facerint vel facere poterint. Et ulterius de uberiori grā nostra sp̄iali concessimus ac p̄ p̄ntes pro nobis hered̄ & success̄ nr̄is concedimus et licentiam damus prefat̄ Luce Shee et hered̄ suis qđ ip̄e idem Lucas Shee et hered̄ sui et oēs et singule alie p̄sone feofat̄ vel seisit̄ existēti ad opus & usū ejus d̄c̄ Luce et hered̄ suoꝝ sive eoꝝ aliquoꝝ vel alicujus, p̄d messuag' sive dom̄ hospitali p̄ p̄dcm̄ Richū Shee ut prefert̄ erect̄ & edificat̄ cū p̄t̄iō p̄d maḡro frat̄ibus & sorōꝝ d̄c̄i Hospitali Jesu de Kilkenny et success̄ suis dare legare et concedere possit vel possint Habend̄ & tenend̄ sibi et success̄ suis maḡro, frat̄ibus, et sororibus d̄c̄i Hospitali Jesu de Kilkenny imp̄m. Et similiter de grā nr̄a sp̄iale ac ex certa sciētia & mero motu nr̄is pro nobis hered̄ & success̄ nr̄is concedimus ac licentiam damus eidem Luce Shee et oībus

alijs subdit̄ n̄ris quod ip̄i & eoꝝ quilibet dare vendere legare et concedere possint et possit aī terꝝ tenē & herediū preter p̄d hospital̄ ac p̄d mediei Rectorie de Kilmokahell p̄d cujuscunq̄ gen̄is nature sive speciei fuerint p̄d magis̄, fratribus, & sororibus p̄d Hospital̄ Jesu de Kilkenny & succē, suis, dumodo terꝝ tenē & herediū vel eoꝝ aliqua non sint tenē de nob̄ hered̄ vel succē n̄ris in capite nec per serviū militare nec de aliqua aī p̄sona sive p̄sonis per serviū militare. Et dumodo ead̄ terꝝ tenē et hereditaī non extendunt ultra an̄n̄ valor̄ quadragin̄t̄ libꝝ legal̄ monete Anglie ultra repriū. Habend̄ & tenend̄ eisdem maḡfo, fribus, & sororibus d̄ci Hospitalis Jesu de Kilkenny et success̄ suis imp̄p̄m in auxil̄ sustenen̄cōn̄ & supportacōem eoꝝdem maḡri, frat̄, & soroꝝ ac domus sive hospital̄ p̄d absq̄ impeticoe impedimento perturbaōe sive gravamine n̄ hered̄ &c., sive n̄foꝝ Justiciar̄ Escaet̄ Vice-Coī Coronat̄ ballivoꝝ seu aī minist̄ n̄foꝝ quozcunq̄ & absq̄ aliqua inquisicoe virtute alicujus Ire de ad quod damp̄n̄ seu alicujus alterius mandāt̄ n̄ri hered̄ vel success̄ n̄foꝝ in hac pte capiend̄ vel p̄sequend̄ et absque aliqua aī liceñ n̄ra seu aī l̄res n̄ris pateñ hered̄ vel success̄ n̄foꝝ eis in hac pte concedend̄ vel fiend̄ statū de terꝝ et tenēis ad manu mortuam non ponend̄ sive aliquo statuto in aliquo non obstant̄. Et ulterius volumus et concedimus pro nobis hered̄ & success̄ n̄ris licentiam damus prefato Luce Shee et hered̄ suo sive eoꝝ aliquoꝝ vel alicujus quod ip̄i & eoꝝ quilibet dare concedere legare & assignare possint et possit Roberto Shortall de Kilkenny, yeom̄, et Jacobo Butler de eaden Sadler̄ et hered̄ suis medietat̄ Rectorie de Kilmokahell p̄d in coī Kilkenny et Catherlogh sive in eoꝝ aliquo cū oibus terꝝ glebal̄ decimis advocacoñ profic̄ comoditat̄ et emolument̄ quibuscunq̄ eidem medietat̄ d̄ce rectorie p̄tiū sive spectaū sive ut pars p̄cell̄ sive memb̄ ejusd̄ Rectorie accept̄ vel reputat̄ ad sustentacoñ et manuten̄cōem p̄d maḡri frat̄ & soroꝝ d̄ci Hospital̄ Jesu de Kilkenny et successoꝝ suoꝝ imp̄p̄m licet ea de nobis teneant imediate in capite aut aīr per serviū milī, et eisd̄ Robto Shortall et Jacobo Butler & hered̄ suis quod & hered̄ sue d̄caī medietat̄ ejusd̄ rectorie et cetera p̄missa cum p̄tiū de prefat̄ Luca Shee et feofat̄ suis p̄d et de eoꝝ aliquo vel aliquibus p̄quirere et recip̄e possint, habend̄ & tenend̄ eisd̄ Robto Shortall et Jacobo Butler et hered̄, suos, ad manuten̄cōem et sustentcōem p̄d maḡri frat̄ & soroꝝ d̄ci Hospital̄ Jesu de Kilkenny & successoꝝ suoꝝ imp̄p̄m similiter concedimus et liceñ damus special̄ absq̄ impeticoe impediment̄ pturbaōe sive gravamine n̄ri hered̄ & succē n̄roꝝ Justiciar̄ Escaet̄ Coronat̄ ballivoꝝ sive aī minist̄, n̄roꝝ, quozcuq̄, et absque aliqua inquisicoe virtute alicujus Ire de ad quod damp̄n̄ seu alicujus alterius mandāt̄ n̄ri hered̄ vel success̄ n̄foꝝ in hac pte capiend̄ vel p̄sequend̄ et absq̄ aliqua aī liceñ n̄ra seu alijs Iris n̄ris pateñ hered̄ vel success̄ n̄foꝝ eis in hac parte concedend̄ vel fiend̄, statū de terꝝ et tenēis ad mañ mortuam non ponend̄ sive aliquo aī statū in aliquo non obstante. Ac ulterius de amplioꝝ gr̄a n̄ra sp̄iali ac ex certa scien̄ & mero motu n̄ris volum⁹ concedim⁹ et pro nobis hered̄ & succē n̄ris liceñ damus p̄d Luce Shee et hered̄ suis imp̄p̄m quod ip̄i & hered̄ sui cum assensu & consens̄ p̄d maḡ, frat̄ & soroꝝ hospital̄ p̄d aut major p̄t̄ eoꝝd̄ de tempe in tempus quoties opus fuer̄ heant potestatem, aucl̄tatem, et facultatem faciend̄ constituend̄ & ordinand̄ regulas actus constituōes statū & ordinacōes quascunq̄ necessar̄ pro bonis gubernac̄ & regimine hospital̄ p̄d & p̄d maḡ, frat̄, & soroꝝ & success̄ suoꝝ et p̄ dimicoñē & disponcōn̄ oia &

singul' bonoꝝ, catalloꝝ, terꝝ, teñtoꝝ, & herediũ p̄dcoꝝ maꝝr, fratꝝ, & soroꝝ p̄dci hospitaĩ quoꝝcunq̄ & p̄ oĩbus aĩ negotijs eisdem hospitaĩ spectañ sive concernẽ dumodo eadem regule act constitucoẽs statuĩ & ordinacoẽs nec eoꝝ aliqua non sint contraria sive repugnã dictis ordinacoẽ acĩ et constitucoẽ hijs p̄tibus anneĩ sive eoꝝ alicui et eadem adnullandũ et revocandũ de temp̄e in tempus quoties et quandocunq̄ eis videb' expedire. Et ulterius de uberiori ḡra n̄ra sp̄iali volumus et concedimus p̄d maꝝro fratribus, & sororibus d̄ci Hospitaĩ Jesu de Kilkenny et successũ suis qđ d̄cm hospitaĩ, ac oĩa aĩ terꝝ teñta et herediũ p̄d maꝝro fratribus & sororibus et successũ suis vel ad eoꝝ manutencoẽm sive sustentacoẽm imposteꝝ concedendũ legandũ sive assignandũ erunt quiet et exonerat de et ab oĩbus imponcoĩbus taxacoẽ tallag, cessũ, & exacoĩbus pro nobis heređ vel successũ n̄ris vel aliquibus aĩ p̄son imposteꝝ imponendũ sive exigendũ in vel ex p̄misĩ sive aliqua inde pcell. Salvis nobis heređ & sucẽ n̄ris oĩbus redd tenuĩ expediçoẽ ad guerĩ anglice risings out, et composicoẽ n̄ris in vel ex p̄misĩ exeũ solubil' stabilĩ sive imposĩ vel in vel ex aliqua inde pcell. Et insuper de ampliori ḡra nostra sp̄iali ac ex certa scien' et mero motu n̄ris volumus & concedim' ac p̄ p̄seĩ p̄ nobis heređ & sucẽ n̄ris liceĩ damus superiori ville sive burgi de Kilkenny predict' p̄ t̄pẽ existeĩ et p̄fat Luce Shee & heređ suis qđ ip̄i de t̄pẽ in t̄pus imp̄p̄m quoties opus fuerit heant plenam auctat et potestat offerendũ & ministrandũ p̄d maꝝro, fratribz, & sororibus hospitaĩ p̄dci & eoꝝ cuilibet sepalia jurament sive sacrament p̄ p̄d maꝝr, fratres, & soroꝝ sepalf & respective p̄stand sive jurand in ordinaconibz acĩ constitucoẽ hijs p̄ntibus anneĩ specificat et limitaĩ scđm veram intençoẽ eazdem ordinaĩ act & consticoẽ. Eo qđ exp̄ssa menço, &c., aliquo statuo, &c. In cujus rei testimoĩ has l̄ras n̄ras fieri fecimus paten. Teste p̄fat Deputato n̄ro genãli regni n̄ri Hibũ, apud Dublin, Sept' die Novembꝝ anno regni n̄ri Angl' ffranõ et Hibũ sexto et Scotie quadrages' scdo."

## TRANSLATION.

"JAMES, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and soforth. To all to whom our present letters shall come, greeting. Whereas our trusty and faithful Sir Richard Shee, of Upper Court, in our county of Kilkenny, lately deceased, moved and inflamed with religious charity towards the poor, and his indigent brothers and sisters in Christ, who languish under dire necessity and want, in honour, praise, and exaltation of the most glorious name of our Saviour Jesus Christ, built and erected during his life, at his own charge, a certain messuage or hospital in the town of Kilkenny, in the said county of Kilkenny, for one master, six poor unmarried men, and six widows, which said messuage lies between the Cemetery of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in Kilkenny, on the north, and the highway leading towards the bridge of the town on the south, and a certain messuage, then called Lombard's Chamber, on the west, and a messuage now in the tenure of William O'Haran on the east. And whereas, also, the said Sir Richard Shee, dying before he could endow the said hospital with any lands or tenements, when at the point of death, ordered Lucas Shee, Esquire, his son and heir, that he, the said Lucas Shee, would humbly supplicate as that we should deign to incorporate the said master, poor men, and

widows into a body, and to give them perpetual succession ; and that we should grant license to the said Lucas Shee and his heirs to give and grant to the said master, poor men, and widows, and their successors for ever, a moiety of the rectory of Kilmokahell, in the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow, or in either of them ; and that we should grant license to the said master, poor men, and widows, and their successors, to acquire and receive to themselves and their successors in perpetual alms other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to the value of £40, lawful money of England, for the better maintenance and support of the said master, poor men, and widows : Know ye that we, cordially approving the laudable intention and purpose of the said Richard Shee, at the humble petition of the said Lucas Shee, in performance and fulfilment of the command of his said father, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, with the assent and consent of our right trusty and faithful Counsellor Sir Arthur Chichester, Knight, our Deputy General of our said kingdom of Ireland, have given, granted, made, and ordained, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, we do give, grant, make, and ordain, that the said messuage or hospital, so as aforesaid erected and built by the said Sir Richard Shee, henceforth for ever shall be named, nuncupated, and called the 'Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny;' and that in the same hospital, henceforth for ever, there shall be one master, six poor laymen unmarried, and six widows residing and dwelling ; and that the said master, six poor men, and six widows, and their successors, by the name of the master, brethren, and sisters of the Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, henceforth for ever shall be known, named, nuncupated, and called ; and also we will grant and ordain, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, we do give, grant, and confirm to the aforesaid master, brothers, and sisters of the said Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, that they and their successors, henceforth for ever, shall be one body corporate and politic in reality, fact, and in name ; and them, the said master, brethren, and sisters, and their successors, into one body politic and corporate, for ever to continue, for us, our heirs, and successors, we, by these presents, fully make, create, unite, and establish ; and that they and their successors for ever may have perpetual succession and a common seal, on which shall be engraven the likeness or effigy of the Most Serene Prince, our Lord, James, King of England, France, and Ireland, for signing and sealing the deeds and other affairs of the hospital. And further, of our more special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we make, constitute, and ordain Christopher Shee, of Kilkenny, gentleman, Master of the said hospital for the term of his life, so long as he, the said Christopher, shall well behave in the said office, according to the ordinances, acts, and constitutions to these presents annexed, or hereafter to be ordained or enacted ; and that from time to time for ever, after the death, cession, surrender, resignation, deprivation, or removal of the said Christopher Shee from the office of Master of the said hospital, the said Lucas Shee and his heirs by deed sealed with their seal, with the assent and consent of the brethren and sisters of the said hospital, or the greater part of them, may have power and authority from time to time for ever, as often as occasion shall require, to elect, nominate, admit, and constitute in or to the said hospital a discreet and fit person to be master of the said hospital for the

life of such person who shall be so elected, named, admitted, and constituted as aforesaid, so long as he shall well conduct himself in the said office, according to the ordinances, acts, and constitutions to these presents annexed, or hereafter for the good of the said hospital shall be enacted or ordered; and that from time to time such Master of the said hospital, as often as need shall be, for reasonable cause, according to the ordinances, acts, and constitutions to these presents annexed, or hereafter to be enacted, shall be deprived, removed, and expelled, and from his office deposed, and another person in his place constituted, elected, named, admitted, and received, according to the said ordinances and constitutions. And further, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we will and grant that he, the aforesaid Lucas Shee, and his heirs, shall name, elect, place, and admit six honest poor laymen, unmarried, and six poor widows, into the said hospital, there to remain during their lives, according to the ordinances, acts, and constitutions aforesaid; and that the said poor men and widows so named, elected, constituted, and admitted, together with the said Master, shall be a body corporate for ever; and that the said Lucas Shee and his heirs for ever, from time to time, as often as any of the said poor men or widows in the hospital aforesaid named, elected, accepted, and admitted, shall happen to die, resign, or for any reasonable cause according to the ordinances and constitutions aforesaid shall be deprived, removed, or expelled, with the assent and consent of the Master, brethren, and sisters of the said hospital, or the major part of them, may have full power and authority to name, elect, admit, and place other honest poor laymen and widows, according to the ordinances, acts, and constitutions aforesaid, in the place of each of the said men and widows so happening to die, resign, or be removed, deprived, or expelled as aforesaid, into the society of the brethren and sisters of the said hospital; and that they and every of them, for reasonable causes against the ordinances, acts, and constitutions, shall be deprived, expelled, and removed, as often as need shall be. And, moreover, of our more ample, special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, with the assent aforesaid, we do give and grant to the said Master, brethren, and sisters of the said Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, and their successors, that they and their successors, masters, brethren, and sisters of the said hospital, so elected, admitted, and constituted by the name of the Master, Brethren, and Sisters of the Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, shall be persons fit and capable in law to contract and bargain with any person or persons, to acquire, have, and possess for themselves and their heirs for ever, in fee simple or perpetuity or in any other manner, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, and hereditaments whatsoever, of the clear annual value of £40 sterling, lawful money of England, over charges and expenses, beside the messuage or hospital aforesaid, and the moiety of the rectory of Kilmokahell, in the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow, or in either of them, and no more, as well in the said town of Kilkenny, and within the franchises thereof, as elsewhere within our said kingdom of Ireland, from any person or persons willing to give, bestow, bequeath, or grant such to them and their successors, provided the same lands, tenements, rents, revenues, services, and hereditaments, or any of them, shall not be held of us, our heirs, or successors in capite, nor by military service, nor of any other person or

persons by military service, to have and to hold to them and their successors, the master, brethren, and sisters of the said hospital in fee and perpetuity, and that the said master, brethren, and sisters, and their successors, by the name of the Master, Brethren, and Sisters of the Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, may plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, in any court, and also all actions, suits, quarrels, and causes, real, personal, and mixt, of whatsoever kind or nature they may be, before any justices or judge temporal or spiritual, or other persons whomsoever, in any courts to be prosecuted, may and can plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, and may do and take all other things as other lieges of us, our heirs, or successors, or any other body corporate or politic in our said kingdom of Ireland can or may do. And further, of our more abundant special grace, we have granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, we do give and grant license to the said Lucas Shee and his heirs, that he, the said Lucas Shee, and his heirs, and all and every other person being seised or feoffed to the use and behoof of the said Lucas Shee and his heirs, or any of them, may give, bequeath, and grant the aforesaid messuage or hospital, erected and built by the said Richard Shee as aforesaid, with the appurtenances, to the said master, brethren, and sisters of the said Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, and their successors, to have and to hold, to them and their successors, the master, brethren, and sisters of the said Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, for ever. And likewise, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs, and successors, we do give and grant license to the said Lucas Shee, and to all other our subjects, that they and every of them may give, sell, bequeath, and grant other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, beside the said hospital, and the said moiety of the rectory of Kilmokahell, of whatsoever kind, nature, or species they be, to the master, brethren, and sisters of the said Hospital of Jesus, of Kilkenny, and their successors, provided the said lands and hereditaments, or any of them, be not held of us, our heirs, and successors in capite, nor by knight service, nor of any person or persons by military service, and provided the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments do not exceed the annual value of £40, lawful money of England, over reprises, to have and to hold to the said masters, brethren, and sisters of the said Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, and their successors for ever, in aid, sustentation, and support of the said master, brethren, and sisters of the said hospital or house, without impeachment, impediment, disturbance, or grievance of us, our heirs, or successors, or of the justices, escheators, sheriffs, coroners, bailiffs, or other ministers whomsoever, and without any inquisition, by virtue of any writ of 'ad quod damnum,' or of any other mandate of us, our heirs, or successors, in that behalf to be taken or prosecuted, and without any other license, or any other letters patent by us, our heirs, or successors, to be made or granted, the statute against putting lands in mortmain or any other statute in anywise notwithstanding. And further, we will and do grant for us, our heirs, and successors, and give license to the aforesaid Lucas Shee and his heirs, or any of them, that they and every of them may give, grant, bequeath, and assign to Robert Shortall, of Kilkenny, yeoman, and James Butler, of the same place, saddler, and their heirs, a moiety of the rectory of Kilmokahell, aforesaid, in the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow, or either of them, with all glebe lands, tithes, ad-



vowsons, profits, commodities, and emoluments whatsoever, to the said moiety or rectory appertaining or belonging, or as part, parcel, or member of the said rectory accepted or reputed, for the support and maintenance of the master, brethren, and sisters of the said Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, and their successors for ever, although it is held immediately of us, in capite, or otherwise by knight service. And we likewise give and grant special license to the said Robert Shortall and James Butler, and their heirs, that they and their heirs may take and receive the moiety of the said rectory and other the premises, with the appurtenants, from the said Lucas Shee and his feoffees, or from any of them, to have and to hold to the said Robert Shortall and James Butler and their heirs, for the maintenance and support of the said master, brethren, and sisters of the said Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, and their successors for ever, without impeachment, impediment, disturbance, or grievance of us, our heirs, and successors, or of the justices, escheators, coroners, bailiffs, or other ministers of us whomsoever, and without any inquisition, by virtue of any writ of 'ad quod damnum,' or any other mandate, from us, our heirs, or successors in that behalf to be taken or prosecuted, and without any other license or other letters patent from us, our heirs, or successors in that behalf to be granted or made, the statute against putting lands and tenements in mortmain or any other statute in anywise notwithstanding. And further, of our more ample, special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs, and successors, we do give to the aforesaid Lucas Shee and his heirs for ever, that he and his heirs, with the assent and consent of the master, brethren, and sisters of the said hospital, or the major part of them, from time to time, as often as occasion shall require, shall have full power, faculty, and authority to make, constitute, and ordain rules, acts, constitutions, statutes, and ordinances necessary for the good rule and government of the said hospital, and the master, brethren, and sisters, and their successors, and for demising and disposing of all and singular the goods, chattels, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of the said master, brethren, and sisters of the said hospital, and for all other affairs concerning or relating to the said hospital, provided the said rules, acts, constitutions, statutes, and ordinances, or any of them, be not contrary or repugnant to the ordinances, acts, and constitutions to these presents annexed, or any of them, and to revoke and annul them from time to time, as often as and whensoever to them shall seem expedient. And further, of our more abundant special grace, we will and do grant to the said master, brethren, and sisters of the said Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny and their successors, that the said hospital and all lands, tenements, and hereditaments to the said master, brethren, and sisters, and their successors hereafter to be given, granted, or assigned for their maintenance or support, shall be discharged and exonerated of and from all impositions, taxes, tallage, cess, and exactions for us, our heirs, or successors, or any other persons, hereafter to be imposed or exacted in or upon the premises, or any parcel thereof, saving to us, our heirs, and successors, all rents, tenures, expeditions to the war (in English, 'risings out') and compositions in or upon the premises, issuing, payable, established, or imposed, or in or upon any parcel thereof. And further, of our more ample, special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we will and grant, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and

successors, we give to the sovereign of the town or borough of Kilkenny, for the time being, and to the aforesaid Lucas Shee, that they, from time to time for ever, as often as need shall be, may have full power and authority to tender and administer to the said master, brethren, and sisters of the said hospital, and every of them, the several oaths or sacraments by the said master, brethren, and sisters, severally and respectively to be taken or sworn concerning the ordinances, acts, and constitutions in these presents limited and specified, and according to the true meaning of the same ordinances, acts, and constitutions, although express mention &c., any statute &c. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness our aforesaid Deputy General of our Kingdom of Ireland, at Dublin, the 7th day of November, in the sixth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the 42nd."

In accordance with the powers given by the foregoing charter, rules for the government of the hospital were drawn up as follows; and, together with the charter, are extant in the Rolls of Chancery:—

"ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

"Ordinances, statutes, and constitutions, made and agreed upon by the Right Honorable Sir Arthur Chichester, Knight, Lord Deputy General of the Kingdom of Ireland, and the rest of his Majesty's Honorable Privy Counsel of the same, with the consent of Lucas Shee, of Upper-court, in the County of Kilkenny, Esq., founder of the Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, by the appointment of Sir Richard Shee, Knight, his father, the fourth day of November, in the sixth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the two-and-fortieth, for the well ordering and governing of the said hospital, and of the master, brethren, and sisters of the same hospital, and of their lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, to be kept and observed for ever, as followeth, viz:—

"In Primis it is ordered, established, and decreed, by and with the consent aforesaid, that all and every such person and persons as from time to time hereafter shall be elected, constituted, and admitted to be master of the said Hospital of Jesus of Kilkenny, shall be a layman of honest behaviour and conversation, and one that can write and read, and of the age of 30 years at the least, and unmarried at the time of his first entrance into the office of master of the said hospital, or otherwise he shall not be capable of the said office.

"Item, that no man or woman shall be admitted to be brother or sister of the said hospital, but such as are sole and unmarried, either blind, lame, impotent, or diseased, or aged people of the age of fifty years, and not able to work or get their living, and such as are poor and not worth five pounds in lands or goods above their debts.

"Item, that the master of the said hospital for the time being shall have all the uppermost garrets of the said hospital, in several, by himself, for his lodging, and therein to keep the store or provision of the house, and the brethren of the said hospital shall have all those six rooms or chambers, which are in the middle story of the said hospital, every one a chamber, in several, to himself, to be appointed to him by the master of

the said hospital, and the seventh room or chamber, with the chimney in it, in the said middle story, to be used in common amongst the said master and brethren for a dining-room. And that the sisters of the said hospital shall likewise have all those six lower rooms or chambers which are in the lowest story of the said hospital, every one a chamber, in several, to herself, to be appointed unto her by the master of the said hospital, and the seventh room, with the chimney in it, in the said lowest story, to be used in common amongst the said sisters for their place to dine and suppe in, and to make fire as occasion serveth.

“Item, that the said master, brethren, and sisters, shall every Sabbath or holiday in the year, resort to the church called Our Lady’s Church, in Kilkenny, at the usual time of prayer there in the forenoon and in the afternoon, there to hear Divine Service sung or said, according to the laws and statutes of this realm; or, failing thereof, to be punished according to the discretion of the master of the said hospital: and that every working day the said master shall read prayers in the said public room, in the middle part of the said hospital, betwixt five and six of the clock in the morning, and eight and nine in the evening, whereunto all the said brethren and sisters shall resort upon the like pain and punishment.

“Item, that the said master, brethren and sisters of the said hospital shall not set, let, nor demise any of the lands, tithes, or other possessions of the said hospital, nor any part thereof, to any person or persons, for any longer term than one-and-twenty years, and that to be always in possession and at the best yearly rent, to be paid to the master of the said hospital at Easter and Michaelmas, by even portions, and no fine or other consideration but the said yearly rent to be taken for such lease, so to be made; and that no lease shall be made of the premises, or any part thereof, to any person or persons, which shall be either brother, sister, son or daughter, to the master, or any of the brethren or sisters of the said hospital, nor to any of their uses.

“Item, that the master of the said hospital, for the time being, shall have and take yearly to his own use, out of the rents, issues, and profits of the said lands and premises of the said hospital, the sum of four pounds, lawful money of Ireland, for and towards his maintenance, and that all the residue of the rents, issues, and profits of all the lands and possessions of the said hospital, shall be equally divided betwixt the master, brethren, and sisters of the said hospital, every one of them to have to himself an equal portion thereof for his and her maintenance in the said hospital, the surdent or distribution thereof to be made yearly at the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas, by the master of the said hospital for the time being, with the consent and privity of Lucas Shee, or his heirs.

“Item, that the common seal and all the writings, charters, and counterparts of leases of the said hospital, shall be always kept in a strong chest, with three locks and three keys thereunto, one of which keys shall ever remain with the said Lucas Shee and his heirs; another of the said keys with the master of the said hospital for the time being; and the third key in the custody or possession of the ancientest in-standing of the brethren of the said hospital; and the said chest to be kept in one of the said rooms, appointed for the master of the said hospital for the time being.

“Item, that if the master or any of the brethren or sisters of the said hospital shall happen to marry, or shall practise, or commit any rebellion,

treason, or felony, or shall be lawfully convicted of adultery, fornication, witchcraft, invocation of spirits, or perjury, or shall wittingly or willingly relieve any traitors or felons, or receive stolen goods, or shall be a common drunkard, that then every such person or persons shall be deprived or expelled out of the said hospital, by the said Lucas Shee, or his heirs, and the master and residue of the brethren and sisters of the said hospital, for the time being, or the major part of them, according to the intent of the charter hereunto annexed.

“Item, that none of the brethren of the said hospital shall at any time come and be together, sole or alone, with any of the said sisters, in any room of the said hospital for any cause whatever, but only in the time of prayers, or in the presence of the master, upon pain of expulsion as aforesaid.

“Item, that the said Christopher Shee, in the charter mentioned, to be master, and all and every such other person and persons as shall at any time hereafter be made master of the said hospital, shall, at his first admission or entrance into his said office, take a corporal oath upon the Holy Evangelist before the sovereign of the town of Kilkenny for the time being, and the said Lucas Shee, or his heirs, that he shall well and truly execute the office of master of the said hospital during all the time that he shall be master of the same, and that he will, according to his best wisdom and ability, order and govern the said brethren and sisters, and all the lands belonging to the said hospital, according to the laws and statutes herein mentioned, and such other laws and statutes as hereafter shall be made for or concerning the same; and that he will not willingly, nor wittingly do, or cause to be done, anything that shall be prejudicial to the said society, or to any member thereof, or to the disinheritance of the said hospital; nor shall commit or consent to any manner of treason, nor conceal the same, but shall reveal and discover the same within 12 hours after he hath notice thereof unto some of the King’s Justices of Peace, or some of his Privy Counsell, and further to do his best endeavour that all the orders and statutes of the said house be well and truly put in execution.

“Item, that all and every such person and persons as shall, at any time hereafter, be admitted to be one of the brethren and sisters of the said hospital, shall at his and her first admittance or entrance into the same society, take a corporal oath upon the Holy Evangelists before the sovereign of the town of Kilkenny for the time being, and the said Lucas Shee, or his heirs, that he or she, during the time that he or she shall continue a brother or sister of the said hospital, shall and will be obedient unto the master of the said hospital, according to the laws and statutes of the said house; and shall well and truly observe, perform, and keep all the laws, statutes, and constitutions of said hospital; and that he or she will not commit nor consent to any treason, nor conceal the same, but shall reveal and discover the same within 12 hours after he or she shall have notice thereof, to some one of the King’s Justices of the Peace, or some of his Privy Counsel of the realm of Ireland.

“NICHOLAS KERDIFF,  
THOMAS DUBLIN, Can̄.,  
HUMPHRY WINCHE,  
ROBERT JACOB,

THOMAS RIDGEWAY,  
OLIVER SAM<sup>r</sup>.  
JOHN R. COOKE.

“JOHN REILLY.”

The Rev. John O'Hanlon, R. C. C., Dublin, forwarded the concluding portion of his valuable series of papers on the Ordnance Collections for the several Counties of Leinster, now nearly all deposited in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. The present paper related to the county of Longford:—

“ In the Catalogue of the Ordnance Survey collection for illustrating the county of Longford, we find the following documents:—I. Names from Down Survey (see Leinster, vol. i.). II. Extracts (see Letters; see also p. 33.). III. Letters and Extracts, one volume. IV. Name Books, 48. V. Barony and Parish Names, one volume. VI. Memorandums, one volume. VII. County Index to Names on Maps, one volume. VIII. Memoir Papers (see detailed list annexed). Taking these materials in the order set down, viz.:—I. Names from Down Survey, &c.—there are found in the Leinster folio vol. i., pp. 605 to 676, each page (with a few excepted blank) containing barony, parish, and townland names, referring to the Down Survey Map. The first page (605) comprises a general index to barony and parish names for the succeeding pages. II. Extracts (see Letters; see also p. 33).<sup>1</sup> III. Letters and Extracts, one volume. Both Letters and Extracts are now bound together in one 4to volume, and they are preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. To both, indices have been lately prefixed. The letters, in number eighteen, have precedence in this MS., and include 89 pages. All of these letters, with a single exception, were written by Mr. O'Donovan, in the month of May, 1837. The following is their order, as to locality and date: Granard, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 15th; Edgeworthstown, 17th, 18th, 18th; Ballymahon, 19th; Longford, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th; Athlone, 27th, 29th, 31st May. The single exception is a letter written by Rev. Dr. Farrelly, P. P. of Ardagh, and headed, Ardagh, July 27th, 1837. The Extracts follow the Letters, and the first extract is at page 90, the last at page 211. The Extracts are taken from the ‘Annals of the Four Masters,’ O’Flaherty’s ‘Ogygia,’ Mac Firis’s ‘Pedigrees,’ ‘Irish Calendar of Saints,’ Colgan’s ‘A.A. SS. and Tr. Th.,’ and Lanigan’s ‘Ecclesi-

<sup>1</sup> The reference made to page 33 of the Catalogue of the Irish Topographical Collection has relation to a MS. volume, already mentioned in a previous note to a former communication. The volume in question is entitled, “Extracts from the British Museum, Lambeth, Oxford, and Bodleian Libraries,” &c. I find, also, in reference to the Extracts, an “Index of Places to Irish Part of Do., not arranged.” This index is contained on two pages of foolscap paper, pinned together, and tied within a blue paper covering. The names are given in the Irish and Roman letters, with references to the several pages where found. The MS. volume, “Extracts from the British Museum,” &c., will now be found amongst the records of the topographical and antiquarian collection deposited in the Library of the

Royal Irish Academy, which have been lately transferred from Mountjoy Barracks, Phoenix Park. The volume is elegantly lettered, and strongly bound in half morocco, as are the other MS. volumes of the series which have been removed. If the Government do not want the *Memoir Papers*—yet unbound in the Ordnance Survey Office—for the purpose of illustrating the geological maps of Ireland, it would be very desirable to have them bound and lettered in a style corresponding with those MSS. already transferred to the Royal Irish Academy, with a view to their being deposited in the Library of our splendid Celtic institution. In any case, it is altogether probable the *Memoir Papers* will ultimately be deposited in the Academy, as they are only supplementary to the documents already transferred.

astical History of Ireland.' A map of the county of Longford, on tracing paper, is folded into the end of this MS. volume.<sup>1</sup> IV. Name Books, 48. These are similar, in shape and contents, to others already described. V. Barony and Parish Names, one volume. This MS. is in 4to shape, containing 29 numbered pages, more than double that number of pages being written on, including a supplement of three pages, which contains the names of parishes in the county of Longford, taken from the Inquisitions, with the names of patron saints of many of these parishes, and the dates of their festivals, as also a settling of parochial orthography. A page of authorities for the nomenclature of these parishes is likewise prefixed to the succeeding pages. VI. Memorandums, one volume. This MS. is a thin 4to, of 64 numbered pages, all of which contain various written scraps and entries. Three pages of an index to these Memoranda precede the succeeding numbered pages. VII. County Indices to Names on Maps, one volume. This is comprised in one folio volume, of 75 unnumbered pages. The townlands run in alphabetical order, with the names of the baronies and parishes in which found succeeding, across the several slips pasted on the pages. It is useful as a book of reference to the engraved Ordnance maps of the county of Longford. VIII. Memoir Papers (see detailed list annexed). These are comprised in five small notes, written to the present Sir Thomas A. Larcom, Under Secretary for Ireland, between April and June, 1837. I cannot be sure of the writer's name, although attached to each of these notes, as the letters are carelessly scrawled; but these Memorandums contain interesting information regarding our distinguished poet, essayist, and countryman, Oliver Goldsmith, furnished to the writer by Dr. Streat, then 90 years old. He was formerly curate of Auburn, and second successor of the venerable vicar of Wakefield (Oliver Goldsmith's father), and at that time incumbent over the townland of Pallas. He stated he had papers to prove, beyond a doubt, that Pallas was the birth-place of the poet. He also possessed the family likeness of Goldsmith, painted by Sir J. Reynolds. In one of these notes there is a memorandum of *three enclosures* sent to Major-General Larcom, and also *two traces of the Goldsmith papers* mentioned in another; but these interesting extracts are not to be found in the Ordnance Survey

<sup>1</sup> It is likely the valuable accessions to its MS. department in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, in consequence of the county records of the Ordnance Survey being handed over to the guardianship of our Academicians, will necessitate additions to the compartment already filled with MSS. It is in contemplation to prepare and publish a complete detailed Catalogue of the MSS. deposited in the Royal Irish Academy. A great portion of this work has been already accomplished by Professor Eugene O'Curry, in three large folio volumes, yet unpublished, but preserved in the Library amongst the MSS. Dr. Wilde has shown how learnedly researchful and attractive a catalogue of our antiquities may be formed, from the two beautifully illustrated parts already issued, and noticed in this

Journal. Mr. Gilbert, the historian of the city of Dublin, *par excellence*, and the lately appointed Custodian of the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, will spare no pains in making the Catalogue of the Books and MSS. of this national depository worthy of himself and of the institution, in the welfare of which he takes so deep an interest. It would be very desirable to have the MS. Catalogue illustrated by the new photographic process, or to have *fac-similes* of the Irish MS. pages engraved, to illustrate the letter-press. The small amount of funds required for this most laudible purpose would not be refused by the Master of the Rolls, if the proper application be made by the Publication Committee of the Royal Irish Academy.

collection for the county of Longford. Most probably they are at present in possession of the Under Secretary for Ireland. They must prove peculiarly interesting to the future biographers of Goldsmith, and even necessary for consultation, as original memorials. In one of the notes, reference is made to certain words, somewhat smeared, in a copy of some particular Bible. It would appear one or both of the traces had reference to these entries in the Bible—most probably a highly valued family relic, from some relation it bore to our genial and gifted Oliver Goldsmith.”<sup>1</sup>

Thomas J. Tenison, Esq., J. P., sent the following communication relative to “Peghts Pipes, named by the native Irish and Highland Scots, ‘Piopa Loughlanach’” :—

“Those small tobacco pipes have been frequently found in Scotland, and are believed by the peasantry to have belonged to the Picts. That ancient and nomadic people have been named Peghts by the lowland Scots (who are of Sassenach or Saxon origin), and their diminutive smoking tubes have thence been designated Peghts’ Pipes. From this it is obvious that ‘those agents of fumous enjoyment’ are deemed of considerable antiquity amongst the lowlanders of Scotland.

“The native Irish agree with their brethren of North Britain in believing them to belong to a period between the eighth and tenth century. Mr. Croker’s *à priori* reasonings prove the absurdity and fallacy of this belief. These pipes are also attributed by the hardy Highlander and his kindred Celtæ in ‘Ierna’s Isle’ to the fairies, all things that pertained to these little people in the olden times being pigmy. So far, however, as my information on this subject has extended,—and I have sought instruction from many conversant in such matters,—I do not think them older than 280 years at most. From the erudition and research of Mr. Dalzell, I am surprised to find that a subject which recent discoveries have re-invested with new and additional interest should have escaped his critical explorations in ‘The Darker Superstitions of Scotland.’ Several archeologists have laboured to prove that *hemp* and *tobacco* were smoked at a very early period; but, according to M’Culloch, Humboldt has shown ‘that tobacco was the *term* used in the Haytien language to designate *the pipe* or instrument made use of by the natives in smoking the herb; and the term, having been transferred by the Spaniards from the pipe to the herb itself, has been adopted by the other nations of the ancient world.’ Rabelais, too, asserts that hemp was only known and first used in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Herodotus states that the Massagetæ, with all the Scythic nations, were acquainted with herbs, which they flung into the flame, the ascending smoke of which they inhaled, seated round the blazing pile. Thus they became intoxicated, like the Greeks with wine.

<sup>1</sup> The present paper concludes the serial account of all the MS. materials available for illustration of the History, Antiquities, Topography, &c. of the Leinster Province. Since the former communication was written, the Antiquarian and Extract volumes, uni-

formly and elegantly bound and lettered, have been removed from the Irish Ordnance Survey Office to the Royal Irish Academy. In the latter place, they will be more accessible to the reading public, and to the students of our history and antiquities.

“Strabo says that they had a religious order amongst them who smoked, and which, according to Pomp. Mela and Solinus, they received through long tubes. To those acquainted with the superstitions which formerly prevailed in Ireland, and are to a certain extent still existing in the western portions of our country, it is known that the peasantry believe in the existence of our Danish assailants, and that those piratical invaders continue to reside in a pigmy form in our raths and forts. Many such legends linger and are rehearsed in the rural districts, where almost every diminutive article of antiquity is imagined to be of Elfin origin. So those tobacco pipes are designated *Piopa Loughlanach*, from the general supposition that they are the laid-aside property of a still existent tribe in Ireland; and being, like our old tea utensils, of small dimensions, our people suppose them to belong to the Loghery-man or Leprochaun—

‘That sottish elf,  
Who quaffs with swollen lips the ruby wine.’

“In England, the use of tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) is certainly of comparatively modern date, and was introduced from America in 1585, by Raleigh or Drake, who, during their stay in Virginia (on the authority of Harriott), ‘and since their return home, were accustomed to smoke it after the fashion of the Indian, and found many rare and wonderful experiments of the virtue thereof.’

“This appreciating acknowledgment is, however, opposed to the prevailing opinions of many eminent members of our medical faculties, who consider the practice highly pernicious and poisonous, destructive to the digestive and mental organs, and productive of other most distressing diseases. An edict, too, has been issued by the Emperor Napoleon against smoking in schools or colleges. By this decree upwards of thirty pipe manufactories have been extinguished in Paris.

“With, however, a readiness to reproduce opinions indoctrinated with authority, I may mention that Oliver Goldsmith, in the year 1754, advocated the custom, and attributed ‘the healthy and ruddy complexion of the Dutch to their continual smoking,’ Holland having been then described as ‘one huge pipe.’

“Vigorous measures against the consumption of tobacco (by smoking, snuffing, and chewing, now so disgustingly practised by the Yankees) were attempted to be enforced by James I., and the use of ‘the noxious weed’ prohibited. In addition to repeated proclamations and publications by the King against it, the fashion of smoking was then so much in the ascendant, that, in 1624, Pope Urban VIII. issued a bull of excommunication against those who smoked in churches.

“In support of the supposition that smoking was known in Ireland several centuries previous to the introduction of tobacco into England by the Virginian adventurers, I may appropriately insert the following remarks, which I believe to be from the pen of our distinguished countryman, Dr. George Petrie:—

“‘The custom of smoking is of much greater antiquity in Ireland than the introduction of tobacco into Europe. Smoking pipes made of bronze are frequently found in our Irish tumuli, or sepulchral mounds of



the most remote antiquity, and *similar pipes, made of baked clay*, are discovered daily in all parts of our island. A curious instance of the bathos in sculpture, which also illustrates the antiquity of this custom, occurs on the monument of Donogh O'Brien, King of Thomond, who was killed in 1267, and interred in the Abbey of Corcumroe, in the county of Clare, of which his family were the founders. He is represented in the usual recumbent posture, with the short pipe or *dhudeen* of the Irish in his mouth.'

"In the 'Anthologia Hibernica' (1793-4), some interesting particulars are published on the subject of tobacco pipes dug up at Brannockstown in the latter year, when one of those pipes was found sticking between the teeth of a human skull. According to Keating, the Irish historiographer, a battle was fought here between the natives and the Ostmen. 'Those pipes,' he says, 'may have belonged to the latter.' An entrenchment filled with human bones was also discovered near the banks of the Liffey, amongst which were a number of pipes; *under* the bones lay several stone coffins formed of flag-stones or *cists*, without cement. In each coffin or cist was a skeleton. Even at this day, I have heard that it is no uncommon usage, in portions of the southern and western provinces of Ireland, to place the *dhudeen and backy* in the coffins of those who in their lifetime had been strongly addicted to smoking. This, no doubt, may be adduced as an instance of barbarous superstition, but at the same time it shows the warm-hearted and ardent love of the Irish peasant in thus sacrificing to the remembrance of his departed friends and old affections.

"Pipes similar to those under discussion are not unfrequently found in old grave-yards. Dr. Stewart, in his 'History of Armagh,' states that several of those pipes, with human skeletons, were in 1817 dug up in the site of the cemetery of the Templum Columbæ, within the precincts of the Primatial City, and which had been used as a place of interment till after the Reformation.

"The Museum of the Armagh Natural History Society contains several of those memorials, all of which had been collected in Ulster—a few fragmentary specimens have also been recently brought to light by labourers working at the rere of Mr. Peel's house in English-st., Armagh.

"Now, admitting the accuracy of Keating's assertion, that a battle had been fought between the Irish and the Esterlings, it does not follow that the stone coffins or tobacco pipes mentioned in his narrative had been placed there for interment *over* the slain; but it is most likely from the graves containing those *tobacco pipes*, that a comparatively modern cemetery had been mistaken for a battle-field of the tenth century.

"The Germans and other nations (we are told), who are the descendants of the Scythians, at a very early period practised smoking with wooden and earthen pipes. The eastern Scythæ, Tartars, and Turks used long tubes, but the Goths and western nations short ones, as still practised in Germany. The native Indians measure distances by pipes. The use of tobacco is unknown among the southern Arabs; and a writer in the 'Court Journal' states 'that in the East hemp (*Hachshish*) performs the functions of tobacco, and is smoked out of cow's horns, gourds, cocoa-nuts, and the like.'"

The following papers were laid before the Members:—

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THE CLEARING OF KILKENNY, ANNO 1654.

BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ.

IN that great collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, known as the "Carte MSS.," but which might well be called the Ormond Papers, consisting as the greater part of it does of the correspondence of the great Duke of Ormond, King's Letters, and other State Documents that belonged to him, there is an address from certain inhabitants of Kilkenny, presented to him in the year 1661, highly illustrative of that most eventful period.

The Marquis (for he had not yet been made Duke of Ormond), was then in London, high in favour with the king, who had been just a year restored. His voice was most potential in the affairs of Ireland; and could the king have made him virtual ruler of that kingdom, he would probably have been content to do so. But there was a power in possession of Ireland stronger than king or marquis, and that was the body of Cromwellian Officers and Soldiers who (with the Adventurers and Forty-nine Men), were planted in their allotments all over the country, under the provisions of the Republican Government. The lands of the ancient owners had been handed over to them in discharge of their arrears of pay. They had divided them, cast lots for them, and were about five years in possession; and had no notion of giving them back, at the order of any, to the former proprietors, no matter how innocent, or how high in favour the claimant might be. They would "have a knock for it first," according to their own expression.

Those ancient proprietors who had been banished to Connaught were now eagerly praying the king to be restored their estates; and many of them being allied in blood to the Marquis of Ormond, and to others in power, got King's Letters to put them in possession. But, besides the landed proprietors, the townspeople of the ancient towns of Ireland had been driven out of the towns and cities, and their houses given to strangers and to settlers from England; and they, too, became clamorous to be restored; but, not being of high alliance, found it more difficult to get their cries heard by the king.

The citizens of Kilkenny, however, thought themselves fortunate beyond others in having a patron and protector at court in the Marquis of Ormond, to whom, accordingly, they forwarded a petition to be presented to the King, accompanied by a touching letter to the Marquis himself, bearing some curious tokens of the hardships of the times. "Most Excellent Lord (they write), we presume out of our coverts and lurking places to present an address to His

Majestie of some of our manifold grievances : the same wee send by an express to some of our friends there. Wee know well that we being not able to prosecute the same, itt will dye unless your Excellency will be pleased to give life to itt by your countenance and favour." And elsewhere they regret that they are prevented from appearing before his Excellency, being "still in durance in our old prisons of miserie, povertie, and slaverie."

The address itself, which was presented, it is to be supposed, to the king, and is therefore not forthcoming, no doubt set forth the long-continued loyalty of the city of Kilkenny from its first foundation as an English city and fortress; how for five hundred years it was a bulwark against the Irish, until in the time of his Majesty's father all distinction of nations was happily done away by Act of Parliament, and the inhabitants of Ireland were declared to be one people; how in the time of the late usurped power they had espoused the cause of his Majesty's late royal father, and for so doing had been driven, with their wives and families, either to Connaught or elsewhere; and how, on his happy Restoration, when they had hoped to be partakers with his Majesty of the general joy, they found themselves still exiled, and forbidden under heavy penalties from approaching their ancient homes, or even from meeting to address their complaints to the throne.

For it is a curious circumstance, that the towns which were thus cleared of their ancient inhabitants were all of English foundation, and had been from the days of the first Conquest the great mainstay and bulwark of English power in Ireland; and the inhabitants of English descent. In this respect the case of the towns differs from that of the landed proprietors, who were divided into those of English descent and native Irish—the latter a large and powerful class in 1641.

It may be instructive, therefore, as introductory to this petition of the inhabitants of Kilkenny, to cast a backward glance on the origin of the towns of Ireland, and to consider how these that had borne the character of English fortresses until the period of 1641, came to be treated as Irish; and the inhabitants to be expelled from them, and an entire new settlement of English to be placed in them throughout the kingdom.

In many of the ancient walled towns of Ireland there is a suburb known as the Irish town. It lies, generally, just outside the principal gate. In modern days it is only known as a quarter inhabited by the poorest of the citizens. But the name serves to recall a period when two towns, occupied by different races, stood beside one another—the one a kind of fortress or military town, wherein dwelt the invaders, with their wives, families, and servants; the other an assemblage of cabins and booths, at the gate of the fortress, occupied by the native inhabitants, who supplied them with such

wares as eggs, milk, butter, and fish, or were employed by them as masons, carpenters, curriers, carters, and day labourers. One has only to turn their eyes to India to behold, at the present day, a state of things not very dissimilar,—where, at the gate of the English cantonments occupied by the English officers and their families, and the troops under their command, is the native town, or sometimes a bazaar in which the garrison deal for its provisions. That such was the relative position of the early occupants of these towns towards the Irish, we have abundant evidence. If we are to believe Giraldus Cambrensis, the towns on the coast and rivers were built by the Danes. According to him, the Irish never raised any towns. The Danes came as merchants, and were allowed by the chief men of Ireland to build towns at the chief ports for the convenience of their commerce, in consideration of the great benefit the Irish received by being supplied with foreign wares, which they were too indolent themselves to traverse the seas for. Three brothers, leaders among the Danes, called Amlav, Sitric, and Ivor, built the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, respectively; and in process of time built other towns, which, by degrees, they fortified with walls and ditches.<sup>1</sup> Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Cork, and Limerick, were Danish towns at the time of the Invasion of Ireland by the English; and it is natural to suppose that soon after their submission to the forces of Henry the Second they would obtain the privileges of Englishmen, being not only the same stock, but the Danish population of England forming a large and important section of the people of that kingdom. As the Danes were also foreigners, and invaders of Ireland, like the English, they would have a kind of common interest arising out of their common difference, which would prompt them to a union against the native race. Accordingly, we find from Sir John Davis, who cites from among the pleas of the crown in the reign of Edward the Second, that King Henry the Second granted a charter of denization to the Danes (Ostmen or Easterlings, as they were at that time called), of Waterford, according to which they were to enjoy the law of England, and to be tried and judged by that law, while none of the Irish, except those of the five royal bloods, were to have this privilege.<sup>2</sup> That the Danish population enjoyed the same rights in

<sup>1</sup> *Topographia Hibernia*, b. iii., c. 48.

<sup>2</sup> “Edward, by the grace of God, &c., to His Justiciary of Ireland, greeting. Whereas, by inspection of the Charter of King Henry fitzempres, our great grandfather, it is evident that the Ostmen of Waterford have the law of Englishmen in Ireland, and according to that law ought to be tried and judged, We command you that you take

care (as much as in you lies), that Gillicrist M'Gilmurry, William and John M'Gilmurry, and others, Ostmen of the city and county of Waterford, who are of the blood of the aforesaid Ostmen of the aforesaid Lord Henry, our grandfather, do enjoy the law of Englishmen in those parts, according to the tenor of the aforesaid Charter, until our Council shall direct to the contrary. Witness our-

Cork, may perhaps be inferred from the grant of the kingdom of Cork to Fitz Stephen and De Cogan, wherein the king expressly excepts the city of Cork and the Ostmen's cantred; and in the confirmation of the grant of the kingdom of Limerick to De Braosa King John likewise retains thereout, in his own hands, the city of Limerick and the Ostmen's cantred. Thus, at the time of the Conquest of Ireland, the towns of Ireland were in the possession of a foreign race, hostile both to the natives and the English.

Even before the days of Henry the Second, commerce must have brought over many merchants and traders from England, both of English and Danish descent, to reside in the seaport towns of Ireland, so that these towns must each have had a population not disinclined to accept the new-comers. From the time of the Conquest, there was every motive inducing the kings of England to encourage their English subjects as much as possible to occupy the towns of Ireland, and thus strengthen their dominion; and the towns thenceforth became, as it were, fortresses of English power, and the main support of English rule.

King Henry the Second granted to his subjects of Bristol his city of Dublin to inhabit, and to hold of him and his heirs for ever, with all the liberties which his subjects of Bristol then enjoyed at Bristol and throughout all England—and thenceforth Dublin became, as it were, an English garrison in the midst of a hostile population. Thus, in the year 1209, the citizens, while amusing themselves in the suburb called Cullenswood on Easter Monday, were set upon by the Irish of the neighbouring mountains, and five hundred of them killed; for which reason this day was afterwards called Black Monday, and the place the Bloody Fields. The city was re-peopled by a new colony from Bristol; and on every succeeding Easter Monday the citizens marched out to the scene of action with banners displayed, and defied the Irish.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, Galway, remote as it was from England, and never conquered by the Danes, seems to have been, even before the Conquest, the seat of foreign traders; and some time after the invasion of Henry the Second the town appears inhabited by a number of families, all of English and Norman blood (known since the times of Cromwell as the tribes of Galway), who refused to intermarry with the Irish, and whose relations with the native race may best be understood by one of the corporation by-laws, which announces (A. D. 1518), that none of the inhabitants should admit any of the Burkes, M'Williams, Kellys, or any other sept into their houses—"that neither O, ne Mac, shoulde strutte ne swagger, throughe the streetes of Gallway."

It is not to be supposed, however, that the English inhabitants

selves, at Acton Burnell, 5 Oct., 11<sup>th</sup> of our &c., p. 48.

Reign."—"Discovery of the True Causes" <sup>1</sup> "Annals of Dublin."

why Ireland was never Entirely Subdued."

<sup>2</sup> Hardiman's "History of Galway," p. 20.

of Ireland were constantly at war with the Irish ; for (notwithstanding what Hobbes may say about the state of nature being a state of war), men have need of one another in a thousand ways, for buying and selling, letting and hiring, and are constantly disposed to approximate, the larger masses ever attracting the smaller, and tending to assimilate them. The ancient apologue that paints men as born into the world poor and suffering, each with a wallet at his neck, begging one of the other, is a truer image to express their mutual need. But there is one imperious want, that of all others tends to unite and assimilate them—the need of wives, whom they must often take of the native race, the women not coming over from the mother country in equal numbers with the men. As early as the reign of Edward the Third, the degeneracy of the English in Ireland (for so the statesmen, and those who prided themselves on being English by birth called it), produced by intercourse with the Irish, but more especially by intermarriages and amours (as we learn by the statute of Kilkenny, 40th Edw. III., A. D. 1366), had so assimilated them to the Irish in language, dress, modes of warring, and amusing themselves, that a code was by that statute enacted, recalling them from the use of Irish arms, modes of riding, fashion of wearing their hair, hurling, entertaining of bards, rhymers, and harpers, &c., under penalty of being treated by the judges, when they came to sue, as Irishmen who had not the privileges of English laws. It further enacted, that such of the English as dwelt in those parts of Ireland out of the king's peace (which comprised all Ireland, except the cities and walled towns, and the four counties within the Barrow, namely, Kildare, Dublin, Meath, and Louth ; and the four counties above or beyond the Barrow, namely, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford), as should intermarry with the Irish, or have alliances with them by amours, gossiped, or fostering, or who should buy or sell with them, should be guilty of high treason. The Irish were alien enemies, in a state of war. The statute book of the subsequent reigns shows, by its various enactments attempting to redress the same state of things, how futile was the code of Kilkenny against the laws of nature and of necessity. But, though the English living amongst the Irish in the provinces thus adopted Irish habits, the inhabitants of the cities and walled towns still preserved their English customs. A State Paper of the year 1515, giving the then state of Ireland, and a plan for its reformation, describes the gentry of the four counties of the Pale as those only who demeaned themselves like Englishmen, "all the English folk of the other counties been of Iryshe habits, Iryshe language, and of Iryshe conditions ;" but he expressly excepts "the cities and walled towns."<sup>1</sup> These still maintained

<sup>1</sup> State of Ireland, and Plan for its Reformation, A. D. 1515.—Published "State

Papers" of Henry VIII., vol. ii., part iii., pp. 8, 9.

their original character of English fortresses; and though the townsmen, from the necessity of dealing with the people of the country for their supplies of provisions and other wants, had adopted the Irish language and many Irish customs, yet they were especially antagonistic to the Irish. Thus, the citizens of Limerick, in the year 1538, having quarrelled with their mayor, one Edmund Sexton—who, being Irish, but made denizen and free by the king, had become mayor there contrary to the English statutes and their liberties—accused him of treason, which he retorted on them by charging them with the same crime for dealing with the Irish contrary to the statute of Kilkenny. The lords of the council, however, advise King Henry the Eighth not to take notice of this latter charge, considering the situation of the city to be in the midst of the King's rebels and enemies, with whom the citizens must buy and sell, or else lack all victuals and tracts of merchandise. As for the charge of the citizens against their mayor (the council add), they beare him displeasure, and, according to their allegation, much abhor him because he is an Irishman by blood [i. e. is of Irish race], and, as they say, useth himself according to his nature.<sup>1</sup>

It was the burgher forces of Dublin, Drogheda, and other corporate towns, that were more feared and esteemed with Irishmen, than in manner all the residue of the King's subjects in Ireland, as we learn from the State Papers of the same period.<sup>2</sup> And Stanishurst, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, records the prowess of the men of Dublin in all conflicts with the Irish, boasting, as an historical fact, of "the Black Standard of the City of Dublin" (not improbably the ancient Danish flag), "which they never unfold but when they are about to come to the shock, and which danteth the Irish above measure."<sup>3</sup>

The loyalty of the townsmen of the cities and walled towns of Ireland to England was most strikingly exhibited in the two great wars or rebellions called the Desmond war and Tyrone's wars, during which, in spite of the religious difference already fully displayed between England and Ireland, the walled towns all held for England.

Sir Henry Sidney, in 1567, calls them "the Queen's chief defence and garrisons, the only monuments of obedience and civility in the kingdom."<sup>4</sup> And we have the testimony of Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, and of Sir George Carew, President of Munster, that in Tyrone's war of 1598, all the cities and port-towns of Munster, the seat of the war, held for the Queen.<sup>5</sup> How this loyalty,

<sup>1</sup> Lord Deputy and Council to the King, A. D. 1538. Paper cexlix.—"State Papers" of H. VIII., vol. ii., part iii., p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Paper ccvii., vol. ii., part iii., p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Hollinshed's "Chronicle," vol. vi., p. 5. 4to. London: 1808.

<sup>4</sup> "Sidney State Papers and Depatches" (Collins's Memorials), April 20, 1567, vol. i., p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Fynes Moryson, "History of Hugh O'Neill's Rebellion, and its Suppression," p. 83.

that had endured for near five hundred years, came to be changed into hostility, under what conditions it came to be deemed necessary, between 1654 and 1660, to unpeopled these towns and cities, and to turn their inhabitants into the wilds, is to be considered.

It was an observation of Lord Mountjoy's, who was no less a warrior than a statesman—"he whose known valour and sound wisdom," says Fynes Moryson, his secretary and historiographer, "two old counsellors of Ireland well observing, did, on their death-bed, as it were by divining faculty, pronounced to be the man by whom Tyrone's fatal rebellion, in which their thoughts and endeavours had long been wearied, was to be suppressed, if ever the English were to recover the helm of government"<sup>1</sup>—he it was who observed each rebellion in Ireland to be more dangerous than the former.<sup>2</sup> The reason is not far to seek. Up to the reign of James the First there were but two interests in Ireland—the English and the Irish. The real differences were national, or of race, not religious. Though Philip and Mary were Roman Catholic sovereigns, they did not hesitate to plant the first modern English plantation in Ireland—that of the King's and Queen's Counties (so called from them)—with Protestant settlers. Nor did that Deborah of the Protestant faith, Queen Elizabeth, prohibit Roman Catholics, provided only they were English, to be planters in her settlement in the four dispeopled counties of Munster, consequent upon her subduing of the Desmond rebellion in 1580. In both these plantations the Irish were forbidden, by plantation rule, ever to purchase or to reacquire any of the lands set out to the new English planters. But the plantations of James the First in Ulster, and other parts of Ireland, introduced an additional rule, by which it was required that the new planters should not only be of English blood, but should also be of the national religion of England. The same rule was now made with regard to all offices; and the new planters, coming over in great numbers, superseded the old English of Ireland (who were almost all of the ancient form of religion), not only in the higher offices of state, such as governorships, secretaryships, and the chief posts in the law and revenue—which the nobility and landed gentry had before aspired to—but in all corporation and borough offices, such as magistracies, shrievalties, seneschalcies, and mayoralties, which the townsmen had hitherto filled. This was a common grievance to gentry and burgesses alike, and threatened to throw them, for the first time, into a union with the Irish.

The results were foreseen and proclaimed with all the distinctness of prophecy twenty-five years before the great Rebellion of 1641. Until the late plantation of new English and Scotch in all parts of the kingdom, the old English race (it was observed in a

<sup>1</sup> Fynes Moryson, "History of Hugh O'Neill's Rebellion, and its Suppression," p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, p. 297.



State Paper of the year 1614), despised the meer Irish, accounting them to be a barbarous people, void of civility and religion; but these new planters they repute as a common enemy; and the old English and Irish being now joined, it is worthy the consideration (admitting they rebel), what more danger to the state their union can now produce than in former ages. In all former tumults whatsoever, the greater part of the inhabitants have ever served the state, or have stood neutrals. The cities and enclosed towns never gave cause or suspicion of defect; and of the old English, the body hath ever more remained sound and firm to the crown of England. But now, the general ill affection to the state, as well for the cause of religion as for the new plantations, increasing, the next rebellion, whensoever it shall happen, doth threaten more danger to the state than any that hath preceded. I do not conclusively deliver my opinion (the writer adds), that they will either at this present, or within a prefixed time, attempt any of his Majesty's kingdoms; notwithstanding I am confident that, whensoever a fit opportunity shall offer itself, they will take advantage of it. In that event, no city or walled town would open their gates to such of the new English and Scotch as should escape the fury of the rebels; his Majesty's forts and private men's castles, not being manned or victualled to sustain a siege, would be surpris'd; yea, the city of Dublin (in such a general revolt) would scarce be secure for the Lord Deputy and such as should survive.<sup>1</sup>

What had been foreseen occurred in 1641, exactly as described. The English power was overthrown through three-fourths (or rather nine-tenths) of Ireland, almost in a night. All the towns and fortresses fell into the hands of the Irish, except Derry, in the north—Cork, Kinsale, and Bandon, in the south—and Dublin, Drogheda, and Dundalk (with the Castle of Carrickfergus), in the east. And so truly had the statesman above quoted foreseen the danger that threatened the Lord Deputy, and Dublin itself, in the contingency, that the officers of state, in the month of November, 1641, mounted one of the towers of the Castle, to view from the platform the expected advance of the Irish army on Dublin; and it was only after the lapse of six weeks, that Lord Ormond ventured forth with the forces under his command, to relieve the gentry, at no great distance from Dublin, shut up in their castles and houses, for fear of the Irish. As indicative of the terrors of "that fearful day" (which, forty years before, it had been presaged would "make all that had past but a shadow, or nothing in respect of the tribulation that was to follow"),<sup>2</sup> the souls of the citizens of Dublin were affrighted by

<sup>1</sup> A Discourse on the Present State of Ireland, 1614, Per S. C. "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica; or, A Select Collection of State Papers." 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin: 1772. Vol. i., p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> A Discourse of Ireland, sent to Sir Robert Cecil, her Majesty's Principall Secretary of State, from Sir George Carey, 1601.—"Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica," vol. i., p. 7.

the cries of a flock of sea-fowl, that at night were heard in the air, puling over the city for hours in the dark, foretelling they knew not what calamities.<sup>1</sup> And in Ulster it was observed, that for three days and nights after the breaking out of the rebellion, no cock was heard to crow, nor any dog was heard to bark; no, not when the rebels came in multitudes.<sup>2</sup> Such were the consequences of the falling off of the towns, which till then had always held for the government, and of their union (together with the English gentry of Ireland), with the native Irish.

For eleven years the Irish maintained the war. On the 12th September, 1652, the Parliament declared the rebellion appeased and ended, being a preliminary, required by an Act of Parliament, passed ten years before, to distributing the lands of the conquered nation amongst the victorious English. The scheme finally adopted was to require all the guilty to retire behind the line of the Shannon, leaving to the officers and soldiers of the English army all their castles and farms. But who were the guilty? Since the day when the Plateans surrendered to the Spartans, under the promise that only the guilty should be punished, there probably never was such an extensive application of the term given. The Spartans, to ascertain the guilt of the conquered, simply asked "whether during the present war they had rendered any assistance to the Lacedæmonians or their allies?"

According to the rule of the Parliament, none of the Irish nation were to be considered innocent, so as to escape confiscation and exile, but those who had shown their "constant good affection," during the ten years' conflict, to the *Parliament of England*. Ireland, east of the Shannon, would have been at once dispeopled under this decree, and the conquerors would have been left without husbandmen to till their lands, and without women-servants to cook their victuals, or to make their beds; so they made an exception in fa-

<sup>1</sup> "A STRANGE AND WONDERFUL THING BY FOWLES. A most strange and unwonted accident happened in Dublin on Christmas Eve, as ever was heard of the Crows, Ravens, and Sea Gulls, about foure of the clock in the afternoone, being duske, assembled in such a numerous manner, hovering, pewling, and croaking in such a strange unheard-of wise over the city, that it amazed and affrighted all the inhabitants, especially they continuing without departing in this sort untill six of the said evening—a strange time of night for such fowle to bee abroad at such a time of the yeare. And which is more strange, that could not be frighted or scared away with all the reports of munakets and some great pieces out of the Castle that were shott off for that purpose. What this strange accident portends is not for me to divine. But

surely by the knowledge of the oldest men in Dublin, either English or Irish, never was the like seen."

From a pamphlet entitled, "The state of Dublin as it stood the 27th of December, and of other parts of Ireland. Being the copy of a Letter sent from a good hand to an Alderman of this City. By reading which you will finde the vanity and falsehood of those vaine foolish Pamphlets invented and published of late. With a strange and unheard of flocking together of severall kinds of Birds over the City of Dublin, on Christmas Eve last. Printed at London for Nath. Butler." Small 4to. 1642.

<sup>2</sup> "Deposition of the Rev. Dr. Maxwell, Rector of Tynan, in the county of Arnnagh."—Borlase's "History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion," pp. 418, 419.

vour of all husbandmen, ploughmen, labourers, and those of the poorer sort, not possessed of land or goods beyond ten pounds' value.

Those, therefore, who abandoned all claim to house or land, and who did not fall into the class of proprietors, or of those who had borne arms against the Parliament of England, did not come within the terms of the order to transplant. Whilst the gentry, therefore, who depended for their living on rents derived from farms or house property, which the Officers and Soldiers were in haste to enjoy, were obliged to transplant, in order to occupy such pittance of land as should be assigned them in Connaught, the population of the towns who lived by trade or labour,—such as apothecaries, basket-makers, butchers, bakers, carpenters, chandlers, coopers, harness-makers, masons, shoemakers, and tailors,—continued to reside upon their holdings, and to make themselves useful to their new masters. But this did not suit the views of the republican government of England, who thought, in the first place, it was not safe for their garrisons to dwell in the midst of a hostile population; and, secondly, they had formed plans of filling the towns as well as the rest of the kingdom with a “godly seed and generation.” Accordingly, they issued their orders for clearing all the port (or walled) towns of Ireland of their Irish inhabitants. That for clearing Kilkenny bears date the 6th March, 1653-4.

However desirable such an improvement might be, the difficulty attending the execution of the order will at once be perceived from the queries of Colonel Thomas Sadleir, as to clearing Wexford. Not choosing to be responsible for the consequences of a literal execution of the order, he requires a categorical answer from the commissioners of the affairs of Ireland, to the following queries.

First. Whether ANY Irish and Papist shall be permitted to live in the town of Wexford?

Secondly. If any, whether all the seamen, boatmen, and fishermen, or how many?

Thirdly. How many packers and gillers of herrings?

Fourth. How many coopers?

Sixth. How many masons and carpenters?

Seventh. What shall be done with the Irish women, which are Papists, who are married to Englishmen and Protestants?

Eighth. What shall be done with the Irish men who are turned Protestants, and live in the town of Wexford, who come to hear the preaching of the Word?

Ninth. That positive orders be sent, that no one of the Irish nation keep an ale-house in the said town?<sup>1</sup>

Similar difficulties delayed the complete execution of the clearing of Kilkenny; for on the 15th of May, 1655, the English and

<sup>1</sup> March 18, 1654. “Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland.” Dublin Castle.

Protestant inhabitants of the city, who had probably by this time come over in greater numbers with a view to trade, obtained an order from the Commissioners of Parliament that "for the better encouragement of an English plantation in the city, and liberties," all the houses and lands lately belonging to the Irish, and now in the possession of the state, should from henceforth be demised to English and Protestants, and none others; that no English merchants, or traders, should drive any trade or merchandize in the city or liberties by Irish agents or servants; and that all Irish should quit Kilkenny within twenty days, except such artificers as any four justices of the peace should judge for the convenience of that corporation to license to stay for any period, not exceeding one year.<sup>1</sup> Private interest, however, still interfered (as in most cases of penal laws against a whole nation), with the rulers' object. The Officers sheltered merchants, who acted as their factors in trade. Public creditors who got an order to be satisfied a large debt, by confiscated houses extending down whole streets,<sup>2</sup> were only too willing to keep the poor Irish occupants, or let them secretly to others; as there were no English ones to be had, and the houses left empty became ruinous. The government, however, as in duty bound, still kept "the great work" in view; and having issued a more rigorous proclamation, sent it over for publication in England, with the following letter, addressed to the Secretary of the Lord Protector:—

"To SECRETARY THURLOE.

"*Dublin Castle, 4th March, 1656-7.*

"Right Honourable, the Council, having lately taken into their most serious consideration what may be most for the security of this country,

<sup>1</sup> March 18, 1654. "Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland." Dublin Castle.

<sup>2</sup> "BY THE SURVEYOR-GENERAL.

"22nd March, 1658-9.

"Whereas his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and Council, by their order, dated 7 Feb. 1658-9, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament the 17 Sep. 1656, entitled an Act for the satisfying Capt<sup>o</sup> John Arthur for divers sums of money disbursed by him for the service of the Commonwealth, out of Forfeited Lands, Leases, or Houses in Ireland, do require me (after perusal of the said Act, as also of the survey of the Town of Wexford returned into my office), Pursuant to the said Act, to set out to the said John Arthur and Martin Naell, their heirs and assigns, such and so many of the forfeited houses within this Town of Wexford, as at 6 years' purchase, according to the aforesaid return, will answer the intent of the Act:

Provided the said John Martin and Arthur Naell do begin their satisfaction at such end or other part of the s<sup>d</sup> Town as they or either of them shall conceive fit, taking the houses with their appurtenances, and orderly proceeding on both sides of the street until they shall arrive at their due proportion, excepting . . . . . And whereas the said Capt<sup>o</sup> John Arthur hath, by a writing under his hand and seal, dated 1 Feb. 1658-9, Declared that his choice is to begin the satisfaction to be made unto him, the s<sup>d</sup> John Arthur and Martin Naell, at the Parish of Selakers, in the said Town of Wexford, I do therefore, in pursuance of the s<sup>d</sup> order of His Excellency and Council, hereby set forth unto the s<sup>d</sup> John Arthur and Martin Naell, their heirs and assigns, as followeth:—(200 houses are then set out to satisfy £3697 10s.) "Books of the Council for the affairs of Ireland, Dublin Castle."

and the encouragement of the English to come over and plant here, did think fitt that all Popish recusants, as wel proprietors as others, whose habitations is in any port-towns, walled-towns, or garrisons and who did not before the 15th September, 1643 (being the time mentioned in the Act of 1653, for encouragement of adventurers and soldiers), and ever since profess the Protestant religion, should remove themselves and their families out of all such places and two miles at the least distant therefrom before the 20th May next; and being desirous that the English people may take notice that by this means there will be both security and conveniency of habitation for such as shall be willing to come over as Planters; they have commanded me to send you the enclosed Declaration, and to desire you that you will take some course, whereby it may be made known unto the people for their encouragement to come over and plant in this country.

“Your humble Servant,

“THOMAS HERBERT, *Clerk of the Council.*”<sup>1</sup>

As single instances are more striking than any general calamity, although the general calamity is simply the misery of individuals multiplied, it may be worth while to cast an eye upon the case of two of the exiled burghers of Kilkenny, petitioners of the Marquis of Ormond, in 1661. Dreading their banishment from their ancient homes, they petitioned against being driven out, under the order of 1657. The following was the answer:—

“*At the Council Chamber, Dublin, 27th April, 1657.*

“Upon consideration had of the petition and annexed papers of Richard Archer and Beale his wife, praying to be permitted to reside in the City of Kilkenny, in regard of their peaceable demeanour to the English in the time of the Rebellion, and since; as also for that they have laid out great sums of money in repairing and improving the states, lands, and houses thereabouts, the Councell, upon consideration had of their late Order concerning the removal of Irish Papists out of walled towns and garrisons, think not fit to dispense therewith; but for that it appears that the petitioner hath been at charge in building and repairing some houses in Kilkenny, are pleased that the former Order, dated the 28th March, 1655-6, for the petitioner Beale Archer's enjoying the rents reserved to the Commonwealth out of her house in Kilkenny, be continued in force until further order; and the petitioners do accordingly receive the Rent reserved to the Commonwealth, whereof all persons whom it doth or may concern are to take notice.”<sup>2</sup>

The other concerned Thomas Archer. The misery of his case heightened by the tender fears of his affectionate daughter for an aged father's safety, is evident enough even through the cold wording of the formal order of the Council Board:—

<sup>1</sup> “Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland.” Dublin Castle.

<sup>2</sup> “Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland.” Dublin Castle.

"*Dublin Castle, 19th May, 1656.*

"Upon consideration had of a petition presented unto this Board by Mary Archer, in behalfe of her aged father, Thomas Archer, and of y<sup>e</sup> Certificate thereunto annexed, deposed upon oath before Dudley Loftus, Esq., one of his Highnesse's Justices of y<sup>e</sup> Peace for this County, that y<sup>e</sup> said Thomas Archer is above sixty years of age, and that his transplantation into Connaught or Clare will infallibly endanger his life, if not suddenly bring him to his grave, wanting his former accustomed accomodations; it is therefore ordered, that hee (y<sup>e</sup> said Thomas Archer) bee, and hee is hereby dispensed with from transplantation into Connaught or Clare for y<sup>e</sup> space of two months from y<sup>e</sup> date hereof, to y<sup>e</sup> end that at present hee may not want the accomodations aforesaid, and may thereby enable himself to travel into y<sup>e</sup> transplanted quarters according to Rule."<sup>1</sup>

The consequence of clearing the towns of their inhabitants was to leave them ruinous; the few English were not enough to occupy them, and the deserted houses fell down, or were pulled down, that the timber might be used for firing.

There is a striking picture of the dilapidation thus produced in Cork, in the answer made by Lord Inchiquin, President of Munster, in 1647, to articles charging him with having given houses in that city, and farms in the suburbs, to his own menial servants, as barbers, grooms, and others. His apology was, that upon expelling of the Irish out of Cork, it was to the benefit of the state that he should place any persons in the houses, on condition of upholding them, which otherwise, being waste and uninhabited, would have fallen to the ground; and though by this means many of the houses were preserved, yet, for want of inhabitants, about three thousand good houses in Cork, and near as many in Youghal, have been demolished by the souldiers, finding them empty, and for want of firing in their guards.<sup>2</sup> To what extent this dilapidation proceeded in Kilkenny, there is not any particular evidence; but this was a general cause, extending to all towns, as appears from the complaints of the Commissioners for the affairs of Ireland themselves.

The Council of State in England were reluctant to grant the Commissioners any power to let the state-lands for longer than one year, reserving the rent they were worth in 1640, *i. e.* at the breaking out of the Rebellion, which (so the Commissioners urge) is so high a rate as none ever yet came to take any lease on those terms, and if some fitting remedy be not in time provided (as in granting longer

<sup>1</sup> "Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland." Dublin Castle.

<sup>2</sup> "Articles presented to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> House of Commons assembled in Parliament, against Murrough O'Brien, Lord Baron of Inchiquin and Lord President of Munster. . . . Sub-

scribed by Lord Broghill and Sir Arthur Loftus, Kn<sup>t</sup>. With a clear answer made thereto, whereby the charges are shewn 'scandalous' and 'groundless.'" By Richard Gethins. Small 4to. London: 1647. pp. 5, 6.

leases at lower rates), the public must suffer very much thereby; for that not only houses in cities and great towns will become ruinous and uninhabitable, but the cities and towns will be made desolate, especially at Waterford, Galway, Limerick, and Cork; where every year (as we are informed), many houses do fall down, and by poor and indigent people are secretly pulled down, and destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

For such a scene of desolation as the cities and towns of Ireland presented at the end of the seven years' tyranny of the English republicans, recourse must be had to the records of antiquity; and there, in the ruined state of the towns of Sicily, when rescued by Timoleon from the tyranny of the Carthaginians, there is to be found a striking parallel. Syracuse, when taken, was found comparatively destitute of inhabitants. So little frequented was the market-place, that it produced grass enough for the horses to pasture upon, and for the grooms to repose themselves by them. The other cities were deserts, full of deer and wild boars; and such as had this use for it hunted them in the suburbs, and round the walls.

In the same way, by reason of the desolation of the kingdom, hunts had so increased in Ireland, that for their extirpation public hunts were had almost in the suburbs of Dublin, in the year 1652.<sup>2</sup>

It may easily be conceived with what joy the exiled Irish must have heard of the death of Cromwell, and the recall of the rightful king by the Convention that assembled at Dublin, in the month of February, 1660. They prepared to recross the Shannon, and get back to their ancient homes; but the Convention, composed entirely of Cromwellian officers, by a proclamation accusing them of intended rebellion, confine them to their settlements in Connaught, and prevent them from assembling to appoint agents to present their desires to the King in London. And no sooner is the King arrived from Holland, than they obtain from him a proclamation declaring that Adventurers, Soldiers, and others in possession on 1st January, 1660, should not be disturbed; and soon after, by the Act of Settlement, all the houses in the several towns taken from the Irish, and in the possession of the Cromwellians, are given to the Royalist officers who served against the Irish before 1649, the professed objects being to strengthen those places with a military Protestant population. This was, of course, a final blow to the hopes of the Irish townspeople of recovering their homes; but in the mean time they lived, as is seen in the petition of the Burgesses of Kilkenny to the Marquis of Ormond in the pleasing delusion that they were to return.

<sup>1</sup> "Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland." Dublin Castle.

<sup>2</sup> The Council Books contain an Order

concerning wolves in the wood of Ward, to be hunted by the assembled inhabitants of the barony of Coolock, county of Dublin.—Id.

“Most Hon<sup>ble</sup> and honored Lord,

“It is an old saying, and true, that kind will creepe, where it cannot goe. The auncient relaçon that hath beene alwayes betweene yo<sup>r</sup> exc<sup>ts</sup> and the inhabitants of this your own town and citie of Kilkenny, of reciprocall love and affection, the one of fealtie, duty, and fidelity from those inhabitants to you and yo<sup>r</sup> honourable auncestors, as being their patrons and Lords of the fee; the other from you and your auncestors, to them and theirs, of an honourable regard of their safety and patronadge, hath been alwayes for many generations such as though the distractions of the times hath unfortunately [ . . . ] a separation, occasioning on your exc<sup>ts</sup> part many yeares of banishment, with your and our Prince and Souveraigne, and the suffering of many hardships in full demonstraçon of that natural loyaltie, descended hereditarily to you, from your auncestors, which the whole Christain world admires, and posteritie will account in future ages to your eternal glorie; butt on our part subjecting us to the anarchical government of usurping, assassinat, and regicide men (if they may be so termed) who casting off all humanitie turned into and became savadges in crueltie, soe as, to expresse ourselves in the civillest language that we can, since wee have beene deprived of the protection of our natural leige souveraigne, wee have endured the worst of miseries, and far worse than Egyptian slaverie. Yett, now seems att last it pleased the Almighty in a miraculouse manner beyond man’s expectation to restore his Maj<sup>ty</sup> our leidge Souveraigne to his undoubted right, and to preserve your Exc<sup>ts</sup> who alwayes did adhere to his Maj<sup>ty</sup> in all his fortunes, to be a witness of those great and mightie transactions of the high hand of God; and att last after all these tossings by sea and land, safely to bring you to the desired and expected port.

“Wee, poore souls, who had nothing left but good wishes to bear your company [*quid enim nisi vota supersunt*], being unable to travel thither (as wee could wish wee may) for to salute your Exc<sup>ts</sup> and to congratulate with you for these long-expected and wished-for alteraçõs (for we are still in durance in our old prisons of miserie, povertie, and slaverie), yett must creepe where we cannot goe; and sende these few lines to performe that dutie for us which wee would, if we could, have performed in our persons, and seeing we have nothing left to present unto you, of what the Almighty desires of man for all his benefits, viz. *da mihi cor tuum*. He desires but the oblation and sacrifice of the heart. Now, having nothing left, we present you with some fruits of that sacrifice, which are our heartie affections, and heartie wishes and prayers for your long life and prosperitie. For wee doubt not but God hath preserved you to be a helper and assistant to the advancement of his divine honour and glorie, and the good of the three kingdoms, and especiallie of this poore distressed kingdom and nation, where you have drawne your first breath. For we cannot butt believe that nature is predominant with you, and towards your native place.

“Most Excellent Lord, we presume out of our coverts and lurking-places to present an address to his Maj<sup>ty</sup> of some of our manifold grievances; the same wee send by an express to some of our friends there. Wee know well that wee being not able to prosecute the same, itt will dye, unless your Exc<sup>ts</sup> will be pleased to give life to itt by your countenance and



favour. And truly itt will not be the least of your incomiums, that by giving life to that addresse you shall undoubtedlie [ . . . ] the [ . . . ], who for such a great benefitt shall never cease to be perpetually oblidge'd to you, in the greatest tyes and obligations that may be thought of, and for ever continue as they are,

“Your Exc<sup>tes</sup> servants, tenants, and beadsmen,

“MICHAEL RAGGETT.	MICHAEL KNARISBROUGH [ . . . ].
THOS. SAVAGE.	JOHN ARCHDEKIN
RICH <sup>d</sup> . BAGOT.	JAS. COWLEY.
PETER FITZGERALD.	RICH <sup>d</sup> . LAWLESS.
W. ARCHER.	JAS. ARCHDEKIN.
JAS. C. ARCHER.	JO. MURPHY.
NICHOLAS LANGTON. <sup>1</sup>	EDWD. ROTHE.
PETER ARCHER FITZ. [ . . . ].	JO. BRYAN.

“To the RIGHT HONORABLE HIS EXC<sup>tes</sup> THE LORD MARQUESS OF ORMOND, one of his Maj<sup>ties</sup> Privy Councill,

“These.”

(Endorsed in the Marquis's handwriting),

“Irish Inhabitants of Kilkenny,  
Rec<sup>d</sup> 18th June, 1661.”

[When I read Mr. Prendergast's paper, I remembered a document which, by the kindness of the late Mrs. Bryan, of Jenkinstown, I transcribed in May, 1849, and which I now, by the light of the petition preserved at Oxford, perceive to have been the original rough draft of the memorial intrusted to the Marquis of Ormonde for presentation to the King. It is written in a contemporary hand, on three large sheets of paper, very much injured by damp, and bears corrections and interlineations made in a different hand from the body of the MS., and bears no signature. It was enclosed in an envelope, endorsed, in the writing of the late Colonel Bryan's father, “Curious paper found amongst my uncle's papers.” As John Bryan, the ancestor of the Jenkinstown family, is one of those that signed the petition to the Marquis of Ormonde, it

<sup>1</sup> This Nicholas Langton was banished to Ballinakill, a petty town in the Queen's County, about sixteen miles from Kilkenny. It appears that Langton, at all events, returned to his native place before 1679, as is proved by a MS. Pedigree of the Langton Family still extant, and entitled “The Copy of my Grandfather's and Father's Memorials of their Sons and Daughters, of the days of their births, by whom christened, and who

were Godfathers. Copy'd by me att Ballinakill, of the Queen's County, in the year of our Lord God 1658, being the 5th year of our Baniishment by Cromwell, who then reigned by the title of Protector. And again, Transcribed in Kilkenny in the year of our Lord God 1679, being the 16th year after my return into my ancestors' house.” It appears from the body of the MS. that Nicholas Langton was the writer.—Ed.

is probable that the rough draft of the memorial to the King remained in his keeping, and was handed down to his descendant, the present head of the family, George Leopold Bryan, Esq., of Jenkinstown, county Kilkenny. It is interesting to see those two waifs of the ocean of time now cast, as it were, ashore together, and rescued from oblivion.—JAMES GRAVES.]

“ TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MA<sup>TY</sup>.”

“ The humble petiçōn of the distressed, banished, and dispersed late native inhabitants & cittyzens of the citty of Kilkeny in Ireland,

“ In most humble and lamentable manner shewing, That whereas your pet<sup>ty</sup> auncesto<sup>ry</sup> have beene an auncient English Colony, planted in the auncient borough towne and now citty of Kilkenny, by William, Earle Marshall and Earle Palatine of Leinster, in or about the Rainge of King John, or before; since w<sup>ch</sup> tyme they and their posterity have continued allwayes loyall & faithfull subiects & servito<sup>ry</sup> to the Crowne of England, and for their services have obtayned severall charters, priviledges, graunts, and imunities from tyme to tyme, w<sup>ch</sup> they have enjoyed & exercised faithfully & dutifully in all generations from age to age to this present, in so much as that towne in all tymes of peace and hostility hath beene a refuge to all true subiects to the Crowne of England, & a terror to their enemies, & to all rebells and other ill disposed people, as by the charters, and other records of the said towne appeareth; w<sup>ch</sup> occasioned that the same being an Inland towne without any greate trafficke or cofierce hath beene through the meritts of the inhabitants advanced to be a Citty by your mat<sup>ty</sup> Royall graundfather, King James of blessed memory; and whereas the pet<sup>ty</sup> being the descendants & posterity of those that obtayned those privilegdes, have allwayes behaved themselves as loyall subiects: and during the late rebellion have allwayes declared themselves for the Crowne of England, & for your mat<sup>ty</sup> & your Royall father’s interests in the Kingdome of Ireland, and reddily ~~injoyed~~ ioyned in the addresse to his said late mat<sup>ty</sup>, whereon a pacification & a general pardon happily ensued, wherein they were comprehended as having acted nothing that may deserve their exclusion: & since that time they have lived as true subiects to your mat<sup>ty</sup>, under the govern<sup>ment</sup> of your Lieuten<sup>ant</sup> the Lord Marques of Ormond; untill the late Usurper Oliver Cromwell with his forces in the later end of the yere 1649 layed a strict siege to

that Citty, w<sup>ch</sup> enduring for <sup>six or seaven</sup> ~~five or six~~ dayes, & your pet<sup>ty</sup> having not sufficient forces to defend the same, nor hope of relief by reason of the plague, & greate sicknesse then raging in the said Citty, they the pet<sup>ty</sup> after suffering in a high degree all the extremities of the plague, fire, and sword, & foure severall stormes in severall partes of the Citty, w<sup>ch</sup> were repulsed, & after a great breach made in their walls by cannon shott of above fifty greate bullets, all for standing for your ma<sup>ty</sup> interest; at last by direction or allowance of the Co<sup>mander</sup> in Chiefe of your ma<sup>ty</sup> forces in these partes to S<sup>r</sup> Walter Butler baronet, then appointed & being governo<sup>r</sup> of the said Citty and Castle of Kilkeny under the said Lord Marques, they yealded uppon quarter given by the said Usurper the

27<sup>th</sup> day of March 1650 for the govero<sup>r</sup> & souldiers departure with bagg and baggage, and for ~~having~~-securing of pet<sup>r</sup> in their lives estates & goodes from the violence of the souldery, the pet<sup>r</sup> having beens forced to pay 2000<sup>li</sup> ster. & upwards to the said Usurper for the making good of that quarter. And whereas after that rendition, the said Usurper Cromwell left w<sup>th</sup> the pet<sup>r</sup> the then Cittizens of the said Citty, & their maior, their Ensignes of authority with all their charters & liberties to be used as formerly, declaring openly that he came not to destroy but to cherish them. Yet soe it is (may it please your most excellent Mat<sup>ty</sup>) that Collonell Daniell Axtell, appointed governor of the said Citty by the said

Usurper, bath ~~in the about~~<sup>in</sup> the yere 1653 without any order or direction even according to those tymes, but out of his willfull & imperious disposition, & innated quarter-breaking mind & quality, seized upon your pet<sup>r</sup> charters, munim<sup>ts</sup>, & ensignes of authority, & dispersed & banished as-well their maior & aldermen & other officers, as the pet<sup>r</sup> into severall quarters; forcing them in an unseasonable tyme of the yere to remove their habitations, & sell their goods at an under-value, & for the most part to loose their house-hold stuffe for want of bueyers. Since w<sup>th</sup> tyme they lived, and doe live in a dis-tressed and sad condition after they had been formerly impovrished in their psonall estates & fortunes by heavy & unsupportable contributions, & other taxes and charges farr beyond their abilities. All w<sup>th</sup> the said Governo<sup>r</sup> Axtell did merely by the violence of the souldery, and soe contrary to the said Quarter, he having then the coñmand of a regim<sup>t</sup> of foote, & a troope of dragoones, sufficient forces to oppresse your poore naked, armless, & distressed pet<sup>r</sup>, and all out of hatred to them for their knowen Loyalty & affection to your Mat<sup>ty</sup> & your interest. The premisses tenderly considered, and for that it is against the hono<sup>r</sup> of England (w<sup>th</sup> the said Usurper protected in his actions) to have

the said quarter soe solemnly given, soe willfully to be bruken by the said Axtell who was party to the capitulation & concluding of the said quarter, the said Usurp then coñmander in chiefe of the pretended Parliam<sup>ts</sup> forces in Ireland having confirmed that quarter under his hand, & soe to be made good by a branch in an act of that pretended Parliam<sup>t</sup> intituled An act for the setlem<sup>t</sup> of Ireland, w<sup>ch</sup> is consonant with the law of nations, that quarters given should be faithfully pformed, & it appeareth in the ould testam<sup>t</sup> that the breach of the quarter given by Josue to the Gibionites hath beens some hundreds of years after severely punished in the posterity of King Saul the breaker of that quarter, ~~And for that~~ he that was then at the tyme of . . . . . maio<sup>r</sup> of the said Citty elected and sworne is yett living one Helias Shee now living in Conaght in a distressed condition, was at the in Conaght in a distressed condicon.

~~tyme of the said seizure maior of the said Citty lawfully elected & sworne.~~ And (as your pet<sup>r</sup> doe humbly conceave with all submission to your mat<sup>ty</sup> graver iudgm<sup>t</sup>) is by y<sup>r</sup> charter of the said Citty still the Rightfull maio<sup>r</sup> (though by violence put from the exercise of that office for severall yeres) till another be legally chosen and sworne maio<sup>r</sup> of that Citty) and those that now pretend to be officers of that corporaçón are but usurpers uppon your pet<sup>r</sup> rights.

“The pet<sup>n</sup> therefore in all humblenes prostrate at the feete of your ma<sup>ty</sup> grace and mercy, doe most humbly crave & implore that your ma<sup>ty</sup> being the fountaine of Justice, & having a chauncery within your royall breast, may be graciously pleased to procure the said rightful maio<sup>r</sup> to be restored to the exercise of that office of maio<sup>r</sup> of the said Citty & the Usurps removed, & your pet<sup>n</sup> to be restored to their freedome of that Corporacōn, & restored to the charters, records, munim<sup>ts</sup>, courts, offices, & other imunities, duties, & privileges w<sup>ch</sup> formerly they had before the said wrongfull seizure, the rather for that they have in all humblenes taken hould of your ma<sup>ty</sup> grace & favo<sup>r</sup> held forth by your declaration at Breda the 14<sup>th</sup> day of Aprill in the yere of our Lord God, 1660, whereby they may be revived, and put in a posture to serve your ma<sup>ty</sup> & the Crowne of England in all loyall & dutifull services, as they & their auncesto<sup>n</sup> have formerly don as aforesaid, and the ptaking of the generall ioy & triumphs for your ma<sup>ty</sup> miraculous restoration to your undoubted rights, shall allwayes pray to the Omnipotent for the long continuance of your ma<sup>ty</sup> ~~prosperity~~ prosperous Raigne over your Kingdoms, Nations, & Dominions, &c.”

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## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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**QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING**, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October 2, 1861,

**BARRY DELANY, Esq., M. D.**, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Captain E. Maguire, 1st Royals ; and the Rev. Dr. Greham, 11, Windsor-terrace, Kingstown: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

The Right Hon. Lord Downes ; and John Otway Cuffe, Esq., Missenden House, Bucks : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Richard Magee, Esq., Assistant Surgeon, Kilkenny Fusiliers : proposed by Barry Delany, Esq., M. D.

Mr. L. O'Brien, Mullinahone ; and J. G. Murphy, Esq., Green-ridge, Kilkenny : proposed by Mr. Prim.

S. Henry Hobart, Esq., M. D., Cork : proposed by T. W. Belcher, Esq., M. D.

The Treasurer's account for the year 1860 was laid before the Members by the Auditors, as follows :—

### CHARGE.

1860.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands (see p. 190, <i>supra</i> ), . . . . .	87	16	2½
Dec. 31.	To Members' Subscriptions, . . . . .	209	8	0
	„ Life Compositions, . . . . .	15	0	0
	„ Subscriptions to "Annuary," . . . . .	2	0	0
	„ Sale of "Journal," &c., to Members, . . . . .	1	16	0
		£316	0	2½

## DISCHARGE.

1860.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By postages of "Journal," . . . . .	12	10	0
	" " circulars and correspondence, . . . . .	6	0	0
	" Illustrations of "Journal," . . . . .	28	14	0
	" Printing, paper, and binding of "Annual," Part II., . . . . .	23	9	3
	" Printing, paper, and binding of "Journal," in- cluding Parts for March, July, September, and November, 1859, <sup>1</sup> and January and March, 1860, . . . . .	138	10	4
	" General printing and stationery, . . . . .	15	11	4
	" Gratuity to roomkeeper, . . . . .	0	10	0
	" Indexing Vol. II., . . . . .	3	0	0
	" Commission to agents, . . . . .	0	8	8
	" Petty cash account, including fittings of new Museum, . . . . .	5	11	2
	" Carriage of parcels, . . . . .	0	12	11
	" Purchase of books, . . . . .	0	1	0
	" Works, rent, and caretaker, Jerpoint Abbey, . . . . .	18	0	0
	" Rent of Museum, . . . . .	14	0	0
	" Balance in Treasurer's hands, . . . . .	49	1	6½
		£316 0 2½		

We have examined this Account, and find that there is a balance of £49 1s. 6½d. in the hands of the Treasurer.

J. G. ROBERTSON, }  
P. A. ATLWARD, } Auditors.

October 2, 1861.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 961–972, inclusive.

By the Rev. B. H. Blacker: "A Translation of the Charter and Statutes of Trinity College, Dublin, &c." Dublin: 1749.

By the Kent Archæological Society: "Archæologia Cantiana," Vol. III.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: "Report and Communications," No. 9.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, Nos. 27 and 28; also the "Supplemental Volume for 1861," Part I.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for August and September, 1861.

<sup>1</sup> By an oversight in the printing of the accounts for 1859, at p. 190, *supra*, credit was taken for the printing, &c., of the January and May parts of 1860, in place of the

corresponding parts of 1859. The printing of the March part of 1859 was not paid for until 1860.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," for June, 1861.

By the Numismatic Society: "The Numismatic Chronicle," new series, No. 2.

By John Otway Cuffe, Esq.: "Notices of Sepulchral Monuments in English Churches," by the Rev. W. H. Kelke, A. B.

By Mr. Michael White, Dunbel: a silver penny of Edward I., in good preservation, found in one of the raths at Dunbel, bearing on the obverse the king's head in a triangle, with the legend—"EDW. R. ANGL. D. H. [. . .]" On the reverse, a cross between pellets, and "CIVITAS DUBLINIE."

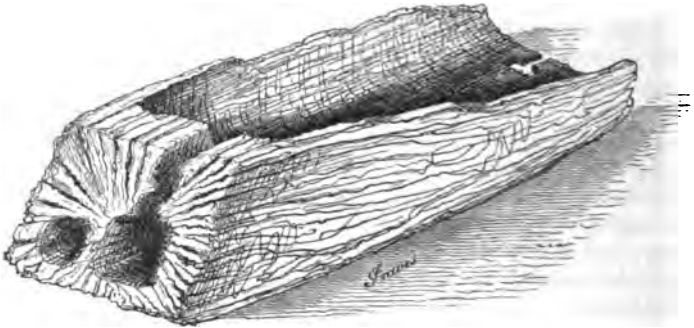
By Mr. John Grady, Kilkenny: a Dublin tradesman's token. On the obverse, the sun in full splendour, with the legend, "HUGH. PRESTON. AT. YE. BLACK." Reverse, 1D. 1666, and a continuation of the legend, "BOY. IN. ST. GEORGE'S. LANE. DUBLIN."

By Mr. Henry Jones, Clonmel: a Clonmel token. Obverse, "RICHARD HAMERTON. 1657." Reverse, "IN CLONMEL. R. H."

By the Marchioness of Ormonde: a portion of one of those ancient timber structures so frequently found near streams in this country, and ascertained to have been the water-mills of the primæval inhabitants. In reference to the subject of this presentation, Mr. Robertson made the following observations:—

"The members present, no doubt, are aware of the extensive alterations and improvements now in progress at Kilkenny Castle. Amongst other works, a large pond has been this summer formed in the angle of the lawn adjoining the well, generally called 'The Seven Springs,' which both supplies water and works machinery to raise the former to a tank on the top of the castle. It was whilst excavating the basin of this pond that the remains now brought under your notice were discovered. They appear to have formed portions of an ancient mill, and consist of a very large trough, three beams, and three slabs of oak. The trough, being the most important part, and that on which the greatest labour was bestowed, is the only portion which has been placed in the Society's Museum. The timber is quite black, being now what is known as 'bog oak.' A great portion of the outside is decayed, and may be broken off in small pieces; the heart is, however, quite sound. The trough is 8 ft. long at the bottom, and 7 ft. 4 in. long at the top; in width, 3 ft. 2 in. at one end, and 2 ft. 4 in. at the other; depth, 1 ft. 2 in. at the wide end, and 1 ft. 10 in. at the small. It is excavated to a depth of 1 ft. 6 in. at the smaller end, from which the water fell on the wheel by two openings, of which the dimensions respectively are, 6 inches by 8 inches, and 9 inches by 12 inches. The thickness of the timber through which these openings are made is about one foot. The other extremity is open; and in the bottom near this end there is an orifice inside, 5 inches by 4 inches. Two beams were 11 feet long by 14 inches, by 9 inches, with mortise-holes cut in them, 12 inches long by 6 inches wide, and 6 inches deep. One beam was 7 feet long by 15 inches, by 6 inches. The longest of the three slabs was 7 feet by 12 inches, by 3 inches. These

slabs were rather feather-edged, and had mortise-holes in them. I am informed by the workmen that the trough was found about five feet beneath the surface; the large beams under the ends of it, and the planks, forming with the beams a sort of frame for supporting the trough—perhaps the bottom of a wooden tank, in which the water that worked the mill was ponded. The workmen also state that the mould in which the timbers were was black bog-earth, although the surrounding soil was gravelly. I may direct attention to the great size of the tree which yielded a square piece of timber of the dimensions of the trough. The subjoined engraving represents this piece of primæval carpenter-work.”



Mr. Robertson exhibited a Waterford penny of Edward I., and a bronze javelin-head, both purchased in Scotland.

The Rev. Charles Vignoles, Rector of Clonmacnoise, with reference to a paragraph going the round of the press, and which originated with a correspondent of *Saunders' News-Letter*, describing the recent alleged discovery of a cavern near Clonmacnoise, intimated to the Society that, from inquiry on the spot, he had no hesitation in affirming it to be a pure fiction. He believed there was no doubt that a gold “crown” and “collar” had been found somewhere in that country; but of the particulars of the discovery nothing was known with certainty. The account of the cave, with its “ten elaborately ornamented octagonal slabs, covered with Ogham inscriptions,” obviously owed its origin to the prolific imagination of the newspaper correspondent.

The Rev. G. H. Reade sent a rubbing of the sculptured upper surface of the top stone of a quern, found in a bog in the county Fermanagh, and now in Mr. Reade's collection. The ornament consisted of a cross in relief.

Mr. M. E. Conway made the following communication:—

“In the section of Dr. Wilde's Catalogue brought under the notice of the Society by you, an inquiry is suggested as to whether ‘anything approaching to the single-piece shoe [therein described] is worn in the present day.’ From the remarks which follow, it would seem that the



'Pamposheens' worn in the Arran Islands are the only articles of the kind which have come to Dr. Wilde's knowledge. Deeming it may interest the members to receive information on the subject, I write to state that shoes exactly similar are still worn in the Shetland Islands. I visited that remote group last September, and observed the very common wearing of 'Ravelins,' as the single-piece shoes are called there. These 'Ravelins' are accurately represented, or, more properly, they bear an accurate resemblance to the cut, Fig. 181, No. 6, given at p. 268, *supra*."

The Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin sent the following observations:—

"Whilst lately paying a visit on the coast of Durham, my attention was drawn to some excavations which had been made some years ago, and noticed at the time in the locality. In sinking for a foundation for a house in Wellsfield, N. E. of the ancient church of St. Hilda, Hartlepool, an old burial-ground was opened, and numerous male and female skeletons were found, with their heads resting upon flat stones, varying from 4 to 5 in. square—a few bearing the sign of the cross, with inscriptions.

"Now, I am anxious to know if we have any similar examples.

"The stones were of limestone, and the characters I conceived to be Runic. In this opinion, I find, I am confirmed by others who saw them at the time of the discovery; and I was led to the supposition that they were monumental inscriptions to the Danes. An objection, however, meets this theory; for the Danish custom of sepulture was different from the mode in which it appears the bodies were buried, whose skeletons were found accompanying the stones in question. As I understand, they were all found lying N. and S.; and, if I recollect rightly, the mode of placing the body E. and W. did not prevail till a much later period of the Christian Church.

"I am inclined, therefore, to conclude, that this had been the burial-place of the ancient monastery which Bede, in his life of St. Hilda, mentions, placed in the peninsula of Hartlepool, and founded about 640 by Bega, who was succeeded by St. Hilda, after whom the present fine old church, now in a lamentable state of dilapidation, is called.

"From the cross, I conceive they are Christian monuments; but I have not found that any translation has been made of the inscription."

The Rev. James Graves said that the drawings of the two cross slabs sent by the Dean of Leighlin showed a striking resemblance to several of the ancient Irish tombstones still existing at Clonmacnoise; and although the inscriptions were Runic, and the names Saxon, yet he had no doubt that the fashion of them was intrinsically Irish. He had laid the Dean's drawings before the celebrated Runic scholar, Professor Stephens, and had received the following reply:—

*"Cheapinghaven, Denmark, Sept. 11, 1861.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have much pleasure in replying to your favour of the 4th inst., which has only just come to hand.

"The two curious Runic grave-stones to which you refer are well known to me. You will find information concerning them in 'Mr. J. M. Kemble, on the Runes of the Anglo-Saxons;' London, 1840 (from the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxviii. pp. 327-372), p. 20; but particularly in Mr. J. Gage's paper in the 'Archæologia,' London, vol. xxvi. p. 480, where there are also admirable *fac-similes*, which will be copied into my work.

"The inscriptions are in old-northern Runes, and are merely the names of the deceased. No. 1 in your letter is—

HILDIDRYÐ.

"No. 2 is—

HILDDIGYÐ.

"As yet I have not heard of anything having been found in Ireland bearing these Runes. Should any such find be made, I shall be most thankful for a photograph or other *exact fac-simile*. The late great find in Orkney is in later or Scandinavian Runes.

"As yet there is time enough for me to add anything such to my work,<sup>1</sup> though I have now gone to press.

"Have you heard of any Runic Bracteates having turned up in Ireland?

"It is a thousand pities that these monuments in old-northern Runes have been so wantonly and almost universally destroyed. They are inestimable for the elucidation of our noble old mother-tongue.

"With great respect, believe me faithfully yours,

"GEORGE STEPHENS.

"*Rev. J. Graves, M. B. I. A., Ireland.*

"P. S.—Both the above names are *feminines*. They were probably 'mynchens,' i. e. nuns."

The following papers were submitted to the Members:—

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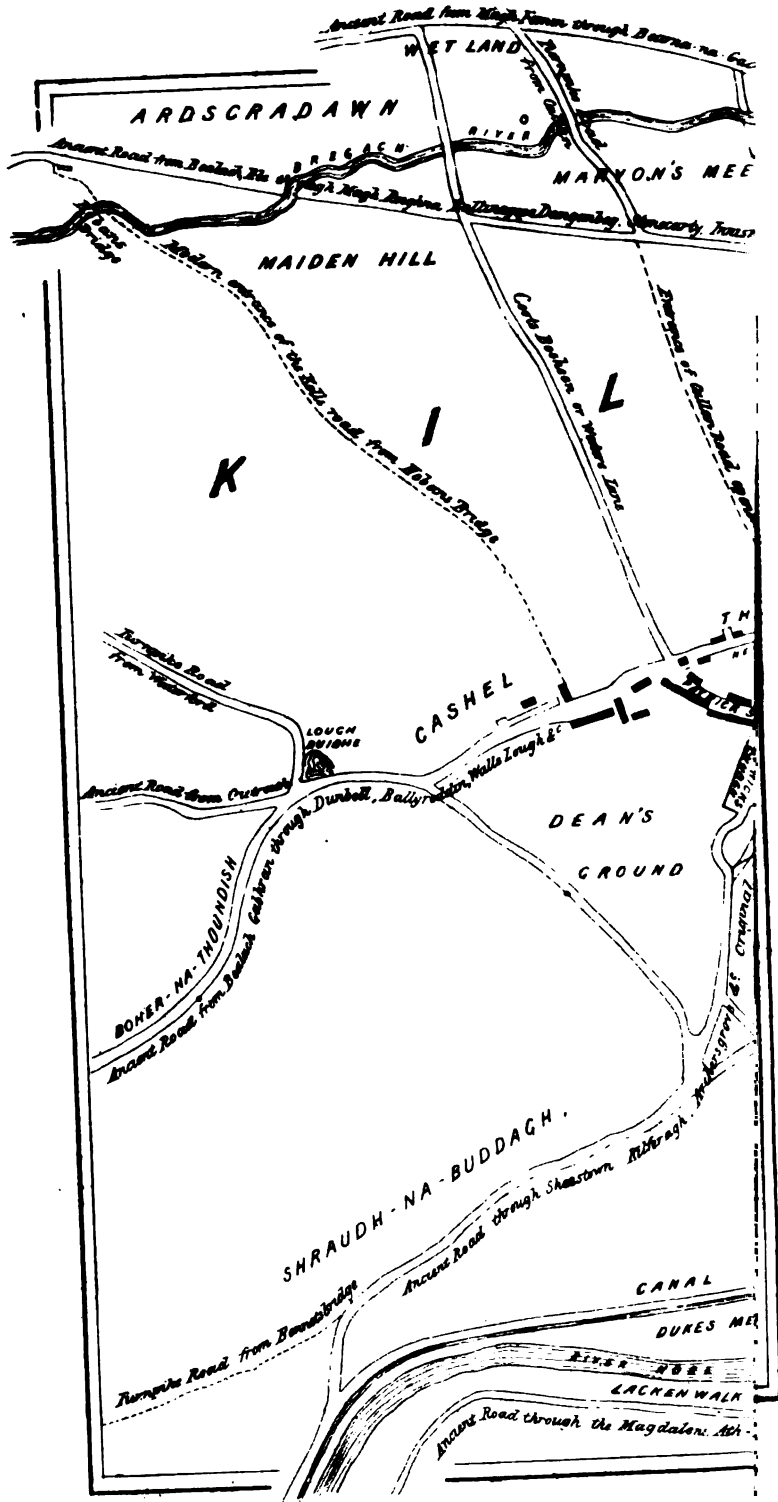
MAP OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY, CONSTRUCTED FROM  
ROCQUE'S SURVEY, 1757, THE ORDNANCE SURVEY, 1841,  
AND FROM PERSONAL INSPECTION OF THE RESPEC-  
TIVE LOCALITIES.

SHOWING THE DIRECTION AND APPROACHES OF THE ROADWAYS OF VARIOUS PERIODS IN THE SUBURBS, AND THE SITUATIONS AND NAMES OF MANY PLACES OF FORMER IMPORTANCE WITHIN THE CITY; DRAWN UP BY MR. JOHN HOGAN TO ILLUSTRATE THE FOLLOWING PAPER.

[It is necessary to observe here that the whole of this map is not drawn to a uniform scale. The plan of the city is faithfully reduced

<sup>1</sup> "The Old-Northern Runic Inscriptions of Scandinavia and England."





Survey. In the suburbs, the roads are copied from the Survey (sheet 19); but it was necessary to contract or amend at certain points, so as to include within the map roads extending from the Bregach River, in the West, to "St. Michael's Hill," or Altamount, on the East. The roadways in the suburban districts are similarly contracted, in order to show the directions of the ancient and modern roads from Hoban's map of Lochbuidhe.]

REFERENCES TO THE NUMBERS ON THE MAP.

1. "Freren Gate." This was not a public passway, it led from the Abbey grounds into the "Chancellor's orchard;" there was no castle over it: for a "stone house" that stood near it, Patt Murphy, who occupied it in 1628, paid the Corporation 17s. 4d. yearly rent.

2. "The Hightown Gate," sometimes called the Water Gate, stood on the Watergate bridge, afforded communication between the Hightown and Irishtown; for the castle over it, Richard Lawless paid the Corporation 3s. annual rent.

3. "The Black Freren Gate." One arch of this gate is still standing in Abbey-street. The Corporation received 1s. 8d. per annum, for the castle over it.

4. "St. James's Gate." Robert Archer paid 13s. 4d. per annum for the castle over it. The castle was taken down as low as the top of the arch about fifty-seven years ago, and a modern house erected in its stead. The whole was removed in 1860.

5. "Walking's Gate." For some account of this gate, see "Transactions," Vol. II., p. 470, new series.

6. "St. Patrick's Gate." Richard Rothe occupied the castle over this gate, at 10s. annual rent. This gate still exists.

7. "Castle Gate." This gate stood at the head of "Castle-street;" it was not immediately connected with the town-wall. There was no castle over it; but Richard Shea paid the Corporation 6s. 8d. rent for the small castle that stood near it.

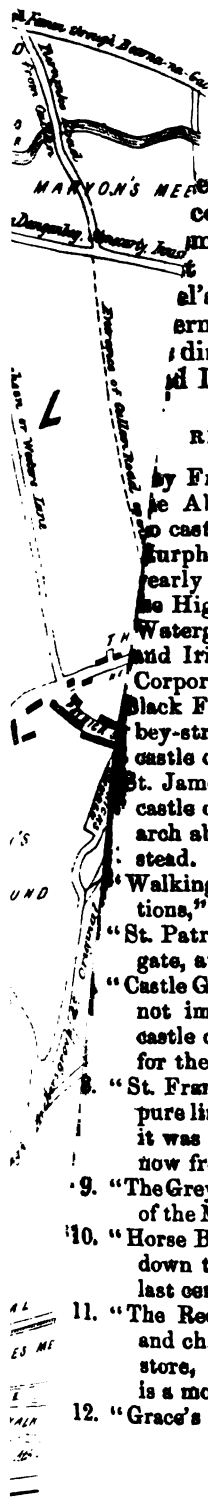
8. "St. Francis' Well." This is a very beautiful and copious spring of pure limpid water, in the garden behind the Abbey. Ledwich says it was famous for miraculous cures. In the summer season it is now frequently used for bathing.

9. "The Grey, or St. Francis, Abbey." The choir and tower of the Church of the Monastery still stand; the former is now used as a ball-court.

10. "Horse Barrack." The cloisters of St. Francis' Abbey were taken down to erect this barrack, which was built on their site in the last century.

11. "The Red Lion Inn." A large stone house, with windows, doors, and chimneys of the Elizabethan period. It is now used as a meal-store, by Mr. P. Shea; the front of it, which faces Coal-market, is a modern building.

12. "Grace's old Castle." First converted into a prison in 1566.



13. "Emlyn's Hall." One of Sir Richard Shee's town mansions: it was, as is asserted by tradition, the Parliament House of the Confederate Catholics in 1645.
14. St. Keneroc's Well, i. e. St. Kyran's Well, also called the "Ark Well." It now supplies water through the pump in the old shambles' yard.
15. "Rag Castle," or Ragget's Castle, stood on the site now occupied by the Parochial School, King-street.
16. "Stile of our Lady's Church-yard." It was to this "stile" that steps were originally erected behind the house in which the writer of this paper resides; a path originally led from this stile through the Church-yard out into High-street, at the end of Mr. Clifford's house. When this path was prohibited, and the stile built up, a lane was taken off the Church-yard, and given as an equivalent to the public, which we now call "Mary's-lane."
17. "Shee's Hospital;" erected by Sir Richard Shee, in 1581.
18. "The Sheaf Inn." A famous hostelry of the last century. Mrs. Lawrenson's establishments are built on its site.
19. "Croker's Cross," stood near the corner of the Parade, in the centre of the open space, formed by the meeting of the four streets. For some account of it, see "Transactions," Vol. II., pp. 219, 220, 223, 226.
20. "General St. Roth's House," was taken down in 1818, and three new houses erected on its site, one of which now serves as the Post-office. For some account of the old building, see "Transactions," Vol. II., p. 476, n. 1, new series.
21. St. Patrick's Chapel stood in the kitchen-yard of the present "Butler House," and was most probably the first erected as a public "Mass-house" (as a rental calls it), after the Battle of the Boyne, in Kilkenny. The existing chapel was built between Nov. 1781, and March, 1782, at the expense of Walter Butler, Esq. The old chapel was taken down at the same time.
22. "The Old Tholsel." On the site of it is built the Victoria Hotel.
23. "The City Gaol." There are many living who remember to see the prisoners crave alms from the passers-by through the iron grating. Mr. Nicholson's house now occupies its site in High-street.
24. "Henry Shee's house." A fine mansion of the 16th century, opposite Walking-street; now occupied by Miss Coyne.
25. "Mansion of the Archer family," occupied by Mrs. Shearman.
26. "Tower of St. Mary's Church." This tower stood out separate from the body of the Church. It occupied part of the space now covered by the green sward between the Poor-house and the nave of the church. Erected in 1343; taken down in 1819.
27. "The Hole in the Wall." The small house at the end of Mr. Hart's lane, famous as the evening resort of the traders of High-street, and the artizans of more unassuming neighbourhoods, from the middle of the last to the beginning of the present century.
28. "The New Tholsel," built in 1745.
29. "Town Mansion of the Langton family." This house is well shown on the lithograph of the "Market Cross." See frontispiece, "Transactions," Vol. II., first series. Now Mr. Wall's house.

30. "Ancient Market Cross." For an account of which see "Transactions," Vol. II., p. 219.
31. "Mansion of Sir Richard Shee," now occupied by Mr. John Feehan.
32. "Bolton's-lane," now William-street.
33. "Bluebell-lane," now Pointz'-lane.
34. "Shortel's-lane," now Chapel-lane.
35. "Tosier's-lane," lately Coffee-house-lane, now closed up; it opened from High-street, at the end of Mr. Power's house, into Chapel-lane.
36. "The Tennis-court." This was recently a bacon-yard; Mr. Thomas Dunphy now occupies it.
37. "Mansion of the Rothe family." It had a garden extending to the town-wall; it is now best known as "Wolf's Arch."
38. "Black Freren-street," now Abbey-street.
39. "Kilberry tower," also called Jonas's Tower, stood in Mr. Preston's garden on the town-wall; was taken down about the year 1830.
40. "James's-street Chapel;" it occupied the site of St. Mary's Chapel, recently taken down.
41. "Burrell's Hall," occupied the site of the new Cathedral. It was the first Catholic Seminary in Ireland after the Battle of the Boyne.
42. "James's-green," supposed to take its name from an ancient Church of St. James' that stood in Kilkenny, and was taken down by Bishop de Ledred, who died 1360.
43. "St. Rioch's Church-yard." See "Transactions," Vol. II., p. 471, new series.
44. "Walking's Lough." "Transactions," Vol. II., p. 471, new series.
45. "Green's-gate" stood at the town side of Green's bridge.
46. "Troy's-gate" fell down in the time of Queen Elizabeth; it stood where Drysdale's-lane (now closed), intersected Vicar-street.
47. "Dean's-gate" stood in the street of the same name, and gave admittance from the Butts into Irishtown.
48. "Dean-street Chapel," so called in Rocque's Survey; its site is now occupied by the Very Rev. John Gorman's house.
49. "Site of St. Nicholas' Church." This church was taken down by Bishop de Ledred, with St. James's, and the materials of both appropriated to the building of his episcopal palace, called New Court.
50. "The Butts' Cross" stood at the angle in the street as you turn up to "Goose-hill."
51. "Drysdale's-lane," led from Troy's-gate up to the back of the Cathedral. It has been closed up for the last six years.
52. "Bosheen Caoic," i. e., the Blind Bosheen; it is now much improved, it leads from the Freshford road to the Butts' Cross.
53. "The Deanery." The present house was built by Dean Lewis about the years 1755 or 1756.
54. "The Chanters' Manse-house, and garden." This is the quaint old building at the top of St. Kenny's Steps.
55. "The Archdeacon's Manse-house, and garden." This house was opposite the Chanter's, and at the east side of the Steps.

56. "The Common Hall." The original residence of the Vicars Choral. The old ruin at the east end of the Cathedral is a surviving remnant.
57. "The Chancellor's orchard and tan-house," now in the possession of Mrs. Sullivan, and well known as "Chancellor's Mill."
58. "The Vicars' Choral" was the large Elizabethan house in Vicar's-street; its land extended to the river.
59. "The Treasurer's Manse, garden, and mill." This was the next garden to that of the Vicars' Choral. The house stood in Vicar's-street, and was "next Alderman Connell's," now Mr. Phelan's, at the corner of Green-street. The Treasurer's mill is next that of the Chancellor.
60. "Prebendary of Tascoffin;" the small premises behind, and including Mr. Connery's house in the south angle of Vicar-street.
61. "The Manse-houses of the Prebendaries of Killamery and Black-rath," now the Almshouse and Library in the north-western angle of the Cathedral yard.
62. "The Bull Inn." The large ruined house in Bull-lane.
63. "St. John's Castle and Gate," on St. John's bridge, at the entrance into Rose-inn-street.
64. "St. John's Slip," led from Lower John-street to the river; it ran through Dr. Comerford's yard, thence out by Guinan's stable; and the steps opposite his house, still called "the Slip," mark its approach to the river.
65. "St. John's Outer Gate," was on the bridge over the small stream in John-street.
66. "Watch-house-lane." This is the small lane in Maudlin-street, now generally called Whitewash-lane; it formerly crossed the stream by a bridge into the College Lawn to a small house, called the Watch-house.
67. "St. John's Abbey." This shows the part now covered in, and which was the Ladie Chapel.
68. "Infantry Barrack." The buildings of the Abbey were taken down to erect this barrack in the early part of the last century. The barrack was subsequently demolished to make room for Evans' Asylum. The lane to the asylum is still called Barrack-lane.
69. "The Old College." The College stood fronting John-street; the new College and yard occupy the garden of the old College.
70. "Black Castle of the Magdalenes," in Maudlin-street, still standing.
71. "St. Magdalene's-gate," crossed Maudlin-street, just at the Castle; it was probably the entrance into the ancient Court-yard of the Black Castle, and through which Maudlin-street was subsequently opened.
72. "St. Magdalene's Chapel," stood in that part of the Church-yard now inclosed by railings. The Chapel alluded to here was taken down, and rebuilt in 1796; from this it appears to have been known as St. John's Chapel; the latter was taken down in 1847.
73. "St. Magdalene's Mill." This mill is well known, at the end of Maudlin-street; it formerly belonged to St. John's Abbey.
74. "The Shower of Houses," a labyrinth of cabins, rendered illustrious by the pen of John Banim.



75. "Gallows' Hill." This was the place of execution for the city. The spot marked by this name on Rocque's Map, was inside the yard of the present County Infirmary. After the erection of that building, in 1767, the centre of the green was used for executions.
76. "St. Michael's gate" was an approach into St. John's Abbey; from it comes the name Michael's-lane. The existing gate at the angle of the town wall, where the lane leads down to the stream from Michael's-lane, seems to occupy the site of "St. Michael's-gate."
77. "The Pound," was in front of the Railway Terminus; the new Castle-comer road ran through it.
78. "Court-yard of the Castle." The ancient entrance was between two bastions facing the lawn.
79. "Bowling-green of the Castle."

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TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF  
THE SUBURBS OF KILKENNY.

BY MR. JOHN HOGAN.

(Continued from Vol. II., p. 480.)

In our first excursion through the western suburbs of Kilkenny, our inquiries carried us as far as Walking's Green; and before resuming our suburban tour, it will be necessary that we first endeavour to reduce to a proper classification the apparently complicated system of road-lines that surround the city, intersecting each other at various angles, as they converge towards their respective centres.

On the accompanying map I have faithfully traced all the roadways, both ancient and modern, of which any remains at present exist in our suburbs. One class of them approaches towards and enters the "Irishtown," and a second class belongs exclusively to the "Hightown." The whole appear to be the productions of five distinct and successive epochs—viz., roads of the most ancient or primitive period; roads of the medieval or ecclesiastical period; roads of the English period, or those opened in connexion with the residences of the Anglo-Norman settlers; roads of the turnpike period; and the roads of the present century. To illustrate each of these, it will be necessary that we step beyond the suburbs, and follow those time-worn pathways to their respective destinations; and thus endeavour to elucidate the original designs, the epochs, and the events which have produced the topographical distinctions and suburban outlines of our present city.

The origin of roads in Ireland<sup>1</sup> is associated with those remote times when the traditions of the patriarchal creed formed the basis

<sup>1</sup> That Ireland in remote times was furnished with public roadways, is directly to be inferred from the possession of wheeled carriages by the inhabitants; for it is clear and beyond doubt that the Milesian chiefs used war-chariots, and the nobility rode in open cars, long before the Christian era. We are told that, 750 years before Christ, "Rotheact invented and first made use of chariots, that his crooked legs might not be seen." (See "A Chronological, Genealogical, and Historical Dissertation of the Royal Family of the Stewarts, writ by Dr. Matthew Kennedy, wherein we find a rare collection, of curious antiquity, out of choice Irish monuments; dated at St. Germain, the 1st of June, 1704—Signed, + DOMINICK, Arch-Bishop of Ardmagh, and Primate of all Ireland.") According to Mr. Curry, this Rotheact, i. e., "possessor of wheels," who was killed by lightning A. M. 4007, "derived his name from his being the first who yoked four horses to a chariot in Erin." (See first volume of the Dublin "Atlantis.") It was by this Reitheachtaiagh that chariots of four horses were first used in Ireland. "Annals of the Four Masters," "A. M. 4170.—"Roheaghty was the first king that ever used coaches with four horses in Ireland."—"Annals of Clonmacnoise," quoted at the above date, note s.

Eight years before our era, Maud, Queen of Connaught, rode in an open car, accompanied by four chariots, one before, another behind, and one on either side (see "Ogygia," vol. i. p. 362; Dublin, 1793). For further illustrations of the antiquity of chariots in Erin, see the "Book of Rights," with the learned introduction and annotations of the editor; the "History of Ireland," by Dr. Keating; the "Sick Bed of Cuchulainn," quoted from the "Yellow Book of Slane," by Eugene Curry, Esq., and, according to him, originally compiled from various other more ancient books by Maelmuire, who died in the abbey of Clonmacnoise, in the year of our Lord 1081. (This highly interesting fragment of ancient lore, accompanied by an English translation and a lithographed facsimile of the original text, with learned annotations by the editor, will be found in the "Atlantis," vol. i., p. 362; Dublin, 1858.)

According to the Irish Annals quoted in the "Book of Rights," the ancient Irish had many roads, which were cleaned and kept in repair according to law; and, if we believe a bardic writer, the five great roads

which in remote times radiated from "Teamhair" or Tara, into the dependent provinces of the island, were miraculously discovered on the same night on which the Suire, Nore, and Barrow began to flow, which, with many other wonderful phenomena, Nature ushered in at the birth of Con "of the hundred battles." As the bards of ancient as well as modern times fully availed themselves of those poetic licenses denied to ordinary scribes, the miraculous formation of the roads, and the gushing forth of the "sister rivers" in honour of King Con's birth-day, may be fairly questioned; yet we are informed by the editor of the "Book of Rights" that, at whatever period those great roads were made, they indubitably existed, and are frequently referred to in Irish historical tales. The names of these roads were, "Slighe-ssail," "Slighe-Midhluastra," "Slighe-cualann," "Slighe-mhor," and "Slighe-dhala." The "Slighe" was a most ancient Irish road, and, according to "Cormac's Glossary," was so called because "it was made for the meeting of two chariots, i. e., the chariot of a king and the chariot of a bishop, so that each of them might pass by the other." For an account of these five great roads see "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 123; the "Ogygia," part iii. chap. 60; the "Book of Rights," (introduction); the "Sick Bed of Cuchulainn," where "Slighe-midhluastra" is mentioned as the original road leading from the palace of "Emania" in the present county of Louth, to the great court of "Tara," in the centre of "Magh Breagh," i. e., "the magnificent plain," whence O'Heerin calls Tara "the Bregian fort" ("Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory"). "Slighe-Dhala" led from the south side of Tara hill into the country of Ossory; it is frequently mentioned by Keating; it entered the valley of the Nore through "Bealach Mor," and to the neighbourhood of which, for greater convenience, St. Cronyn removed his cell, from which subsequently grew up the town of Roscrea.—Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 7.

In Britain, four great roads departed from London before the time of the Romans, and constituted the southern, the south-western, the eastern, and north-eastern, as at present. Their names, as transmitted to us, were "Walling-street," "Ikenild-street," the "Fosseway," and "Ermin-street." The present Watling-street, within the limits of the ancient city, is a remnant of the old road. It is situated near "London Stone," which ancient monu-

of the national worship. This primitive system accommodated to man's intellectual infancy the attributes of the Supreme Being, and symbolised His divine munificence by the medium or agents through which it was usually manifested. The corruption of this religion, which consisted in recognising the medium or instrument as the source and cause of perfection, constituted idolatry. When the Jews provoked the Divine anger by the worship of the golden calf, they only perverted or abused some ceremonial or formulary of the patriarchal ritual, which symbolized the Divine benevolence by the cow—this animal being one of the most important, as well as the most homely agents through which Providence ministers to the support of the human family. Traces of a similar symbolism are to be found amongst the primitive traditions of most nations,<sup>1</sup> and the "Bovine legends," prevalent over Ireland, prove that at an early period it formed an extensive system of idolatry in this island. In the reign of Cormac-Mac-Airt, public adoration was offered to the "golden calf;"<sup>2</sup> and the story of "Donn Cuailgne," the intellectual bull, related in the curious tract called "Tain Bo Cuailgne," preserved in the Book of Leinster,<sup>3</sup> attests the high antiquity of this species of idolatry in Ireland.

When Christianity had planted its standard, the Cross, on the ruins of Paganism, the romance of antiquity still hung around the ancient creed, and its venerable institutions still found many a faithful worshipper, who frequented as of yore the sacred groves and the mystic enclosures; and that the worship of the cow formed part of the proscribed rites of the time is directly to be inferred from the fact, that St. Benan, the contemporary of St. Patrick, found it necessary to impose two "Prohibitions on the King of Uladh" (Ulster), which are recorded in the "Book of Rights," and the first of which strongly resembles the injunction of the Apostle to the first Christians, namely, to abstain from the meat offered to idols:—

ment was probably the standard or point of departure for the four great original roads of England.

For an account of these four roads, as also for some interesting historical notices of the ancient and modern roads of England and Scotland, see "The Roads, Railroads, Vehicles, and Modes of Travelling of Ancient and Modern Countries," p. 46.

<sup>1</sup> "The Egyptians worshipped their idol, Apis, otherwise called Serapis, in a living ox, and likewise in an image made in the form and similitude of an ox. 'Serapis' is a Hebrew word, and comes from *shor*, 'an ox,' and *apis*, 'a face,' which is nothing

else than *bovis caput*, 'an ox-head,' the very name used by the Fathers to express this idolatry." For this and further illustrations of the same curious subject, see a very rare work, entitled, "Moses and Aaron—Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites used by the Ancient Hebrews," &c.; by Thomas Godwyn, B. D.; London, 1685; p. 157, &c. See also two interesting and learned papers on "Porcine" and "Bovine," legends by W. Hacket, Esq. "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 811.

<sup>2</sup> Keating's "History," Dublin edition, 1844, vol. i. p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> "Transactions," new series, vol. ii. p. 177.

“ These are noble prohibitions  
To the bold King of Uladh,

. . . . .  
. . . . .

To celebrate the feast of the flesh of the bull  
Of Daire-Mic-Daire, the brown and the rough;  
To drink the water, whence strife ensues,  
Of Bo [the cow of] Neimheidh between two darknesses.”

—“ Book of Rights,” p. 25.

Innumerable localities still retain the impress of this ancient mythology, and are so many surviving vestiges of those dark days when our Pagan ancestors dedicated the fields, the waters, and the roads to the worship of the cow; and hence, *Acadh-Bo*, “the field of the cow;” *Inis-bo-finde*, “the island of the white cow;” *Bohur-na-Bo-Ruadh*, “the road of the red cow;” *Bohur-na-Bo-finne*, “the road of the white cow,” &c., &c.<sup>1</sup> Hence it would appear that the first roadways opened in Ireland were dedicated to this favourite animal, and that the obscure by-ways now known by the name of *Bohur* are the remains of the primitive roads of Pagan times. After the establishment of Christianity, the word *bohur*, *bohar*, or *bothar*, appears to have been applied to other roads than those of Pagan origin. In the primitive townland of Brabstown, in the parish of Tullaroan, where “St. Margaret’s Well” gushes from under an aged ash, the remains of a neglected and obscure pathway is still called *Bohur-Keirawn*, and, according to the tradition of the neighbourhood, was originally opened by St. Kyran and his scholars from Saiger. In “Cormac’s Glossary,” this word *bohur* or *bothar*, though denuded of its primitive mystical signification, still implies, in the etymology there given, its remote origin and peculiar office—“*Bothar*: two cows fit upon it, one lengthwise, the other athwart, and the calves and yearlings fit upon it along with them; for if they were behind them, the cow that followed would wound them.” We have two of those *bohurs* or *bothars* still existing in the suburbs of Kilkenny, namely, *Bohur-na-thoundish*, i.e., “the road of the old or infirm,”<sup>2</sup> and *Bohur-Caoic*, i.e., “the blind *bohur* or road,” which, with another old pathway that, though not retaining the name of *Bohur*, is still so ancient that the etymology of its cognomen, *Lawnamateen*, is lost in the obscurity of its age, I hold to be the remains of the three most important entrances into Kilkenny in remote times. To illustrate the history

<sup>1</sup> Some persons have ascribed the origin of these terms to the peculiar richness of the pasturage in their respective localities; but Mr. Hacket shows that places bearing such names are found in districts that are now

bleak and sterile, and which never could have been fertile. See his papers referred to in note 1, p. 257, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> For this translation I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. John O’Daly, of Dublin.

and topography of these three by-roads, it is necessary that we first notice another of the primitive highways, from which is derived much of our topographical nomenclature, namely, the *Bealach*, one of the most celebrated passes of ancient Ireland.

The *Bealach* may be described as an opening or valley between two mountain ridges, affording egress and ingress between the *maghiere*,<sup>1</sup> or plains at the opposite sides. The etymology of the word implies this, being derived from *buel*, "a mouth or passage," and *each* or *ach*, "a horse," and literally signifies a horseway, or a passage for a horseway or road.<sup>2</sup>

The southern districts of Kilkenny are intersected by a mountain ridge, that sweeps in a transverse curve from east to west of the county. This lofty tract commences with the base of the "Copenagh" hills. The "Sliabh-g-Caithle" of O'Heerin, in the barony of Gowran, about three miles south of the town of the same name,

<sup>1</sup> The cutting down of the woods and the clearing of the plains are prominently related by all our Bardic historians as evidences of the superior civilization of the Milesian invaders over their predecessors, the "Firbolg tribes, who cleared no plains" (Keating, vol. i., p. 100; "Cambrensis Eversus," Kelly's edition, vol. i. p. 434, note *o*). Irial Faidhe or the Prophet, cleared the wood of sixteen plains, and made the ground fit for tillage and pasture. Within the enclosures of these plains he founded seven towns or "raths," which he fortified with fosses or ditches ("Annals of the Four Masters," A.M. 3520; also Keating and Lynch as above quoted). A similar origin is ascribed by Caesar to the towns of Britain—"What the Britons call a town is nothing more than a thick wood surrounded by a ditch or bank;" and Strabo gives a still better idea—"Their towns," he says, "are woods of a broad circuit, in the midst of which they clear away a part of the trees, and build huts, in which they and the cattle live together." In Ireland, the districts thus cleared and rendered fit for human inhabitation were called *Maghera*, or plains, singular *Magh*, pronounced "Moy," which word was originally applied to open or flat districts that had been recently cleared of the primeval forests. Within the *Maghera* were erected the *Raths*, the *Lios*, the *Duns*, &c., the cradles of social life, and the nurseries of the civil and political institutions of ancient Ireland. Within the limits of the present county of Kilkenny are many extensive tracts, formerly known with the prefix of *Magh*, the respective situations and extent of which we shall discuss lower down. For the etymology of the word *Magh*, see Kennedy's "Dissertation of the Royal Fa-

mily of the Stewarts," pp. 19 and 20.

<sup>2</sup> "Explanation of the names of townlands as derived from the Irish language," Parochial Survey of Ireland, by W. S. Mason, Esq.; Dublin, 1814; vol. i. p. 12. The word *Bealach* is now frequently modernised *Bally*, but improperly, the latter being derived from *Baille*, i. e., "villages, little towns, or cantons," ("Ogygia," vol. i. p. 86). The pass through a bog was not a *Bealach*, as is generally supposed: the bog-pass was called the *Tougher*, *Toker*, or *Tochar*—a word of frequent occurrence amongst the topographical terms of the "Annals of the Four Masters," for which see Index, at *Tochar*, &c. In each instance it means a bog-pass or causeway. In 1634, a bill was introduced into the Irish Parliament by Robert, Lord Dillon, Baron of Kilkenny West, entitled, "An Act for the repairing and amending of Bridges, Cawsies, and *Toughers* in the highways" ("Journal of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland," p. 132). It appears highly probable that the tract of moory soil stretching from Sheepstown to near Mullinavat, and through which lay the high-road over the Walsh Mountains in former times, as we shall see hereafter, was called *Knocktoker*, i. e., "the mountain bog-pass," and from which is derived the word *Knocktopher*, the present name of the entire barony. The situation and extent of the *Knocktoker* or *Knocktopher* bog are marked on the map of the county prefixed to Tighe's Survey of Kilkenny. *Tochar* Castle, county Cork, evidently derives its name from the same source, the situation being adjacent to an exhausted bog—a low moorland lying between high rocky elevations. "Transactions," vol. i., pars. 2, p. 160.

rises to unequal altitudes, and describes with its northern face a semicircular curve through the baronies of Gowran, Knocktopher, and Kells, and terminates in "Dromderg," now known as the Killamery hills. This rugged ridge appears to have determined at some remote period in Irish history the southern boundary of ancient Ossory.<sup>1</sup> Its northern slopes give to the plain which they enclose a basin-like configuration, within which lay the celebrated plains of "Magh Roighne,"<sup>2</sup> "Magh-lacha,"<sup>3</sup> and "the smooth

<sup>1</sup> According to Keating, ancient Ormond extended eastward as far as Gabhran (vol. i. p. 78). The learned editor of the "Book of Rights" demurs to Keating's authority on this point, for, as he argues, nearly half the kingdom of Ossory in that case belonged to Munster, but admits what is equivalent, viz., that the King of Munster claimed jurisdiction over Ossory, as far as Gowran; and O'Dugan's poem, describing the "Extent of Ancient Ossory," asserts that this same district had been contended for between "the fair Munster men" and the Osrighs, all of which is apparently irreconcilable with O'Heerin's topography of these same localities. After the expulsion of the Osrighs from Munster, noticed hereafter, ancient Ormond, or Muscruidhe, formed the western boundary of Ossory, stretching from "Bealach-Mor," in Upper Ossory, to the present town of Carrick-on-Suir. The high ground in the south of our county, popularly known as the "Walsh Mountains," forms the continuation of a chain running through Ormond and Ossory. The top of these hills was probably subject to Munster at a later period than the rest of Ossory; and it is to this district that O'Dugan refers as being contended for by the Ossorians and the Munstermen. It is a singular circumstance, that down to the present day the predilections of the inhabitants, the traditions and idioms of the district, are all favourable to what is sustained by history, that it at one period formed part of Munster. But if the jurisdiction of the King of Munster was recognised here, later than in other parts of Ossory, the pretensions of the "Fair Munster men" must have been bounded and shaped by the curvings of this mountain ridge, which reaches north-east as high as Coppenagh, near Gowran, and north-west to "Dromderg," in the Killamery hills, which bring it within the confines of the ancient Ormond; and hence it might be said that Ormond extended to Gowran. Killamery, or "Cill-Lamraidhe," at one period was included in Ormond, or "Muscruidhe." According to Aengus Culdee, quoted by Keating, the

people of this territory "placed themselves, their families, and fortunes" under the care of St. Gobnait or Gobban; and in the "Martyrology of Donegal," Dec. 6, the same St. Gobban is thus commemorated as patron of Killamery—"Gobban Fionn Cill-Lamraidhe" (Keating, vol. ii, p. 67; "Martyrology of Tallaght," p. 85; the "Monasticon" at Killamery). The central district of this mountain ridge is confined within the present barony of Knocktopher; and the inhabitants of this lofty region are characterized by habits and manners of life indigenous to their native hills, and which assimilate them much more to their Munster neighbours than to their kindred stock of the valley of the Nore. Every person accustomed to travel between Kilkenny and Waterford must have experienced that once he is south of "Castle Banney" he is virtually out of Kilkenny.

<sup>2</sup> Magh Roighna was a celebrated plain in the present barony of Kells, and of which a grand view is obtained from the Waterford and Kilkenny Railway, between Jerpoint Hill and the Ballyhale station-house. In a subsequent page, we shall make some inquiries into the situation and extent of this historic locality.

<sup>3</sup> MAGH LACHA.—The plains of "Magh Roighne" and "Magh-lacha" are comprised in the present barony of Kells ("Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory"). According to the views to be advanced hereafter, Magh Roighne was confined to the eastern districts of that barony. Magh-lacha covered the flat country lying between Magh Roighne and the present county of Tipperary, or near the eastern half of the barony of Kells. According to Colgan (quoted by the editor of "Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory,"), Magh-lacha contained the parish church of Cill-Bhrighde Major and the chapel of Cill-Bhrighde; and O'Heerin further describes this plain as "Magh-lacha of the warm hill slopes," from which outlines we are enabled to form a pretty accurate map of the extent and situation of this ancient Maghery. The church of Cill-Bhrighde Major is the present parish church of "Kil-

land of O'Gloiran, along the beautiful Callainn." These ancient *magherys* were situated in that fertile district extending south from

ree," where a round tower, a holy well, and a ruined church still perpetuate the name and memory of St. Bridget. This appears to have been called "Kilree" since the death of Niall Caille, monarch of Ireland about A.D. 851 (Keating, vol. II, p. 95). This king invaded Ossory at the head of a numerous army, for the object of placing upon the throne of Leinster one of the O'Faolains, of that "manly tribe" that peopled the plains of "Magh-Lacha" (Keating as above; "Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory"). The royal party seem to have been travelling from the direction of "Ennisnag," and on the north bank of the King's River, then called the "Callann" (O'Heerin). They probably crossed the Nore at "Ath-na-mult," and proposed to cross the "Callann" from the present townland of "Kells-grange" into that of "Rathduff," near the present corn-mills, apparently the most ancient ford over this river below Kells, and from which to the church of "Kilree" the topographical outlines of the present day show a road to have existed at some former time. In the attempt to ford the stream, the king was accidentally drowned, and is said by tradition to be buried in the church of "Cill-Bhrighde Major," two miles south of the river, where a large stone cross, uninscribed, marks the resting-place of the royal remains, and since which event this church is called Kilree, from *Cill-Righ*, i. e., "the church of the king." I have heard it stated as a tradition, also, that this cross no more than commemorates the event of the king's death, and that his body rests under the very singular moat or eminence in "West Court" demesne; near the town of Callan. This moat is certainly an artificial sepulchral mound; but whether erected as a tumulus over "Nial Caille," or some less distinguished personage, is now outside the range of discovery. Since the death of this king, the river that washes the base of this mound or "Tulach" has been known as the *Owen-righ*, i. e., "the king's river."

This account of the death of the king, and the derivation of the names of the river and the church, are principally taken from Keating's History, the Ordnance Survey, and the generally received tradition of the county. Dr. O'Donovan, an authority of the highest importance, to whom the proofs of this paper have been submitted, states that the patron of the church of Kilree "was called by the Irish, *Crimther Fraech*; and, at his princi-

pal church in the county Leitrim, he is locally called *Criffier Ree*, the *f* being totally sunk:" whence might probably come the word Kilree, the present name of his church near Kells. The learned doctor also states that the whole story about the drowning of the king in our Callan River is a mere pseudo-tradition, founded on the word Kilree, which is only the Anglicised form of Kill Fraoich.

The chapel of Cill-Bhrighde was an ancient church, the site of which is still a place of great sepulture, known as Kilbride, two miles south of Callan, where the rectorial glebe lands of that parish are situated; which proves that, before the town of Callan had existence, the "Chapel of Cill-Bhrighde" was the ancient parochial church of the district. Colgan calls it the "chapel," whence we are to infer that, after the new church of Callan had been constituted the parochial establishment, its ancient predecessor at Killbride sank down into a "chapel of ease." A small stream, one of the feeders of the King's River, runs by this old church-yard, receiving the waters from a refreshing spring called "Toberbride." This stream, or the valley through which it meanders, appears to have formed the northern boundary of the plain of "Magh-Lacha."

In the "warm hill slopes" of Magh-Lacha we recognize the beautiful gravel hills by which the northern face of "Dromderrg" slopes down to "Rossenara," "Kilmaganny," "Rossany," and "Garryricken." Long before I had read O'Heerin's poem, those "warm hill slopes" had impressed my memory with pictures of their graceful outlines. The natural beauty and verdant sweetness of this fertile tract are still preserved in the topographical terms of its townland divisions. Hence many of them have the prefix *Garry*, i. e., "garden." Thus we have "Garryricken," "Garrythomas," &c. This was "the extensive district of Magh-Lacha, which the O'Faolains peopled." It occupied the flat country now encircled on the south by "Castlemorra," "Kilmaganny," and "Killamery," and extended thence to the north to the valley of "Kilbride," and east and west from "Kilree" to the bounds of the county of Tipperary. Of this splendid plain a grand prospect is presented to an observer looking south from the centre of the "Fair Green" of Callan.

<sup>1</sup> O'Heerin's sketch of this fruitful tract is peculiarly appropriate—

the valley of the "King's River" to the Killamory, Kilmogany, and Knocktopher hills,<sup>1</sup> and which, being protected by these as so many mountain ramparts, early gave birth to historic localities that subsequently grew up into chartered towns, municipal boroughs, and extensive ecclesiastical establishments, which being here nurtured to maturity amidst the sublime solitude of sylvan vales and the varied beauty of meandering streams and verdant undulations; now in the subdued grandeur of their ruin, shed a halo of inspiration around, and give an air of solemn romance to the scene, which perpetuate in some degree the ancient fame of those venerable localities.

The mountain ridge now described is intersected by three great gaps or mouths, through which communication was maintained with Southern Ossory in ancient times, viz., "Bealach Gabhran" in the east, "Bealach Tobin" in the west, and "Bealach-Ele" in the south, and from which respectively to the present district of Kilkenny the three old roads above mentioned constituted three great highways. The evidence of this interesting fact, together with some collateral illustrations, shall form the immediate subject of the present paper.

**BEALACH GABHRAN AND BOHER-NA-THOUNDISH.**—The Sleive Margy hills, which are continued from the Queen's County through that of Kilkenny, run nearly parallel with the courses of the Nore and the Barrow, and formed the eastern boundary of the principality of Ossory, and intercepted all communication between the valleys of the two rivers. This ridge, better known to us as the Johnswell Mountains, terminates at Freestone-hill, in the townland of Coolegrange, in the barony of Gowran; and the valley or opening between this and the Coppengh hills, four miles distant, constituted the ancient and celebrated pass of "Bealach Gabhran." Here was a royal house for the king of Ossory, it being a most eligible position in a strategical point of view, for command-

"O'Glolairn the fruitful branch has got  
A cantred of a sweet country,  
The smooth land along the beauteous Callann—  
A land without a particle of blemish."

Who can fail to recognize here the verdant vale of the "Avonree," particularly the sweet country of "Chapellzod," where the cognomen of the original tribe is preserved in the name of the obscure stream which retains still the title of the "Glory River," evidently derived from the branch of the O'Glolairns who peopled its banks? I have traversed the rural vale through which silently meanders this peaceful rivulet. In its onward course it rolls in foam over an eel-weir, or again it has its power increased by an arti-

ficial conduit, to propel the overshot wheel of a corn-mill. With these two exceptions, it sluggishly glides through a "cantred of a sweet country" till, in the townland of "Goodwin's Gardens," it joins the stream of the "beauteous Callann." For the course of this river, see Townland Survey, sheet 27.

<sup>1</sup> The course and geological formation of this mountain rampart is best shown on the map prefixed to "Tighe's Survey" of the county Kilkenny; and under its shelter Gowran, Thomastown, Jerpoint, Knocktopher, Kells, Callan, and Kilmannagh, describe a regular semicircle from east to west of the county.



ing the great passway between the valleys of the sister-rivers, the "Feoir" and the "Bearbha," from which the Prince of Ossory was usually known as "the King of Gabhran" (see "Book of Rights"). This was the great line of communication between the countries of southern Ossory, and Idrone and Hy-Kincella, and to this day the great highroad between the south-east and south-west of Ireland.

A road in very early times entered Ossory through "Bealach Gabhran," and thence continued as the great highway up the valley of the Nore. This road is mentioned in the Book of Rights as "Bealach Smechuin," and the following extract illustrating it is highly suggestive in our present inquiry:—"There was an ancient road named *Gabhair* somewhere near Carlow; the following reference to it in an ancient historical tale preserved in the 'Book of Leinster' may help to fix its position, or at least direction. The companions conversing are Lughaidh-Mac na-d-tri Con and Conal Cearnach, who are introduced as standing on the banks of the river Liffey—"I shall go," said Lughaidh 'upon Bealach Gabhran till I get on Bealach Smechuin. Now go thou upon Gabhair on Mairgh Laighean, that we may meet at Magh Airged-Ros.'" In modern phraseology, the two companions proposed to start from some point in the county of Kildare, and by different roads to meet in the county of Kilkenny. Mount Margy extends in length nearly from Athy to Gowran, and corresponding with its northern and southern declivities were the two celebrated fords over the Barrow—namely, "Athrodain,"<sup>1</sup> now Athy, over which lay the road though "Leix," "Upper Ossory," and "Bealach Mor" into Munster; and "Leithglin,"<sup>2</sup> now Leighlin, the passway through "Bealach Gab-

<sup>1</sup> Athrodain, also called Athy, is famous in Irish history as the pass over the Barrow of the retreating army of Munster from the battle of Mullaghmast in the third century, and also of the Munster army under Donough, son of Bryan Borroimbe on their return from the battle of Clontarf, in the 11th century.—Keating, vol. i. p. 80; vol. ii. p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> The bridge of Leighlin, or Lochlin, is celebrated as the pass by which Cormac Mac Culleanan and his great Munster army forded the Barrow on their march to the battle of "Bealach Mugne," fought in the grand plain of "Magh Ailbhe," A. D., 903 ("Annals of the Four Masters" at this year). Tighe says this battle was fought at "Whitefield," in the parish of "Macullee," county of Kilkenny; and, quoting Keating as his authority, he says that this place being west of Leighlin, and the word "Mac-Ullee" or "Magh-Ullee" is only a corruption of "Magh Ailbhe," which means, according to him, the field or plains of the hills (Survey, p. 638);

but Keating is entirely against this statement. He says that the king, from the borders of Leinster, directed his course eastward to Mount Margy, till he came to the bridge of Leithglin. Hence the army advanced with trumpets sounding and colours flying, and came to a place called Magh Ailbhe, where the king marked out a camp, and fortified himself by the side of a wood (Keating, vol. ii., p. 124). After crossing the bridge of Leighlin from Mount Margy, the king was at the east side of the Barrow, and consequently the plain of Magh Ailbhe could not be west of Leighlin. We are informed that Magh Ailbhe was an extensive plain in Kildare, extending from the river Barrow and Mount Margy to the foot of the Wicklow Mountains. Of this magnificent plain the author of an Irish poem, describing the monuments of Leinster, exultingly asks, "Where is there in any province in Ireland a plain like Magh Ailbhe?" ("Book of Rights," p. 16, note \*). It must occur to the reader that the extensive flat known as

ran" into southern Ossory; and midway, at the western declivity of Sleive Margy, stretches out the broad plain of "Magh Airged Ros," covering the flat country on which now stand the towns of Ballyragget, Rathbeath, and Freshford. Hence the respective paths of the two primitive travellers corresponded to a certain extent with the routes of the opposition stage-coaches from Kilkenny to Dublin twenty-five years ago,<sup>1</sup> Conal Cearnach crossed the "Bearbha," or Barrow, at "Athtrodain," ascended "Mairgh Leighean," the present barony of "Sleive Margy," in the south-east of the Queen's County, over which to the "Comar" lay the ancient "Gabhair," which, in consequence, we may safely identify as the original road from Athy to Castlecomer. From the "Comar," or *meeting of the streams*, it again ascended that branch of Mount Margy that separates the "Fassach of the Dinan" from the valley of the Nore, which latter river it probably forded at "Belath-Raggat," or "Bealach-ath-Raggat," i. e., the opening or road to the ford of Raggat, an undoubtedly ancient pass over the river, convenient to which, on the western banks of the Nore, are the ruins of "Rathbeath" church, and the great "Rath" of the same name, the centre and capitol of the plain of "Magh Airged Ros."

But the road by which Lughaidh, the companion of Conal Cearnach, gained "Magh Airged Ros," more immediately concerns our design. He entered the valley of the Nore through "Bealach Gabhran," whence he got on "Bealach Smechuin." We seek in vain for the name of this pass in the topographical terms of the present day. It must have been a road within Ossory, leading from Gowran in a north-westerly direction; and we can still trace the remains of some such highway in broken sections by the eastern boundary of the parish of Dunbel to Ballyreddin, where it crossed the Nore, and where, to the present day, the current of the river is interrupted by the abutments or embankments of some ancient ford or bridge, from which probably originally came the word Ballyreddin, or Bealachreddin—might the affix *reddin* be a modern addendum? If so, may not the pass over the river here have been anciently called "Bealach Smechuin?" Be this as it may, an ancient road from "Bealach Gabhran" crossed the Nore here, for its remains are still open at both sides of the river; and in the townland of "Kilree" its continuation is intersected by the present high-

the "Curragh of Kildare" is identical with a portion of the ancient Magh Ailbhe; and of it, too, may it be said, "Where is there in any province of Ireland a plain like the Curragh of Kildare?"

<sup>1</sup> The "Wandesford Coach," so called by way of compliment to the proprietor of Castlecomer, was got up in opposition to the usual day coach to Dublin, about the year

1825. It started from Kilkenny each morning at eight o'clock, made its way up the valley of the Dinan, through Castlecomer, to Athy, and thus shortened the journey to Dublin by two Irish miles; fare, 5s. The usual day mail took the turnpike road round by the "Royal Oak," crossed Loughlin Bridge, and thence ultimately to Dublin by the same path as that of the "Wandesford."

road from Bennett's-bridge to Kilkenny. The antique aspect of this locality is still remarkable, and is known by its Irish title—"Poul ath-sny."<sup>1</sup> From this the old line is partially open along the western side of the present road, running nearly parallel to its course, and separating the parishes of Grange-Kilree<sup>2</sup> and Kilferagh,

<sup>1</sup> This name is evidently derived from the passage of the road over the river *Poul*, being a pool or pond, and *Ath*, a ford or pass over a stream. It is impossible to determine whether the embankments in the river at Ballyreddin were originally natural islands or artificial contrivances for bridging the current. Their present configuration was produced by the construction of the weir, when the bed of the river had to be deepened in order to increase the power of the water; before which it is highly probable that the quantity of material now piled up in the great island was spread over the river from bank to bank, and formed a fordable rapid for the passage of the road.

<sup>2</sup> "Grange of Kilree."—From the ford of Ballyreddin, or Bealachreddin, there exist the remains of another ancient road, which, though now broken up into sections, originally formed a great highway up to the primitive hamlet of "Grange-Kilree." Part of this road is still open, retaining many of the peculiarities of the ancient ways, and serving no purpose at present of public utility. It is intersected by the present high-road from Bennett's Bridge to Kilkenny, and thence up to "Kilree" the remaining portion is partially modernized into an entrance avenue. "Grange of Kilree" was evidently in days of yore the centre of active life and busy scenes, as it still exhibits many vestiges of former importance. The "baille" or town of Kilree was approached by four roads leading from its centre to as many opposite directions. That by which we have arrived from Ballyreddin does not appear to have had any continuation beyond the centre of the town, and must have been originally constructed as the medium of communication between Grange Kilree and Gowran. From the ancient village of "Wallalough," where the primitive plantations and undisturbed boundaries which for many generations have surrounded an ancient rath, and which attest the importance of the place in gone-by times, a road led through the centre of Kilree, and thence in a southerly direction through the townland of "Skeaghaturiah" (to which it forms now the entrance avenue) to "Annamult," where it forded the King's River near its junction with the Nore, and then probably ran to Jerpoint Abbey. This road appears

to have been the great high-way from those localities in former times; it united with the "Boher-na-thoundiah" road at "Wallalough," which ran direct thence to Kilkenny. A fourth road led to the town of "Outrath," which was very probably an important high-way in remote times. Its continuation thence we shall trace hereafter. The intersection or junction of those roads formed what was once the *square* of Grange Kilree, in the centre of which still stand the remains of a rude stone edifice, which may have been either a church or a castle. The east wall is about three feet high, and the remainder is a mass of rubbish, little above the level of the ground. It is marked a castle on the Townland Survey (sheet 28). As far as the outlines can be traced, this edifice must have been a very simple and unpretending structure, and apparently both older than and inferior to the Norman castles. It is a specimen of very rude ancient Irish architecture. The area or open space surrounding this castle preserved many of its original features down to about ten years since, when I first became acquainted with this locality. This area or open space formed the square or town of Grange-Kilree, and was in remote times what is thus described in "Cormac's Glossary," viz. :—"A Ramat, i. e. an *Urscear*, an open space or street, which is in front of the forts of kings; every neighbour whose land comes up to it is bound to clean it." (See "Book of Rights.") The last trace of this ancient street will soon be obliterated by the agricultural improvements of John H. Whitcroft, Esq., the present proprietor. I have not been able to obtain a single vista into the primitive history of this locality, except what is implied in the etymology of its name. According to Mason's Parochial Survey, already quoted, "Grange" means a *gracia farm*, and there is no difficulty in identifying *Cil-Righ*, the church of the king: hence "Grange of Kilree," the old form of the title, means the "Farm of the king's church." This small parish and the adjacent townlands are to the present day the finest grain districts in the county, and whether in remote times its rich and luxuriant crops might have been farmed for the "prince of Gabhrain," lying as it does midway between Gowran and Kells, is a spe-

as far as the townland of Wallslough, whence it continues the dividing boundary between the parishes of Outrath and Kilferagh, from which it is still open as a bye road to Kilkenny and well known as "Boher-na-thoundish" which, as already observed, means the "road of the aged or infirm." The antiquity of this road is established by the fact that its line still forms the dividing boundary between all the parishes and ancient townlands from Gowran to Kilkenny, from which it may be concluded that its construction was anterior to the formation of either parochial or townland districts.

From "Loughboy" through the townland of "Cashel" to Upper Patrick-street, the Boher-na-thoundish has been used as a kind of 'trunk line' into which have been opened the entrances of the modern roads from Waterford and Kells. From an inspection of the district itself, as well as from the study of either the Ordnance Map or Rocque's Survey of the city, it is perfectly certain that what we now call Upper Patrick-street is a modern entrance by which the ancient road was turned out of its original course, and conducted into the 'Hightown' through 'St. Patrick's-gate,' the direct continuation of the ancient way being down through New-street, Flood-street, and Blackmill-street, thus ignoring the existence of our present city, as it ran along parallel with the site of its walls. New-street preserved to within the memory of many still living its ancient Irish cognomen 'The Cool,' *i. e.*, the ridge, or hill; derived, no doubt, from the circumstance that the road here ran over the summit of the hill on the eastern slope of which the town was subsequently built. This old roadway was adopted by the colonists as the western extremity of the 'Hightown,' as to this day it forms the western boundary of St. Mary's parish. The present Flood-street is not the precise line of the ancient road, though it ran parallel to it. By an Inquisition taken at Kilkenny (No. 9, Jac. I.) 27th April, 1609, Sir Richard Shee, Knight, was found seised of an orchard near 'Walking's-gate' called '*Dullard's Orchard.*' This is the orchard between Flood-street and the Fair-

culatation deriving some support from the etymology of its name, and also from the topographical fact that an ancient road ran direct between it and Gowran.

<sup>1</sup> "Loughboy," from *Lochbuidhe*, *i. e.*, "the yellow lough." This pool until recently covered half the present entrance to the Waterford road, at its junction with the Boher-na-thoundish, and a much more extensive surface before it was partially filled for the passage of the road. It was probably called the yellow lough, from the luxuriant growth of cowslips and other field flowers of the same hue that covered the small field which the lough separated from the road before the erection of the present

boundary wall.

<sup>2</sup> The piece of ground lying between the Kells road and the Loughbuidhe field constitutes the townland of "Cashel." It is easy to see that this small tract only preserves the title of a more extensive district of ancient importance. What we now call "Dean's Ground," "Archer-street Lot," Duke's meadows, and the Castle grounds, formed the environs of an ancient *Caissal*, which, according to the learned annotator of the "Book of Rights," denotes a circular stone fort. The grounds upon which I venture this statement and some further inquiries into the same subject, we must defer to a future occasion.

green—‘and I garden near the same’—the present nursery garden, which extended from Flood-street to the town wall. If these two had been then united, they would not be thus distinguished; and from the peculiar outlines of the locality, it appears that the ‘Cool’ ran down from New-street between Dullard’s Orchard and the present range of houses on the west side of Flood-street, and that the small lane still open opposite New-street is a portion of the ancient line, which from this ran down to James’s-green and crossed it obliquely to Blackmill-street, the remarkable curving of which is a surviving remnant of the original pathway as it descended from the ‘Cool’ to ford the ‘Bregach’ river at our present Blackmill-bridge, and thus entered the ancient hamlet, or Baillie—most probably the ‘Baillie-Gaelloch’ of Ledwich—our observations on which we must, however, postpone until we shall have again returned to this interesting locality, by another road. Following then the old track by which we have crossed the Bregach, we find ourselves in the north-western suburbs of our present Irishtown; and here we find the remains of our old highway so ancient and so obscure, that it retains no name by which it can be designated. But from an inquisition taken at Kilkenny (No. 9 Jac. I.) we learn that the ancient entrance of this road into the Irishtown was called ‘Coolenegomanagh’ or the *hill of the goose*—now Goosehill. This road, after quitting the suburbs, separates the modern townland of Ayresfield from the older one of Lochmacask, and further on that of Louseybush from Raheennaughan, in the latter of which it is lost in the fields; but its old course is easily recognised in the dividing boundary of the townlands of Deerpark and Coolgrange, in the latter of which it unites with a modern road, and by which it has been superseded, now known as Grange’s-road.

From Coolgrange the ancient path leads to a remarkable gap in the Dromdelgy hills, which must have been an important pass in former times. The Dromdelgy ridge rises from the western bank of the Nore, about two miles above Kilkenny, and runs off in a north-westerly direction, separating the great flat or basin of Ballinamara, the “Cold Magh-Airbh”<sup>1</sup> of ancient times, from the present parishes

<sup>1</sup> “Magh Airbh” was the name of a celebrated plain within the barony of Cranagh, in the north-west of the county of Kilkenny. Keating (“History,” vol. ii., p. 190) calls this place “Grein Airbh;” and Kennedy (p. 81), “Grein Airbein.” A person conversant with the topography of the barony of Cranagh cannot fail to recognise the ancient “Magh Airbh” in that capacious valley or basin lying between the hills of “Tullaroan” and “Clomantagh,” and stretching from the ridge of Rahelity, south of Ballinamara Church, to the confines of the county, where

*Grein-hill* still perpetuates the title of the ancient plain, within which lie the three primitive parishes of “Ballinamara,” “Kilalahy,” and “Tubbridbritain.”

The following extract from an Irish poem, written in the year 942, by Cormacan Eigeas, chief poet of the north of Ireland, describing a journey made the year before by Muircheartach Mac Neill, prince of Aileach, for the purpose of taking hostages from the native chiefs who were likely to oppose his succession to the throne of Tara, of which he was then the heir apparent, will afford an

of Odagh, Clashacrow, and Freshford; then, sweeping towards the north-east, through Clomantagh, it runs nearly parallel with the course of the Nore, forming the high grounds of Coolcashin and Glashare, and constituting the common boundary between the grand plain of Feartha (the "Magh Sedna" of old) and that fertile tract through the centre of which flows the river Nore. This ridge, in remote times, must have formed an important line of

opportunity of some additional illustrations respecting the plain of "Magh Airbh." (See Circuit of Muirheartach Mac Neill, Irish Archaeological Society, vol. i.: Tracts relating to Ireland.) From Bealach Maghna, now Ballymoon, county Carlow, the royal party entered the valley of the Nore, through the "noisy Bealach Gabhran," and we have two days' journey through the southern districts of Ossory recorded. The first night was spent at the "*clear Fliodais*." This was evidently the river Nore, anciently called the *Foir*. It was the only river within Ossory that could intercept their contemplated journey, being within about five miles of the "Bealach Gabhran," and the only one that could claim so distinguished a notice as the "*clear Fliodais*." I have observed above, that the ancient pass over the *Foir*, or Nore, was at Ballyreddin or Bealach-reddin, to which we may add here that this is the nearest point of the river to the Gowran Pass; and it is more than probable that the Prince of Aileach encamped in the remarkable group of raths at "Dunbel," on the bank of the "*clear Fliodais*," where he was supplied with "food, ale, and hogs by the hospitable chiefs of Ossory." The next night was passed

"at the cold Magh Airbh,  
At the wells of the long-lived Britain;"

and the following night "at the plain of Doir Mor," i. e. the great oak, in the county of Tipperary. From this it certainly does appear, that the ancient road from "Bealach Gabhran" into Munster lay through "Magh Airbh" and "Tubridbritain;" and this is further sustained by a passage in Keating's "History" (vol. ii., p. 128), describing the great battle of "Bealach Maghna," fought in the early part of the tenth century, between the armies of Leinster and Munster, in which Cormac Mac Culleanan, the episcopal King of Munster, and Ceallach Mac Carrol, the valiant King of Ossory, and his son (a prince of promising hopes) were slain; all of which was principally caused by the rashness and imprudence of Flathbertach, Abbot of Inis-catha, who was in consequence upbraided

by the clergy of Leinster as being the fomentor of the discord and the cause of the bloodshed; when "Muirionon, the pious Abbot of St. Bridget," apprehending danger to his life from the enraged populace, procured a guard for him till he arrived at *Magh Airbh*, whence he got safe into Munster. This implies that the high-road of that time from Carlow or Kildare into Munster corresponded with the route of Muirheartach Mac Neill through Magh Airbh and Tubridbritain.

A road did most certainly exist at some remote period, the remains of which are still traceable in isolated sections from Ballyreddin, or Bealach-reddin, either to "Grange Kilree" or to "Wallalough," and from both of these to "Oustrath," from which the road is still open, though partially modernized, to "Inchihologhan," thence to "Aughtanny," an ancient ford over the Bregach river, whence probably the word is derived. From this the old line is closed up, but can be easily traced down to Smith's old mansion-house at "Dama," where it is again open, fords another stream of the Bregach river at the "Monument Tree," ascends by St. Michael's Church into the primitive region of "Gurt-an-Oir," or the *golden field*; thence it is open through Ballyanear or Bealach-an-Cear, which means either the town or the pass of slaughter. (See "Parochial Survey," vol. iii. p. 650.) From this it conducts us by Mount Gale, where one of the finest raths in the county has its ramparts or ditches in a state of perfect preservation; thence a gap in Knockroe (*Cnoc-ruadhe*), or the red hill, affords a pass into the splendid basin of Ballynamara, which amplifies into a north-western district of varied scenes of hill and vale, sometimes clothed in verdure, and again presenting bare and rugged outlines, but all irrigated by streams flowing from the living springs of "Tubridbritain;" or, as the Ulster poet described them twelve hundred years ago, "The wells of the long-lived Britain."

This valley was the scene of a great battle about the year 470 of our era, in which Fraech, son of the King of Leinster, was

demarcation in the political geography of the valley of the Nore, constituting as it did the western boundary of that celebrated tribe district, the "Ui-Duach of Ossory."

Near Three Castles, in the parish of Odagh, the Dromdelgy ridge is snapped asunder, as if by some sudden effort or convulsion of nature, and the gap thus formed is known as "Bearna-Glasana,"<sup>1</sup> through which most indubitably led the original road from Coole-nagomanagh, up the valley of the Nore. On the summit of the hill, between the gap and the river, stand the ruins of the old church of Drumdelgy;<sup>2</sup> and the abrupt cliff north-west of the gap was formerly called the "Black Hill,"<sup>3</sup> along the base of which may still be traced the course of the ancient road, now partially used as a pedestrian "short cut" from "Bearna-Glasana," through the primitive townland of "Lecque,"<sup>4</sup> wending across the flat country by "Coolihal," in the direction of Rathbeath. Under the shadow of the Black Hill are the remains of an old Norman tower, still called the "Black Castle;" and from the summit of the hill is obtained a grand view of that expansive district which, six hundred years ago, O'Heerin described as "the fair wide plain of the Feior." Graduating on the east to the summit of Slieve-Margy, and extending on the north as high as "the warm soil" of "Magh Airged-Ros," where Heremon, the first Milesian king, erected his palace, and which was subsequently his grave;<sup>5</sup> and where King Enneus minted silver coin 679 years before Christ, whence the district was called "Magh Airged-Ros," or "the plain of the silver wood."<sup>6</sup>

Having now traced out the former courses of these old path-

slain (Keating, vol. ii. p. 26). The reminiscence of this action is preserved to the present day in the traditions of the peasantry, and the names of the townlands along the old road by which we have travelled up the hill from Golden-field. The King of Cashel held a royal seat at "Dromdelgy" ("Book of Rights," p. 95), the name of the ridge of hills that separates the plain of Ballinamara from that of Odagh, and from which he probably commanded this ancient pass, which, there can be no doubt, formed the great highway from Bealach Gabhran into Munster in early times.

<sup>1</sup> "Bearna Glasana," or the "Gap of the green bushes," was probably derived from the shrubberies and underwood that clothed the adjacent plain, or covered the hills at either side of the gap, and to which O'Heerin refers as a peculiarity of

"The fair wide plain of the Feior,  
Not easily passable in the wood of the plain."

<sup>2</sup> Dromdelgy, from *drom*, a back or ridge and *dely* or *delgy*, thorn; hence comes "Thorn-back," the literal translation of Dromdelgy,

and is probably derived from the white and black thorn bushes and other prickly shrubbery that grew along its slopes. I once heard a gentleman of this city derive the word "Thornback" from the monks who lived in the old church having worn crowns of thorns on their backs!

<sup>3</sup> It is so called on the map prefixed to Tighe's Survey of the county, which he copied from the Down Survey. In an Inquisition taken at Thomastown, 4th June, 1628, 87 Jac. I., this place is called the "Black Achra."

<sup>4</sup> By an Inquisition taken at Gowran, 14th April, 1631, 36 Car. I., Oliver Shortal, Knight, was found seised of the land called "Nogle's-land," now Nagle's land and the land called "Gort-na-gro-nogh" and the land called "Lewghe," now Lecque, a very primitive district, in the parish of Odagh, near the "Black Hill."

<sup>5</sup> Keating, vol. i. p. 159; Id., p. 165. "Annals of the Four Masters," A.M. 3516.

<sup>6</sup> Kennedy, p. 86. In "Annals of Four Masters," at A.M. 3317.

ways, we may fairly identify Boher-na-thoundish and Coolenegomagh as surviving segments of the great original highway which, in remote times, entered Ossory through Bealach-Gabhran or Gowran, crossed the Nore at Ballyreddin, ran down through Newstreet, Flood-street, and Blackmill-street, was continued to the north over Goose-hill, and thence up the valley of the Nore through Bearn-Glasana, or the gap of the green bushes. Some further observations on the modern history of Boher-na-thoundish will conclude this section of our inquiry; after which we shall proceed to sketch the historical outlines of "Bealach Tobin" and "Boher Caioic."

Ballyreddin, or Bealachreddin, was the common pass over the Nore down to the erection of "Bennet's-bridge." In 1393, the 16th of Richard II., this bridge was known by its present name; from which it follows that it still retains the original title, which, being an English proper name, it requires no other evidence to prove that the bridge was originally an English construction.<sup>1</sup>

After the English invasion, "Bealach Gabhran" necessarily continued to be the great highway between the south-east and south-west of Ireland; and the road by Ballyreddin to Kilkenny not affording a direct route to the English possessions in the south-west of Ireland, the present road from Gowran through Bennet's-bridge, Burnchurch, Ballymack, Mullinahone, &c., was opened as the great highway from Loughlin-bridge into the colonial settlements of South Munster. It was by this route that William III., after the battle of the Boyne, travelled from Dublin to Limerick. His celebrated epistle to the Kilkenny Corporation is indited from the obscure village of Bennet's-bridge.

The construction of this road and the erection of Bennet's-bridge superseded the more ancient pass at Ballyreddin, and, the roads leading to it becoming unnecessary for public purposes, were neglected and partially closed up. It appears that, down to a comparatively modern period, the principal, if not the only road between Kilkenny and Gowran was over Bennet's-bridge. The present road from Bennet's-bridge to Kilkenny belongs to the turnpike period; and before its construction, the Boher-na-thoundish must have been the public road to Kilkenny. It was by this way that Cromwell approached the city from Gowran. The hill, on the summit of which he erected his ordnance, and from which, according to tradition, he battered the castle and the town walls, rises in the vicinity of this old road, and is popularly known to the present day as "Cromwell's Hill." It is highly probable that his Excellency availed himself of the splendid view of the city which this hill affords; but as to his guns acting on any part of the town

<sup>1</sup> See "Annuary" of the Society, vol. i., part 2, p. 128, note.



from so great a distance has been proved an impossibility by the Rev. James Graves. St. Patrick's Church, which Cromwell took by storm, and from the tower of which he effected a breach in the town wall behind the castle stables, stood on the brow of the Boher-na-thoundish road, near its modern entrance through St. Patrick's gate into the "Hightown." After his men had been twice repulsed from the breach by the garrison within, and the wall repaired, he commanded them to proceed to the Irishtown, the direct path to which lay down through those parts of the Boher-na-thoundish road now called New-street, Flood-street, and Blackmill-street, and which conducted them to "Dean's Gate," through which they must have entered the Irishtown, whence they took possession of the cathedral.

There were no localities known with the titles of "New-street" or "Flood-street" at the periods when the "Inquisitions" were taken that are quoted above. About a hundred years later, we find them so named on Rocque's Survey of the city, made in the year 1757. Hence we are to seek for the origin of the titles of those two streets at some period between the middle of the seventeenth and that of the eighteenth centuries. The family of Flood became proprietors of the lands outside the town walls, formerly held by Sir Richard Shee, in the reign of William III.; and this enables us to assign the origin of the present names to some period soon after the battle of the Boyne, when probably the first proprietor of the estate undertook the improvement of this part of the property by the erection of tenements along the old road, and from whom it was subsequently called "Flood-street." At the same period, the approach to the "Cool" from Walkin-street appears to have been widened, as may be observed from an inspection of the place; some few houses were erected in it, and it was then appropriately named "New-street." The continuation of the Cool, before it had been modernized, is easily recognised in the small lane still open opposite to it. The word "Cool," or ridge, was probably applied to this road originally, because it follows the highest ridge of ground along the west bank of the Nore, from Ballyreddin to Dromdelgy. "These *ridgeways*," observes an enlightened English antiquary, "were the roads made use of by the earliest inhabitants of Britain as lines of communication between their different towns and villages;" and he continues to trace one of these "*ridgeways*" or, as we call them, "*cools*" over the Wiltshire hills, and through the adjoining county of Berks—a distance of about eighty miles.<sup>1</sup>

BEALACH TOBIN AND BOHER CAOIC.—Bealachtobin is now the

<sup>1</sup> See History, Antiquities, &c., Cathedral Church of St. Canice, p. 42; Ledwich's "History of Irishtown and Kilkenny," p.

474; Sir Richard Colt Hoare's "South Wiltshire," p. 46; and "Roads, Railroads," &c., p. 39. London, 1839.

title of a parish in the barony of Kells. The affix "Tobin" is a modern addendum, derived from a branch of the St. Aubin or 'Tobin family who settled here; but the ancient name of this pass I consider, there is good ground for asserting was "Bealach Urluidhe." It afforded communication, in remote times, between the territories of "Magh Femin" and Lower Ossory. A short inquiry into the etymology of the name and the history of the pass will serve to throw some light on the ancient topography of our suburbs.

Magh Femin may be described as lying west of a line drawn from Callan to Carrick, bounded on the west and south by the river Suir, and extending north as far as Corca Eathrach, comprising the barony of Middlethird, with part of Offa, in Tipperary.<sup>1</sup> The hill of Sliabh-na-m-ban Femin, the mountain of the women of Femin, rises in the district; hence Magh-Femin, or the plain of Femin. Here Aengus Nadfrach erected his Cashel, and fortified it with fosses; hence it was also called Maghiere Caisil, or the plains of Cashel.<sup>2</sup> Aengus Ossory, the great patriarch of the valley of the Nore, carried his victorious arms into Munster, and took possession of Femin or the plains of Cashel as far as the Suir. From his time in the first century to the reign of Aengus Nadhfrach, King of Munster in the fifth century, Femin formed part of the principality of Ossory. In the time of Nadhfrach it was wrested from the Ossorians, and delivered over as a dowry by his son and successor Aengus to the Deciese, to whom he was indebted for the nurture of his wife, from which the district was subsequently known as the "North Deciese."<sup>3</sup> A great battle appears to have been fought on this occasion between the Osrighs and Momonians, which resulted in the defeat of the former; whence they were forced to abandon their possessions in Femin, and were expelled the country, with all their dependents. The route of the Ossorian army from Femin must have been through the great dingle or open in the Killamery hills, at the "Nine-mile house," anciently called *Bearna-na-coile-leithe*, i. e. the "Gap of the Gray Wood;"<sup>4</sup> and, being driven into the flat country south-west of Callan, another battle was fought, from which the districts there derived the names which they retain to the present day. "From the general defeat of Aengus," writes Keating, "it is that Baille Urluidhe and Mullach Aindeonach are known by the same names to the present day; for the word Urluidhe in the Irish language signifies the blows or irresistible strokes of valiant men, and Aindeonach is as much as to say, a violent expulsion."<sup>5</sup> Mullach Aindeonach is the present town of Mullinahone, about four miles south-

<sup>1</sup> "Book of Rights," p. 18, and Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., p. 282. "Trans.," vol. i., p. 340, first series.

<sup>2</sup> Keating, vol. i., p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>4</sup> See names of all the ancient gaps or passes in the ridge of hills anciently called "Dromdreg," now Killamery, collected by Mr. Dunn. "Transactions," vol. iii. p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Keating, vol. i. p. 286.

west of Callan. But the terrific engagement recorded by Keating probably took place in the field near Dryhed-na-girdba, or the bridge of chariots, now called Carabine-bridge, midway between Callan and Mullinahone; and in which, as late as thirty years ago, at each time of its being ploughed, a large quantity of rusty blades and other warlike instruments were turned up.<sup>1</sup> From this, the route of the defeated army lay along the valley through which flows the stream that is now known as the Kilbride River; and somewhere between its junction with the King's River and the present Newtown-bridge the Ossorians were forced across the "Callainne," where the pursuit ended. "Hence," says Keating, "the place is called to the present day Baille-Uruidhe—that is, the town of the blows or irresistible strokes of valiant men." "Uruidhe" is pronounced *Erlly* or *Earlew*, the *d* being silent. Hence comes Ballyerly, or the town of Erlly, and modernized Earlstown<sup>2</sup>—a small parish on the north bank of the King's River, between Callan and Kells.

"Barna-na Coille-leith," the gap of the gray wood, already mentioned, seems to have been the great pass from Femen into Muscry, or Ormonde; and Bearna-na-gaoithe, i. e. the "Gap of the Wind," now Windgap, formed the passage from Femen into Ossory, and from which the remains of an ancient road may be traced through Bealach Tobin to Baille Uruidhe; and it is worthy of remark that the retreating army from Mullinahone, instead of crossing the King's River, at Callan, as would be the case at the present day, made direct for the Bealach Tobin pass; and being hotly pursued through it, and forced out of it, over the stream, beyond which they do not appear to have been followed, it is much more probable that the defile or gap through which they were driven, and not the town at which they rested, would receive the title of "the blows or irresistible strokes of valient men;" and hence I argue that the ancient name of Bealach Tobin was Bealach Uruidhe. But when the important Norman family of the St. Aubins erected their castellated residence on the brow of the ancient pass-line, the historic name of the Bealach was superseded by that of its modern proprietor, and the old cognomen transferred to the neighbouring parish, in which it is still preserved. And the most interesting fact connected with the locality is, that this primitive Bealach may still be traced from Bearna-na-goithe or Windgap, through Bealach Tobin and Baille Uruidhe, or Earlstown, to the suburbs of Kilkenny. From Windgap it led to Bealach Tobin church, thence to Lough-

<sup>1</sup> See Inquiries respecting this field by Dr. Keatinge, of Callan. "Transactions," vol. iii. p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. M. Drea, C. C., Castlecomer, tells me that he heard his aged relatives, who,

at the maternal side, were from this neighbourhood, when speaking in the Irish language, invariably call the locality of Earlstown by no other name than *Ballagh Uruidhe*.

brack church and Farmerstown, and crossed the Callain River into Baille Urluidhe, at the west end of the field in which the old church of Earlstown stands, and where a portion of this old road may still be seen; thence to Toberakin, at the angle between Newtown Baker and Newtown Walsh; and the present public road from this to the angle at the townland of Burnchurch Viper occupies the old path. From this its former course is easily recognised through the fields to the primitive Baille of "Kiltranyne," now Burnchurch, from which it may be identified as it passes by "St. Dallan's well,"<sup>1</sup> and aims at the castle of Ballybur; thence through Baunlusk,<sup>2</sup> till you come to the back of Castle Bamfort, where it is open as an entrance to the farmyard.<sup>3</sup> From this we trace it as the boundary of the townland of Donaghmore,<sup>4</sup> and hence it is open as a by-road to Annfield, now called Castleview. At the back of Orchardton-house<sup>5</sup> its course is entirely obliterated by the process of agriculture and the construction of new road-lines. Here, at present, you turn by an acute angle by the townland of Ardscreadaun,<sup>6</sup> and pass down into Patrick-street by a modern narrow lane, called Coot's-bosheen, evidently opened as an equivalent for the encroachment made on the original road, which formerly ran along by the boundary of "Orchardton" over the high part of Wetland, till it forded the Bregach between Marnell's meadow<sup>7</sup> and Poul-

<sup>1</sup> The name of this well proves St. Dallan to have been the patron saint of this church, respecting whose connexion with this ancient locality I shall on a future occasion have some inquiries to make.

<sup>2</sup> "Baunlusk," i. e. "the Blazing Field." The tradition of this neighbourhood assigns the derivation of this name to remote times, when strangers from a far part of Ireland made an incursion into this district, banished the natives, set fire to their domiciles, and consumed both corn and cattle. Hence the place has been called "Baunlusk," or "the Blazing Field." The tradition is exceedingly vague.

<sup>3</sup> This place was formerly called "Banfield," as I found by an Inquisition taken at Gowran, 17th January, 1632, in which Nic. Ley, of the city of Waterford, Alderman, was found seized of 60 acres arable and shrub in *Banfield*, west of Ballynealeynagh. A castle formerly stood in Banfield, and part of it is modernized into the south wing of the present commodious dwelling-house, as may be observed in the depth of the window jambs and the massiveness of the masonry. Hence this place is best known at the present day as "Castle Bamfort." The castle stood on the brow of the ancient road.

<sup>4</sup> "Donaghmore" was the ancient name of St. Patrick's parish. (See Deeds of Transfer,

&c., "Trans.," vol. ii., p. 327, new series; also "History, &c., of St. Canice," p. 30, by Rev. Jas. Graves.) A great many parishes in Ireland are called by the same name; and as many of them as I have been able to make inquiries respecting are under the patronage of St. Patrick. Domnaghmore means the "big church." It is probable that each church founded by the National Apostle, by way of excellence, was called "Domnaghmore."

<sup>5</sup> "Orchardton" is so called from an *orchard* which covered the site of the present lawn and dwelling-house, and through which the Callan road (which is one of the turnpike period) was cut at the time of its formation.

<sup>6</sup> "Ardscreadaun" is the townland extending from Castleview, or, as it was formerly called, "Annfield," to "Coot's Bosheen," at the back of "Orchardton." Mr. John O'Daly informs me that Ardscreadaun most probably means "the hill of the herrings." In the "ancient Common Revenue of the city, for the year 1628," Michael Bagget held two acres of land in Ardscreaddan, for which he paid the Corporation the annual rent of 8s.

<sup>7</sup> "Marnell's Meadows."—This townland lies between the Bregach river and the Lannamaten road, and extends from Rosehill gate to Poalgour-bridge. This land was formerly called "Maryon's Meede," as we

gour, and ascended Robert's-hill, where we still identify a segment of it under the name of Boher-caoic, or the "blind road," so called from the fact of its ancient course having been interrupted and closed up. This ancient way, now so obscure and neglected, leading over Robert's-hill to St. Kenny's well, and thence down to Black-mill, was honoured in the tradition of the last generation as the first and most primitive entrance of the Clonmel road into the city of St. Canice.<sup>1</sup>

**BEALACH-ELE AND LAUNAMATEEN.**—The mountain ridge that rises in the Coppenagh hills, and which is described by O'Heerin under the name of "Sliabh g-Caithe," as it approaches Innistogue, is apparently snapped asunder, to afford the Nore a passage through which it flows to unite with the Barrow, near the town of New Ross. At the southern side of the river, the ridge rises again very abruptly, and runs off nearly due south behind "Jerpoint," "Derrynahinch," and "Knockwilliam," where it is known as the Knocktopher hills. In the neighbourhood of "Castlebanney," about one mile below Ballyhale, this mountain tract forms nearly a right-angle with the "Dromderge" ridge, running nearly east and west from Killamery, by Kilmaganny and Aughaviller; and as the two ridges approach each other, it is highly interesting to observe how Nature has graduated their mutual approximation, nearing each other as you ascend up their base, until only a comparatively narrow valley separates them. This valley must have formed at a very early period the great pass-way over "Slieve Branach," now the "Walsh mountains," and between the plains of Southern Ossory and the important entrance from the sea up the valley of the Suir. In later times, along its various levels ran the highroads from Kilkenny to Waterford; and at the present day we sweep through it steam-propelled, on the line of the Waterford and Kil-

learn from an Inquisition taken at the "New Tholsel," 21st August, 1619, in which Helias Shee, late of the city of Kilkenny, was found seized of four acres of small measure in "Maryon's Meede, next to Gorboy." This latter was also "Quoryboy" and "Querryboy," the old name of that part of Upper Walkin-street reaching from the "Lighthouse" to Poulgour-bridge, and under which name the place has been recently purchased in the Incumbered Estates Court by Mr. John Callanan, of the Victoria Hotel. In 1628, Patrick Archer and Thomas Archer paid annually to the Corporation the sum of 1s. 4d. each "for half the tythes of Querryboy." See "Ancient Common Revenue of the City," 1628.

<sup>1</sup> For this tradition I am indebted to a

rather singular but well-known character of Kilkenny during the early part of the present century, named Edmond Lanigan, better known as Ned Lanigan. He was esteemed by his contemporaries as a repertory of knowledge on every subject. He was by profession a surveyor, by which he acquired a vast deal of local lore, as well as a large amount of money. He emigrated to America, and, after five years' residence there, returned home, when he built the houses, premises, and starch-yard in the north side of "Walkin-street," subsequently converted into and until recently used as a distillery-store. He again returned to America, where he died about twenty-five years since.

<sup>2</sup> Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory, "Transactions," vol. i., part. 2.

kenny Railway. This pass in remote times was known as "Bealach-Ele;" and whilst its projecting cliffs were still clothed in primeval vegetation, we may form an idea of how grand and gloomy was the aspect of this sylvan ravine.

In the "Annals of the Four Masters," we find the following reference to the Pass of "Bealach-Ele:—" "A.D. 730. The battle of Bealach-Ele (was fought) between Cathal, son of Finguin, King of Munster, and the Leinstermen, where many of the Leinstermen were slain. There fell of the Munstermen here, Caellach, son of Faelchair, the chief of Osrigh, and the two sons of Cormac, son of Rossa, chief of the Deisi, with three thousand along with them." This same battle is also recorded by Keating one year later, viz., 731, thus:—"In his (Aodha Ollan's) reign, the provinces of Leinster and Munster fought the bloody battle of Bealach-Fele, where there was a dreadful slaughter on both sides; and in the conflict perished Ceallach, the son of Faobhuir, King of Ossory. In this dispute victory was doubtful for some time; but at last the fortune of the day fell to Cathal, the son of Fionguine, King of Munster." It will be observed that Keating calls the scene of this action Bealach-Fele, and the Four Masters Bealach-Ele. That the carefully corrected orthography of Dr. O'Donovan is to be regarded in preference to the avowedly imperfect translations of Keating's History, need not be argued. That Bealach-Ele and Bealach-Fele are different names for different places is certain, from the fact that, at the same year and in the same paragraph in which the Four Masters relate the battle of Bealach-Ele, they also record the "death of St. Mobrigue of Bealach-Fele." The learned editor remarks in the margin under this same year, that he finds no mention of the obit of this Morigue in either the Annals of Ulster or Clonmacnoise, and that he has not identified the locality of Bealach-Fele. It appears to me that Bealach-Fele is now modernized Ballyfoyle; that the celebrated ravine so well known as the "Glen of Ballyfoyle" formed the *bealach* or pass anciently called Bealach-Fele, and that the old grave-yard, remarkable as being a burial-place for children only, and within a few fields of the "Glen," preserves the name of St. Morigue. This venerable spot is called "Kilmogue," which is most probably an abbreviation or corruption of "Kilmorigue," i. e. the Church of St. Morigue. But, to return to "Bealach-Ele"—that it lay contiguous to the ridge of hills variously known as "Dromberg," "Slieve Brannach," and "Knocktopher," is directly to be inferred from the position of the native districts of the belligerent parties engaged in the action. The King of Munster, whose successors contended for the ownership of those hills down to O'Dugan's time, was declared victor of the day. The chief of the

<sup>1</sup> Keating's History, Life of "Aodha Ollan," vol. ii. p. 85.

Deisi, whose two sons fell in the action, held his tribe-land on the western slopes of those hills, as they descend into the plain of "Magh Femin;" and the princely possessions of Ceallach, the chief of Ossory, lay in the broad plain of "Magh Roighna," under their northern declivities; where, in this same valley, we have the title of the ancient "Bealach-Ele" preserved to the present day in that of the well-known town of "Ballyhale," midway between Kilkenny and Waterford.

1 "Ballyhale," and "Castle Howell."—The present town of Ballyhale is a very modern village. The turnpike-road that forms its street intersected, at the period of its construction, a more ancient road that ran from Derrynahinch by the western door of Ballyhale Castle, and thence up the Carrick-shock hills. This old highway is still open from Ballyhale, up by Kilcurl; and after it crosses the stream, near the entrance to the chapel of Ballyhale, may be traced the outlines of the primitive town or hamlet of the same name. The Very Rev. Archdeacon O'Shea, P. P., informs me that, when he occupied the large white house on the hill above the chapel, in the course of some alterations which he had been making in the adjoining fields, he came upon the remains of very extensive foundations, masonry, and sewerage. These indicate the site of the ancient "Baile" that once formed the environs of the church or chapel, the tower of which is still standing, and serves as the belfry of the present R. C. church. In 1855, Archdeacon O'Shea took down the old chapel that stood against the east side of this tower, when he discovered that this entire wall rested on a single arch; and on removing the modern masonry that concealed it, he found that the arch extended under the whole tower, and formed a pointed vault, springing from the foundation, and rising about fourteen feet from the floor. The western wall of the tower contains the ancient door-way which afforded the entrance into the vault. The eastern wall presents a bridge-like appearance, the entire superstructure resting on the single arch, above which the projecting stones that marked the rake of the primitive roof show that this tower once stood in front of the western gable of the church, and the vault beneath formed the entrance porch into it. Archdeacon O'Shea had the rubbish removed, and the vault fitted up as a "baptistry" for his new church. Immediately inside the doorway, a spiral staircase in the wall leads to the upper apartments. The tower was divided into four different floors or compartments—

the first or lowest of which constituted the vault already described; the second floor was formed by the arch over the vault; and the levels of the other two are indicated by projecting stone corbels to support them, by the ranging of the windows, and by the apertures through which the staircase communicated with the respective floors. This is the only ecclesiastical tower I have ever seen of similar construction. With the exception of the first floor or vault which formed the entrance to the church, the internal construction of this tower differs in no respect from that of the Norman castles erected as keeps or strongholds by the first adventurers; and hence I beg to dissent from the views advanced by the Rev. P. Moore, now P. P. Johnstown, respecting this tower, which he says was originally erected as a belfry for the ancient church. Its internal arrangements show that it was fitted for domiciliary as well as ecclesiastical purposes, and most certainly was erected with this design by some early English settler, who, according to the custom of the age, furnished his establishment with a chapel, and which communicated, as already described, with the basement story of his castle.

This castle, as I now call it, is 56 feet high. In point of elegance or proportion it is rather a graceless superstructure, but its windows and doors are designed in the regular style of architecture that predominated at the period of its erection. The door is narrow, the jambs of dressed stone, finishing in a graceful form of arch resembling a Gothic canopy, and terminating in a finial, and immediately over it "a niche containing the Virgin and child, under a Gothic canopy, below which is a shield bearing the Butler arms, a chief indented—all much weather-beaten."—(See communication from Rev. P. Moore, C. C., "Transactions," vol. i., New Series, p. 156.) The windows are of the same order as the door, narrow, dressed stone jambs, and graceful Gothic heads; and in most instances a single mullion externally divides two lancet opea, which internally unite in one aperture, and form a

From the pass of "Bealach-Ele," an ancient road led to the suburbs of Kilkenny. This road ran through the celebrated plain called "Magh Roighna;" and before we trace the course of this old

single window. The order displayed in these architectural details belongs to what is denominated the "Decorated Style." There are also preserved two beautiful holy-water stoups, now restored to their original use; the sculptured foliage of one, and the pointed arches of the other must be as old as the same style. The "Decorated" succeeded that of the "Early English," and commenced with the reign of Edward II., in 1307, and terminated with that of Edward III., in 1377; hence the Castle of Ballyhale must have been erected at some period within the fourteenth century. A shield bearing the arms of the founder was a favourite ornament over the entrances to ecclesiastical edifices during the "Early English" and "Decorated" periods. Over the Ballyhale doorway we have this shield, with the Butler arms; and in the middle of the same century, viz., 1356, James Butler, second Earl of Ormond, founded the Carmelite Priory at Knocktopher, in this same neighbourhood; which circumstance, combined with the shield bearing the arms of his family, and the period to which the style of the building belongs, renders it a matter almost of certainty that this same James Butler, second Earl of Ormond, was the founder and proprietor of the Castle of Ballyhale. From the Butlers, the proprietorship of Ballyhale would appear to have passed to some branch of the Kavanagh family, and who, according to the tradition still vividly preserved in this locality, were in actual occupation of the premises erected on the site of the old town, down to the latter half of the last century. The chapel, however, appears to have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Canons Regular in the Abbey of Kells, either before or at the death of its founder. James, second Earl of Ormond, died in 1382; and twenty-nine years after, viz., 1411, we find the chapel of Ballyhale, or, as it is entitled in the charter, the "Chapel of Howelstown," confirmed by the King to the Priory of Kells. (See Rot. Pat. 18 Hen. IV. M. 53.) In those great monastic establishments, all the clergy lived with the superior as one great family; and on Sundays, holidays, and other occasions, were dispersed over the country to preach and administer the sacraments in the respective chapels and churches dependent on the parent house. Hence it is more than probable that, after the annexation of this chapel to the Abbey of Kells, no priest re-

sided at Ballyhale; that the castle was occupied by the Kavanaghs, and that the chapel was periodically visited by an ecclesiastic from head-quarters, and consequently did not hold a higher rank than what we now call a "chapel of ease." After the suppression of the monastery at Kells, and the confiscation of its property, the chapel of Ballyhale became a ruin; and the castle was most probably soon after deserted by the Kavanaghs, who removed higher up on the hill, to a more commodious dwelling, where they remained till the end of the last century, as already noticed.

The Virgin and child, still standing in the canopy over the entrance-door, implies that the chapel was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. If this was so, the chapel that since occupied its site cannot be regarded as the legitimate successor of the original house. A public chapel most probably was open here about the year 1750 or 1760; and its traditional history and observances always assigned the patronage of the parish to St. Martin, of Tours, from which it appears that the present R. C. church of Ballyhale is to be regarded, not as the successor of the former chapel of the same place, but as the representative of the ancient Irish church of Derrynahinch, within the parish of which Ballyhale is situated, and of which church St. Martin has always been esteemed the "patron." According to the family registry kept by Mrs. William Shea, of Sheepstown Castle (see "Transactions," p. 90, *supra*), Father Phill Purcell was parochus of Ballyhale from 1784, the first date in the registry, to 1788 or 1789, at which latter date he probably died. If this Father Phill Purcell was of as unsophisticated a mind, if he had as warm a heart and as hospitable a home as his namesake, the present C. C. of the same parish, he was not unworthy the old stock from which they both have been extracted. Between the death of Father Purcell and the appointment of his successor, there appears to have been a short interregnum; for on the 5th March, either '88 or '89 (the document has lost some of its dates), Mrs. Shea's next child was baptized by "a Carmelit Fryer s<sup>d</sup> Prendergast;" and the following year, 1740, after Father Patt Murphy had been installed as parochus, he baptized Mrs. Shea's next son, Henry, "Mr. Robert Langrish and Mrs. Read, of Rosenarow, *goasopa*." Father Patt Murphy continues in the regis-



pathway, it will be but an interesting delay to stop and make a short inquiry into the situation of that historic district.

Magh Roighna or Reighna was an extensive plain, lying within

try christening and marrying Mrs. Shee's children down to about 1748 or '49 (as far as we can infer from the existing dates). Whether he or his predecessor Father Purcell publicly officiated in the chapel of Ballyhale is only sustained by the tradition of the town, which asserts that a chapel was always kept in the old castle; and this appears highly probable, from the friendly dispositions manifested by the Protestant gentry of the neighbourhood, two of the most aristocratic of whom stood sponsors at the baptism of Mrs. Shee's son. I have been informed by an aged person, a native of the place, that about seventy years ago the "patron," which had been previously held on the Sunday next after the 11th November (St. Martin's day) in the church-yard of Derrynahinch, was transferred to the chapel-yard of Ballyhale, where it continued to be kept on the same day for many years. One of the practices observed at this "Patron" deserves to be noticed. A grotesque figure, about four feet high, carved as a bishop in pontificals, and intended to represent the patron saint, was carried in procession round the grave-yard. On one occasion, Father Charles Kavanagh, the late P. P., and a rather primitive old gentleman, was so enraged by the tomfoolery of the proceedings, that he mutilated the face of the statue with his walking-stick, after which the "Patron" was discontinued for some years. This same statue, with its nose broken off, is now lying on the first floor of the old castle. The present P. P., Archdeacon O'Shea, on the completion of his new church, had it dedicated to St. Martin, observes the "Patron" festival according to its primitive simplicity, as a day of solemn worship, and abolished for ever the nonsensical ceremonies of the "ould patron" of St. Martin, about which I have been hearing as long as I have been able to remember.

In speaking of the Carmelite foundation at Knocktopher by James, second Earl of Ormond, I do not refer to the ruin still standing in the old church-yard of that town. This ruin consists of a low tower, square beneath, and octagon above, having an entrance doorway, with a Norman or semicircular head. The "Norman style" ended with the reign of Henry II., in 1189; and in 1220 the round arch had disappeared in England. Hence the present old ruin in Knocktopher must be at least a century older than either

the Carmelite foundation or the Ballyhale Castle. Some sixty years ago the Knocktopher tower served as an entrance porch and steeple to the Protestant church of the parish, and continued so until the present new parish church had been erected, when it was plastered with mortar, and otherwise modernized, besides which it was vulgarly washed down with a solution of copperas and lime, completely disfiguring this beautiful relic of antiquity; but a still greater piece of Vandalism has been perpetrated within the last twelve months. The jamb-stones of one side of the fine old Norman doorway have been torn down, and scattered about the yard, so that in a few years we may expect the demolition of the whole. I regret to have to add also, that the beautiful doorway of Ballyhale Castle has been recently "dubbed" up with masonry, which conceals the stone jamb, and Gothic head.

In the charter of Henry IV. to the Priory of Kella, a transcript of which is in the possession of Mr. John G. A. Prim, and which I have quoted already, the King grants to that extensive establishment the "Chapel of Howelstown." Mr. Prim is of opinion that Howelstown comes from Ballyhowel, which is also the source whence is derived the word Ballyhale, and that the title originally came from a Welsh family, whose name was Ap-Owel, or Howel. About three miles from Ballyhale, and nearly midway between Castlemorris and Roskenara, formerly stood a castle of some celebrity. On the map prefixed to Tighe's Survey of the county, this castle is named "Castlehale." It is also frequently called "Castle Hoel," "Castle Hoyle," and "Castle Howel;" and if the family of that name had any establishment in this part of the country, it must have been here. In a London publication of 1833, entitled, "Ireland Illustrated from Original Drawings, by G. Petrie, R. H. A., W. H. Bartlett, and T. M. Baynes; with descriptions by G. N. Wright, M. A., Professor of Antiquities to the Royal Hibernian Academy," we have a copper engraving, with a short description of "Castle Howel," as it probably stood about the middle of the last century. A square, lofty tower, pierced by narrow loop-holes, and supporting an embattled parapet above, separated by a large court-yard from a more modern building, with high gables, towering chimneys, open casements, with

the present barony of Kells. In the annotations to "The Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory," the learned editor says, that "Magh Roighna contains the church of Cill-Finche, now Killinny, a townland in the parish and barony of Kells."<sup>1</sup> The two following extracts from the same authority, in further illustration of the plain of Magh Roighna, render it rather improbable that the church of "Cill-Finche" ever stood within the present boundaries of the townland of Killinny. A battle is recorded to have been fought in the plain of Roighna both by Keating, O'Flaherty, and Lynch, about 200 years before the Christian era, in which Enna Airgteach, monarch of Ireland, was slain. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," this event is simply recorded at A.M. 3817; and in note *e*, on the word "Roighna," the editor says:—"Roighna was a plain in the ancient Osraighe, in which plain was situated the church of Cill-Finche, near the ford of Ath-Duirnbuidhe, at the foot of a great hill called Dornbuidhe;" and again, at the year 837, note *f*,

frames and architraves of dressed stone, and other peculiarities of the Elizabethan style of architecture. This castle, we are told, was the ancient residence of the Walsh family; and Tighe says that it was the principal residence and great stronghold of the Walshes. Why, then, it should be called after the "Howels" is rather embarrassing. In 1855, William Grace and Oliver Howel were appointed by patent to be the Custodes Pacis of the county of Kilkenny (Rot. Pat., 29th Edward III., quoted "Parochial Survey," 1814). My authority does not aver as to the dwelling-place of Oliver Howel; but it could not be at "Castle Hale," as this was the ancient residence of the Walshes, one of whom, "Walter Walsh, lord of Poble Branch," endowed the monastery of Rosibereon a hundred years previously ("Parochial Survey," p. 586). The Walshes were in possession of "Castle Hoel" at the time of Cromwell, when they appeared in arms against him; and a detachment of his army totally defeated and slaughtered them on the spot, and their bodies were thrown into a hole at the foot of the hill on which the castle stood, and where their bones were discovered when the road was being made from Castlemorris to Kilmaganny, towards the end of the last century (Tighe, p. 384). In 1737, Walter Walsh, of "Castle Hale," died unmarried, and the great family of Castle Hale became extinct ("Ireland Illustrated," &c.); after which the place was abandoned, and fell into the ruin represented in the sketch that I have noticed above.

I have now stated all that I can find worthy of notice or likely to throw light on

the history of Ballyhale and Castle Hoel; and I can find no authority or tradition to induce me to dissent from what I have advanced in the text, namely, that Ballyhale is derived from "Bealach-Ele," the title of the ancient passway over the Welsh mountains. If "Bealach Urluidhe" be the root whence is derived Bally-Erly and Earlstown, as I have shown above, why will not Bealach-Ele produce Ballyhale, or Ballyhoel, or Ballyhowel, any one of which would be Anglicised Howelstown or Hoelstown. There is no ground for ascribing the title of an important district to a family who it cannot be shown ever held any connexion with the locality, and who were of such historical insignificance in the county. The great monument we have of the former importance of Ballyhale, namely, the tower or castle of its ancient church, attests that the Butlers were its founders, and the proprietors of the locality; and from all that can be gleaned of the history of "Castle Hale," it is certain that the Walshes were its original founders and possessors. If any of the Howels did ever settle in this neighbourhood, it is true that the word "Bealach-Ele" would the more readily be Anglicised into Ballyhale or Ballyhowel, from which would come "Howelstown;" but be this as it may, it is a highly important topographical coincidence, and much in favour of the views advanced in the text, that the locality claimed for the ancient pass of "Bealach-Ele" lies between the present town of Ballyhale and the site of the ancient castle of the same title.

<sup>1</sup> "Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory," Transactions, vol. i. para. 11.

he further adds, "The church of Cill-Finnche, in the Gloss to the *Feiliere Aenguis*, is described as near a *great hill*, called Dorn-Buidhe, in Magh Roighna, in Osraigh; it has not been identified." From the two descriptions of the locality of Cill-Finnch here given it is physically impossible that it and the present townland of Killinny could have ever been identical. There is neither trace nor tradition of a church having ever existed there; there is no *hill* in the entire townland nor in its vicinity. It lies along the north bank of the King's River, between Kells and Newtown, and is included within the flat district described by O'Heerin as the "*smooth land of O'Gloiran along the beauteous Callann.*" But there is an old church still standing within the plain that we shall now endeavour to identify as the ancient "Magh Roighna," that suits in all its details with the descriptions given of that of "Cill-Finnche." This is the venerable ruin called "Sheepstown Church," now so rapidly crumbling to decay, so obscure and neglected, yet with claims to a higher antiquity than probably any other stone edifice within the county, if we except the "Round Towers" of mysterious origin.

During the month of last December I had an opportunity of inspecting the once important church of Sheepstown. It stands on an eminence over the valley through which meanders the mountain stream that flows thence through the town of Knocktopher. It was a plain oblong house, with a single and rather rude stunted lancet window in the east gable. The architecture of this window is exceedingly primitive: the head is rounded out of two single stones, meeting like two corbels in the centre, and the jambs widely splayed internally, approaching what is usually known as the Hiberno-Romanesque style. The church had no chancel; but a small door in the end of the south wall afforded communication between the altar-place, or "sanctuary," and the priest's room, or "sacristy." The western doorway is the distinguishing peculiarity of the church: it is a primitive, unadorned aperture, finishing in a rude arch, with a bead moulding formed on the angle of the jambs, and continued without interruption round the head. The same moulding is seen on the angles of the quoins, and up the roof-line of the front gable. The jambs of the doorway mutually incline inwards as they ascend from the bottom to the spring of the arch: this is the great feature that fixes the age of building.

Dr. Petrie, in his great work, the "Inquiry into the Origin, &c., of the Round Towers of Ireland," has published an engraving of the doorway of Sheepstown Church. He gives it, with many others of similar configuration in various parts of Ireland, as the specimen or type of the ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland in the eighth or ninth century. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," we are told—"A.D. 836. The church of Cill-Finnche was burned by the foreigners." According to Dr. Petrie, the church of Sheepstown

was erected in the same century. Hence, if we be able to identify Sheepstown as the ancient "Cill-Finnche," it becomes certain that its venerable ruin was the immediate successor of the "church burned by the foreigners."

The base of the hill on which the old church stands is washed by the stream already mentioned. Within a few hundred yards of the church, where the present road curves round to cross this stream over a small stone bridge, my attention was attracted by the remains of an old roadway coming through the fields from the direction of "Danganbeg;" and, as it approaches the stream, the place has all the appearance of having been an ancient ford. The banks accommodate themselves to the course of the old path, and the water spreads over a greater space, so as to form a shallow. We shall see lower down that this old road formed part of the great highway that led from "Bealach-Ele" through the plain of "Magh Roighna." In the *Fielere Aengus*, the church of Cill-Finnche is said to stand near the ford of "Ath-Duirnbuidhe," in the same plain; and if I can prove the locality of Sheepstown to be within this plain, I can see no difficulty in accepting its church and that of Cill-Finnche as identical, and the ford over this stream as the ancient "*Ath-Duirnbuidhe*."

The church of "Cill-Finnche" is further said to stand at the foot of a *great hill* called "Dornbuidhe," in Magh Roighna; and at about a quarter of a mile beyond the stream just mentioned there rises abruptly a magnificent elevation, which, if it does not still retain the name of "Dornbuidhe," retains one equally significant in our present inquiry. On the Ordnance Survey this hill is named "Knock-ad-Rina," and by the people living in its vicinity is pronounced *Knock-ad-reighna*, which those among them who understand Irish tell you means the "Hill of the Queen." This hill of Roighna is most certainly the "Ucht-na-Roighna" on which the King of Cashel held a royal house, "with numerous attendants" whilst "South Laighin" was subject to Munster. Its eastern and northern slopes are now covered by the spacious demesnes and plantations of "Flood-hall;" but its south-western declivities are naked and precipitous, presenting a grand and lofty aspect as they tower above the ancient "Roighna," fully entitling this splendid eminence to its primitive sentimental cognomen of *Ucht-na-Roighna*, or "The Breast of the Queen."<sup>1</sup>

The title of this hill enables us to identify the plain which surrounds it as the celebrated "Magh Roighna;" and its proximity to Sheepstown renders it equally certain that its venerable old church occupies the site of the ancient "Cill-Finnche."

By the burning of "Cill-Finnche" we are to understand that

<sup>1</sup> "Book of Rights," p. 26.

the territory of Roighna was plundered by a party of the Norsemen, whose fleet then lay at anchor in the bay of "Port-Lairge," the Celtic name of Waterford.<sup>1</sup> In the year 858, Cearbhall or Carroll, who is styled "Lord of Osraighe," and who holds a distinguished position in the Irish Annals about this period, gained a decisive victory over the foreigners of Port-Lairge; and in the next year (859) we find him re-establishing "The Fair of Roighna." This must have been a most important event, since it was deemed worthy of record in our meagre "Annals;" and from it we are to infer that he restored in Roighna the public institutions that had been interrupted by and omitted since the plundering by the foreigners; and it requires no historic record to sustain me in stating that one of his first acts of restoration would be to rebuild the church which they had burned; and if this be granted, we arrive at the precise age of Sheepstown Church, namely, A. D. 859. Twenty-three years after Cill-Finnche had been burned, it was erected by "Cearbhall, son of Dunghal, Lord of Osraighe."<sup>2</sup>

Cill-Finnche means St. Finnche's Church. This saint appears to have been of some celebrity in Ireland at an early period, and was honoured in various places on different days. On the 1st January, St. Finnchi's feast was kept at "Loch-Ri," on 25th at "Sliabh Guaire," on 17th May at "Droma-Enagh," and on 2nd February at *Duirn*,<sup>3</sup> whence came "Ath-Duirn-buidhe," the name of the ford, and "Dornbuidhe," the title of the hill, close to both of which stood St. Finnche's Church in Magh Roigna, and hence we see that the 2nd February was the patron feast of Sheepstown church; it certainly was so until the foreigners had burned its predecessor. Whether it was called Cill-Finnche after its restoration by Cearbhall I am not able to discover: its present cognomen of Ballinageragh, or Sheepstown, is probably of ancient application to the locality. It is so called in an Inquisition held at Rosbercon in 1620, and may have been originally derived from the flocks of sheep driven to the "Fair of Roighna," which was "renewed by Cearbhall" in 859.

The hill of Roighna stands out very boldly over the broad plain beneath, and affords a commanding position over the valley, which from this narrows itself into the pass of "Bealach-Ele." Hence the King of Cashel selected it for the site of his royal seat, and in later times the King of Ossory held here an establishment similar to that by which he commanded the pass of "Bealach Gabhran," whence he was sometimes called "Ri-Roighna," i. e. the King of Roighna. From this establishment was derived the word *cean*, the head or capitol, and *lios* (pronounced "liss"), a fort or stronghold, literally

<sup>1</sup> "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 858, and note p.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, A. D. 859, and note t.

<sup>3</sup> See "Martyrology of Tallaght" at the

days mentioned, and at p. 16; also the *Feilire Aenguis*, at 2nd February, quoted in "Annals of the Four Masters" at A. D. 837.

the headfort or head-quarters. This word "Caenlios" has been rendered Kenliss or Caenanus in Latin, and modernized into Kells, the present name of the entire barony within which is situated the plain but not the hill of Roighna; the latter very singularly belongs to the barony of Shillelogher, which stretches down like a narrow peninsula from the old bridge of Ennisnag to take in this ancient seat of the kings of Ossory.

The church of Sheepstown, down to a very modern period, stood in the centre of a public common, no doubt the site of the ancient town, and from which may be traced the remains of old roads radiating in sundry directions. One of these ran direct under the walls of the Priory of Knocktopher, and forms to the present day what is called "The Butts," evidently the nucleus of that old town. You find the remains of another old way about half a mile below Knocktopher, wending its way by the old paper-mill, where it intersects the present high-road to Ballyhale, as it runs towards Derrynahinch Church.<sup>1</sup> A third may be traced to the primitive locality of "Aughaviller;" but that which more immediately belongs to the object of this inquiry is the road that led to the pass of "Bealach-Ele," and thence over "Sliabh Branach" to the valley of the Suir. The course of this ancient way is marked by a regular line of townland villages, ruined castles, and ancient churches, which now lie far away from the public high-roads, concealed in obscure *bosheens*, which are only surviving segments of the great thoroughfare that in early times ran through Knockmoylan, Kilkeasy, and Kilcurl, to Sheepstown, where it fords the stream under the church already described, at "Ath-Duirn-buidhe," whence it runs into the fields, and is still open as a neglected by-path to "Danganbeg" Castle, through the townland of Tinvaun, where it once formed the continuation of the present public road down by "Stonecarthy." This road at present is not open through Sheepstown, but from the castle of "Kilcurl" is turned out of the old track, and by a modern line conducts us into the village of Knocktopher. A similar change was effected in this road at the north side of Sheepstown; for here, too, the ancient path is turned off by a modern line to the town of Knocktopher also, which proves that in remote times the great high-road ran direct through the centre of Sheepstown; but when in later times Knocktopher had grown up as its successful rival, the road was curved from the ancient to pass through the modern town. Return-

<sup>1</sup> In the *Féilire Aenguis*, Magh Roighne is said to contain the churches of Cil-Finnche and "Marthorteach" (Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 859, note t). The latter appears to be formed from *Martheen-teach*, i.e. "Martin's house." Derrynahinch church was dedicated to St. Martin, and his "Patron" was observed there until recently on

the 11th November. Hence it may be identified as the ancient Marthorteach, and which affords us a further illustration of the precise position of the plain of Roighna. From Derrynahinch church there is a magnificent view obtained across this splendid plain. It is perhaps one of the finest stretches of cultivated land in Ireland.

ing again to the old road from Sheepstown, we pass down under the western slopes of "Knock-ad-Reighna" to the church of Kill-Ossory, where St. Kieran's well and the venerable ruins of "Stone-carthy" Church attest the ancient importance of the locality. From this we descend by the present road to cross the small stream at "Stoneyford," from which we pass by the same line over the old bridge of "Ennisnag," and again ascend to the ruin called [on the Ordnance Map, by a strange blunder—Ed.] "Courtaur Castle,"<sup>1</sup> after which the road is partially closed up, but is easily traced to the townland of "Ballyda;" and here it was first subjected to most important modifications. When the great priory of the Canons Regular had been established in Kells, a new road was opened from the monastery to Kilkenny. This road ran through the townland of "Kellsborough" into "Cotteralsrath," where it is still open, and whence it may be traced through the fields to the Old Racecourse gate, just at the three-mile stone on the present Kells road. As soon as this road had been opened, the older line from "Courtaur Castle" was turned into it by the transverse line running east from the chapel of "Lady's-well," and which forms the southern boundary of the townland of "Ballyda." The ancient highway from "Courtaur Castle" to Kilkenny has not left its outline so strongly marked on the topography of the districts through which it passed as has the road from "Magh Femin" through "Burnchurch," which we have been last illustrating; which is accounted for by the fact that the latter, being the great high-road into South Munster through "Windgap" and "Nine-mile-house," was protected by a range of Norman castles planted along its line,<sup>2</sup> which became the residences of the chief Norman families of the district; and, in consequence, this road continued as a public highway down to a recent period; but the road along which we are now travelling became comparatively useless and neglected after the English invasion, when the new road had been opened from the Monastery of Kells to Kilkenny.<sup>3</sup> From Ballyda, the track of this ancient roadway may be traced to Kilkenny, through a regular line

<sup>1</sup> Properly, Ennisnag Castle.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> There were castles erected at "Banfield," now called Castlebamford; at Ballybur, at Burnchurch, and on the hill over the King's River at Newtown, or Earlatown. There was also a castle erected at Inchihogan; and the ancient road was turned off in that direction by a new line from "Baunlusk," by the present church of Castleinch.

<sup>3</sup> The present Kells road is the production of different periods. It originally ran, as stated above, from the Priory of Kells, through "Kellsborough" and "Cotteralsrath," where it is still open, till intersected by the road from Danesfort to the "Seven Houses." From this to the three-

mile stone is now closed up in the fields; but the track is easily recognized in the eastern boundary of the townland of "Newlands," either by actual observation of the place, or on the Townland Survey (sheet 28). From the three-mile stone to Hoban's Bridge it was modernized at the turnpike period, at which time, also, this road was conducted by a new line by the "Seven Houses," and over "Blackstone-bridge" into Kells, and by a new entrance from "Hoban's Bridge" into Patrick-street, Kilkenny, previous to which it ran from Hoban's Bridge, till it united with the Launamateen road, at the back of Rose-hill house, as shown on the map which accompanies this paper.

of primitive "baillies" or townland villages, situated between the present high-roads from Kells and Stoneyford, each preserving to the present day its peculiarly Irish cognomen. The old road still open behind Danesfort House is a surviving remnant of the primitive highway by which we have travelled from the pass of "Bealach Ele" through Sheepstown and Danganbeg to "Courtaur Castle," whence it leads to the village of Ballyda, and thence through the centre of the Old Racecourse ground to Bodalmore,<sup>1</sup> from which it ran to Ballynalina,<sup>2</sup> formed the western boundary of Foulkstown, through the centre of Birchfield,<sup>3</sup> crossed the present Kells road a little south of Hoban's Bridge, as shown on the accompanying map, on which is also restored the former line of this road from Hoban's-bridge<sup>4</sup> to the angle at the back of Rose-hill House, from which the old road

<sup>1</sup> "Bodalmore" probably means the *great bottle*. There was formerly a townland called "Bodalbeg," or the *little bottle*, in Killferagh. Both belonged to James Forristal, of Killferagh, as we find by an Inquisition of 24th May, 1621.

<sup>2</sup> Or "Ballynealeynagh," as in Inquisition taken at Gowran, 17th January, 1632. This means the town of Leynagh; and Nicholas Ley, of the city of Waterford, the proprietor of the townland at the period of the Inquisition, probably derived his name and title to the place from the more ancient proprietors of this cognomen.

<sup>3</sup> Birchfield originally formed one townland with that of Donnaghmore; the two were separated by the opening of the Kells road. The present name is derived from a Mr. Birch, who resided there, and erected the present dwelling-house, some time in the latter half of the last century (see "Post-chaise Companion," 1808, p. 476). An ecclesiastical college was established in Birchfield-house by Dr. Marum, immediately before he was consecrated bishop. Of this college, the present bishop, Dr. Walsh, was president for sixteen years; and during this period, owing to his judicious and economical management of the funds, a sum of £14,000 was accumulated, which sum, with the contributions of all the priests of the diocese, was expended in erecting St. Kyran's College in this city. The first stone of it was laid by the late Rev. Nicholas Shearman, P. P. of St. Patrick's, on St. Kyran's Day, 1836, Bishop Kinsella being unavoidably absent.

<sup>4</sup> Hoban's Bridge derives its name from an awful catastrophe which occurred there in the year 1826. Michael Hoban tenanted the house next the bridge on the north side of the road, and which appears to have been

built in the gap through which the old road described in the text passed over to "Rose Hill." Hoban was a public carrier, and had his horse loaded for Waterford early on a summer day. He determined to dine at home, and accordingly conducted his loaded horse to his house; and on the road opposite the small yard that separated his house from the road, he disengaged the horse, and threw back the car on its long-heeled shafts. The load consisted of calicos, tickens, knives, &c., and in the centre of all a cask of gunpowder. The car remained in the position described for about an hour, when, from some cause never since discovered, the powder ignited, and the most terrific explosion ensued. Hoban's son was seated on a stone bench, which is still shown outside the gate on the road; he was blown into fragments across the fields. Three other individuals suffered a similar fate. Hoban's wife and daughter were preparing his repast. The roof was lifted off the house, and blown over the country, whilst the three remained amazed and unhurt between the uncovered walls. The trees and every object above the level of the furious current were mowed down; the iron binding on the wheels of the cart was twisted into every imaginable shape, as if writhing under intense agony. The disjointed limbs, charred and smoked, of the four victims already mentioned, were scattered over the fields. Three stacks of corn and a barn of potatoes were consumed. This account is from the narrative of an eyewitness, who was present an hour after the explosion, and who witnessed its destroying effects. Since then the bridge over the Bregach River there has been called "Hoban's Bridge." It is so named on the Ordnance Survey, and will probably preserve the same title through all future generations.



is still open across by the County Gaol, and is known as Laun-a-matheen. It aims directly at the "Irishtown," which it entered by the same ford and at the same point as Bohur-na-thoundish and Bohur-caoic.

An interesting and legitimate speculation presents itself here respecting the antiquity and origin of those roadways. Besides their historic associations already noticed, they must from early times have formed the mediums of communication between the line of "baillies" or townland villages stationed along their respective courses, and whose remote origin is implied in their peculiarly Irish titles. That the construction of these roads was anterior to the building of the "Hightown" or English part of Kilkenny, is directly proved by the fact that they aim directly at, converge, and unite to enter the Irishtown, though all the roadways of more modern construction intersect them at sundry angles in order to approach the "Hightown." The old ways ran through our suburbs nearly parallel with the town walls subsequently erected; and if our present city had existence when these roads were being constructed, it certainly would have invited their respective entrances within its walls. But whether the ancient paths approached the "Irishtown" for the purpose of finding a more convenient pass up the valley of the Nore, through "Bearna-Glasana," or whether our present Irishtown was not itself an ancient "baillie," as Holinshed, Stanihurst, Ledwich, and others assert, we shall not inquire here, as the present paper has already exceeded its contemplated bounds. In a future communication, however, I shall submit some interesting topographical evidence touching on this subject, when I propose to inquire whether the locality now known as the Butts-green may have constituted the centre of an ancient "baillie" anterior to the erection of "Irishtown" proper, which there can be no doubt is as English in origin as the "Englishtown" itself; and whether the primitive hamlet, if such existed, formed the "Baillie-Gael-loch" of Ledwich, or the "Cill-Cainnigh" of O'Heerin, may prove an interesting subject of investigation.

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## THE TAKING OF THE EARL OF ORMONDE, A. D. 1600.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. B. I. A.

"It was a wonderful newes all over Ireland that the Earl of Ormond should be detained in that manner"—so wrote the "Four Masters," not forty years after the event.<sup>1</sup> We can well imagine what a stir the tidings of the Earl's captivity made in many a walled town, and tall tower, and kern's camping place—how the widening circles spread from startled Kilkenny, where the stout burgers heard in blank amazement from the lips of the Lord President of Munster, and Donogh O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, that they had fled for their lives, and left the feared and powerful head of the Butlers, the favourite of Elizabeth, and commander of her Irish army, in the hands of a petty chieftain of Leinster, powerful, however, in his alliance with Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, the yet unconquered and dangerous leader of the northern Irish.

Essex, after a few ineffectual military promenades, and an injudicious truce with Tyrone, had quitted Ireland in disgust, to rush on his fate in the streets of London. Under pretence of a pilgrimage to Holy Cross Abbey,<sup>2</sup> Tyrone, who, in December, 1599, had informed the Irish Government of his intention to break the truce in fourteen days' time, left his northern fastnesses in January, 1600, and marched his forces towards Munster.<sup>3</sup> From the heights of Slieve Bloom<sup>4</sup> he swooped down on the plains of Ely, and wreaked his vengeance on the O'Carrolls, with whom he had a feud. From thence he passed by Ballaghmore and Roscrea to the "gate of the monastery"<sup>5</sup> of Holy Cross, in Tipperary, where "the holy cross was brought out to shelter and protect him." O'Neill was here threatened by the forces under Ormonde; but no engagement having ensued, he passed on towards Cork; and on his return, after the mutually fatal encounter of Sir Warham St. Leger and Maguire, he left, according to Peter Lombard, some of his forces in Leix, to aid O'More,<sup>6</sup> with whom he was in strict alliance.

Mountjoy, the destined tamer of the northern chieftain, had landed in Ireland with the authority of lord deputy, whilst O'Neill was paying his devotions at Holy Cross.<sup>7</sup> He purposed to have met Tyrone on his return from Munster, but failed from want of accurate information, and in consequence of the speed of the movements of the Irish leader.<sup>8</sup> In the meantime, whilst planning the masterly movement of establishing garrisons in the rear of O'Neill's

<sup>1</sup> "Four Masters," vol. vi., p. 2169.

<sup>2</sup> But really to confirm his friendship with his allies, and to wreak his vengeance upon his enemies. *Id.*, vol. vi., p. 2147.

<sup>3</sup> Cox's "History of Ireland," part i., p. 422.

<sup>4</sup> "Four Masters," vol. vi., p. 2147.

<sup>5</sup> "Four Masters," vol. vi., p. 2149.

<sup>6</sup> "De Regno Hiberniæ Commentarius." Lovanii, 1632, p. 486.

<sup>7</sup> Cox's "History of Ireland," part i., p. 423.

<sup>8</sup> Fynes Moryson's "Itinerary," part ii. book i., chap. ii., p. 62.

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PORTRAITS OF IRISHMEN.—No. 1.



"BLACK" THOMAS, TENTH EARL OF ORMONDE.

[From a Picture at Kilkenny Castle.]

country, whereby his power was ultimately broken,<sup>1</sup> Mountjoy had been visited in Dublin by Ormonde; and the Earl, who heads the Irish army list as Lieutenant-General of the Forces at £3 per diem,<sup>2</sup> left for Kilkenny about the beginning of April. On the 6th of that month Mountjoy advertised the English Government of his departure,<sup>3</sup> insinuating an imputation on his faithfulness,—how groundlessly, the documents now submitted to the Society amply prove. On the 7th, Sir George Carew left Dublin for the Presidency of Munster, to which he had been recently appointed, accompanied by one hundred horse, and by Donogh O'Brien, known to the Irish as Prince of Munster, to the English as Earl of Thomond. On the 9th, Carew and Thomond arrived at Kilkenny; and on the next day, having dined with the Earl of Ormonde, they were invited to accompany him to the parley he had arranged with Owny Mac Rory O'More. The result is best told in the words of the State Papers.

The Earl of Ormonde, at the time of his capture, was in his 68th year, having been born in 1532. He was called by the Irish, from his complexion, *dubh*, or "the black." The engraving which accompanies this paper is copied from a portrait in Kilkenny Castle, which was purchased by the late Marquis of Ormonde in London. The Earl is represented in the rich armour of the period, his tilting-helmet resting on a table behind him, and he carries an ornamented hand-gun. The arms on the shield not being impaled, the picture was probably painted before the Earl's marriage.<sup>4</sup> The Society is indebted to Mr. Edmund Fitzpatrick, an artist whose pencil does credit to the county of Kilkenny, for the drawing from which the engraving (by an accident reversed on the block) has been made. The Marchioness of Ormonde, in the course of the last summer, purchased at an auction, in Derbyshire, another portrait of the Earl, of great interest: its pedigree, which I yet hope to give, proves its unquestionable authenticity. The picture represents the Earl in the prime of life, with dark hair, and dark brown beard. The face is fine, and full of character, and the costume is the usual civil garb of Elizabeth's reign. The Earl bears in his hand two wands. In the upper right-hand corner is a shield charged with the arms of Ormonde, impaling Sheffield, showing that it was painted after his marriage to Elizabeth, only daughter of John, second Lord Sheffield. This was the Countess mentioned in the following documents, and the mother of his sole surviving daughter and heir, Elizabeth Butler, mother to Elizabeth, first Duchess of Ormonde.

<sup>1</sup> Fynes Moryson's "Itinerary," part ii., book i., chap. ii., p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Fyne's Moryson's "Itinerary," part ii., book i., chap. ii., p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> His first wife was a daughter of Lord Berkeley.

"State Paper Office, Irish Correspondence, 1600.

"MOUNTJOY to CECYLL.

"SIR,—Att twellve off the clock this last nyght I received this letter I sende to you now; the winde beinge fayre butt this mornynge, I would not loose the opportunity to give notice off a matter off so great importance, the certaynty or manner I can nott yett examin; butt Godwillinge you shall shortly heere from me what I fynd is the truth, and whatt I conceive off itt; for as I have had reason to conceive off his proceedinges, I know not well whether this bee good or evell newse; and so S<sup>r</sup>. in great hast I committ you to the tuition off the allmyghtye. Dublin 12 Aprill.

"Yours S<sup>r</sup>. most assured to do you servis

"MOUNTJOYE.

[Superscribed]

"For Her Majesty's especiall affayres to the right honorable S<sup>r</sup>. Robert Cecyll knight, principall Secretary to Her Majesty.

"At Dublin y<sup>e</sup> 12 April, about 10 in y<sup>e</sup> morning.

"MOUNTJOYE { hast,  
hast,  
hast for  
thy life.

[Indorsed] "1600, 12 Apr: L. Deputy to my Master with a letter of W<sup>m</sup>. Hartpoole<sup>1</sup> mencynong the treacherous taking of the Earl of Ormond by Ony M<sup>c</sup>Rory. Received at London 18<sup>th</sup>."

"FENTON<sup>2</sup> to CECYLL.

"RIGHT HONORABLE,—I dowte not but many will advertise the takinge of the Erle of Ormond by Owny M<sup>c</sup>Rory O'More, but of the manner of that accident, and what may be gathered of it, I thinke few or none can asyet sound the just depth. Touching the manner in generallitie, yt was thus, Therle beinge drawne to a meetinge with that roge under pretence of parley, and with numbers equall, was surprised by some secrett Ambuscado, laide for that purpos, his Lordship and three of his servants ledd prisoners into Leax; and two of his men alaine: other particularities are not asyet written hether, but by my next your honour shall have a more full report. Many things may be gathered of his takinge, wherein errors may be committed for that there is little as yet to ground a true opinion, other then conjecturall reasons, which are but weake, till tyme may give them strength. But to your honour I say, that whosoever hath precisely observed the Erle of Ormond in his warines by nature, and in his foresight by longe experience, must thinke yt straunge to see his Lordship overtaken by a younge wood-kearne, upon

<sup>1</sup> Hartpoole's letter, dated from Carlow, April 11th, is a mere announcement of the capture of the Earl.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Geoffrey Fenton was Principal Secretary of State in Ireland, or, as the office is sometimes styled, Secretary of the Council.

occasion of a parley, wherein his Lordships providence at other tymes hath bin rare, and above the warynes of all other men, that I have knowen treatinge in the lyke cases. The Lord Deputy and Counsell are now in hand to send forces to Kilkenny, both to assure the countess and her daughter, and to stopp other violences, that may breake owt upon this alteration. I know there are sondry of the Butlers, who seeinge that therles daughter is thonly block in their way, to aspire to greate thinges, may in this captivitie of the father, attempt some danger to the childe, for prevention whereof, and to give consolation to the mother, I thinke the state will send for them both to come hether, yf the countess shall not thinke her self sufficiently secured in the Castle of Kilkenney, by the forces assigned for that purpos. But howsoever the Countess either thorow weaknes in body, or for sorrow of her husbands misery, or in a worldly care, not to leave Kilkenny, where resteth her wealth and substance, may forbear to come hether, yet I wish her daughter, upon whome do depend many interests for Her Majestie, were either with the state, or sent for into England owt of hand, A matter which I humbly wish were deliberated there, and Her Majesties direction sent hether withall possible speed.

"Some here make dowte that therle wilbe passed over by Owny M<sup>c</sup>Rory to the traitor Tyrone, who beinge the head of this great Rebellion, may seeke to draw therle into his hands, the better to worke his owne conditions. But I am not of minde, that Owny will lett go so great a prize to pleasure Tyrone, but rather will reserve him in his owne possession, to thend to make his deliverie profittable to himself, and some of his other principall confederats in Leinster. This is all I can write to your honour of this matter asyet, the passage beinge ready to departe presentlie, onely I see an honorable industry in the Lord Deputie to do all he cann to stay all further disorders which may breake owt, and to give succour and comforte to the sorrowfull Lady; to which end his Lordship meaneth tomorrow to send up Sir George Bouchier and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, as two persons thought most meet for such a purpos. In great hast. At Dublin 12 Aprilis 1600.

"Your honours most humbly to be commanded

"GEEFF. FENTON

[Superscribed]

"To the Right Honorable S<sup>r</sup>. Rob<sup>t</sup>. Cecyll, knight principall Secretary to Her Majestie and Master of the Wards and Liveries.

"At Court. hast hast.

[Indorsed] "The Earle of Ormond most treacherously taken by Ony M<sup>c</sup>Rory O'Moore.

"R. at London 18<sup>th</sup>."

"MOUNTJOY to CECYLL.

"SIR,—Since the wryghtinge off my last letter, I have received this inclosed from my Lord Presidente; I have presently dispatched a messenger unto him, to desyre him to stay att Kilkennye till Monday, and to be

especially careful off the saftye off my Lord off Ormond's dawter, on Monday nyght S<sup>r</sup>. George Bowser [Bourchier] shalbe thear and bringe from me letters off comforte to my Ladye. I will give him instructions to tast the dispositions off the gentillmen off those partes because as I hear he is best acquaynted with them,<sup>1</sup> and with him I will sende soome companys off foote and as many horse as I can spare to assur Killkeny and thos partes: I thinke itt fitt to be sure off the Earles Dawter; butt if I should send for her from my lady, besyde the infinite greefe she would conceave with itt, I know nott whatt effect itt would worke, and iff I should sende for my Ladye to come hither for her saftye with her dawter, they say shes is nott able to travell;<sup>2</sup> I will secure this poynte as well as I can till I heere the Queens plesure in this case, beeing off great importance; I would be lothe on the soddayne to give my opinion off this accidente; butt itt seemeth strange to mee thatt one so full off regarde to himselfe in all his proceedings should be so easely overtaken; he did never acquaynte mee with any purpose he had to treat with Ony Mack Rurye; but the first newse I herde off any purpos off his to thatt effect was by the relation off this accident. I am glad my Lord Presidente escaped so well: and iff itt please God the Queenes army stande in harte as now itt is, the greatest hurte thatt will arise by this mischance or practize, whatsoever itt be, wilbe butt the divertynge off som few off the Queenes forces to be employed in thos partes; butt iff the Butlers declare themselives, after Lough Foyle is planted and som garrisons left on the borders, iff the Presidente of Monster with parte off his forces meete me in Kilkenny wee will sonn cut off any hedds off danger thatt shall arise by this accidente; S<sup>r</sup> itt is God thatt must do allthings; but I can thinke off no other instrument, then an army keppe stronge and in harte for a tyme, and famyne amongst the rebbell; which no doubt will assuredly insue iff you keep us in strengthe and life, for itt is the army thatt must worke itt, and ridd the Queen shortly off this greate charge, iff you will inlarge itt for a while, which I do to no other end sollicite continually, butt to rid the Queen speedily off this chardge and my sellfe off this burthen; and iff this be nott my purpos only I pray God nether to prosper mee in this worlde nor in the worlde to come

" Yours S<sup>r</sup>

" Moste assured to do you servis

" MOUNTIOYE

" 12 April 1600

[Superscribed]

" To the right honorable S<sup>r</sup>. Robert Cecyl knight principall Secretary to her Majesty.

[Indorsed] " Lord Deputy to my Master  
" Received at London the 18<sup>th</sup>"

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Bourchier was nearly connected with the Countess of Ormonde (see p. 396, *infra*). Two of his children are buried in the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny. "History, &c. of St. Canice," p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> She was buried in the Cathedral of St. Canice, April 21st, 1601, and the ceremonial

of her funeral is preserved in Ulster's Office, Dublin Castle. Sir George Bourchier's eldest son, Thomas, carried the banner of her arms, as cousin to the defunct. She seems to have been in bad health at this time, and it is probable that the anxiety arising from her husband's captivity hastened her death.



“1600. April 12. CAREW to MOUNTJOY.

(Extract.)

“My former report concerning the Earl of Ormond was in every point true, saving onely that of our side there was only one man slaien, called Mr. Philip Comerford, a lawyer; and those which in my former letters were said to be slaien were but hurt; of the rebels there was likewise but one slaien with a pistoll. My Lord of Ormond in his taking, received no hurt; but his hatt, George, sword, and dagger were taken from him. After he was taken there fell strife among themselves, for some would have slaien him, and others endeavoured to save him, and one was hurt that did defend him. They sett him on an hackney, and that night carried him into Leix, six miles from the place he was taken. The traytor Aucher<sup>1</sup> was his bedfellow. Owny M<sup>c</sup> Rory useth him well. All this I know by a letter from him to his Lady, wherein he praieth her, that no forces may be drawn downe where he is, for fear, as he saith, of beeing killed.

“This trecherie was plotted by that priest Aucher, and of the conspiracie there was no more but Owny M<sup>c</sup> Rory, Shane Oge M<sup>c</sup> Gilpatrickke, my Lord of Upperosseries nephew, Callogh M<sup>c</sup> Walter, brothers soonne to Hugh Boy M<sup>c</sup> Callogh, and four bonnaghes.

“My Lord of Thomond’s wound in his backe is of no daunger, not above two inches deepe, and without any ill accident following; so as within theis foure dayes he wilbe able to ride. . . . .

“This day one of His Lordships servaunts came from him, who carried him his bed, and other necessaries, and a quantity of victualls, before whose coming, he wanted bread, dranke nothing but water, and but one

<sup>1</sup> i. e. James Archer, the Jesuit, a man foremost in all the movements against the English Government, and a special confidant and agent of O’Neill. One Atkinson deposed in 1603, when O’Neill was pardoned, and at the English Court, that Archer accompanied him—“in divers kinds of apparel, sometimes like a courtier, and otherwhile like a farmer, or chapman of the country. Him he well knew in Ireland, where he saw him as chief commander over the Irish troops of rebels, . . . . . called, commonly, the Pope’s Legate, and Arch-Priest over all others in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, and also the O’Neils; or of others called Tyrone’s confessor, as he had been the arch Duke’s confessor of Austria. . . . . Archer is in stature somewhat tall, black, and in visage long and thin, born in Kilkenny.” “Journal,” vol. i., new series, pp. 412, 413. P. O’Sullivan Bear says, that Archer aided

O’Neill first, then O’More, lastly O’Sullivan, with his counsel and support against the heretics; and that the English believed him to be possessed of miraculous powers, and called him not Archer but Archfiend. “Hist. Cath. Ibern. Compend.” Dublinii, 1850, pp. 205-6. The gallant and obstinate defence of Dunboy Castle was chiefly owing to the exertions of Archer; but after its reduction and the subjugation of the O’Sullivan, he fled into Spain on the 5th of July, 1602. “Pacata Hibernia,” cap. x.

The Archers were an old civic family of considerable wealth and importance in Kilkenny. One of their residences still stands in the High-street, with their arms (a chevron ermine between three pheons) on a panel in the wall, and the date 1582. It is at present occupied by Mrs. Shearman, who is bound by her lease to preserve the cut-stone chimneys, and the sculptured panel, intact.

egg he could gett nothing to eate: the villains themselves are ready to starve for want.

"They remove him every night from one cabin to another, and he is yet in the custodie of the bonaghes,<sup>1</sup> for Owny M<sup>c</sup> Rory dare not trust him in the keeping of anie Leinster men. His Lordship doth desire that there may be no plott sett downe for his recovery by force; for then he is sure to be slayen, Oowney M<sup>c</sup> Rorey protesting that himself wilbe his executioner.

"The Rebells have bene dealt with by his Lordship to know upon what conditions they will enlarge him, but of that they will not thinke, untill the pleasure of Tyrone, and the whole Parliament of raskalls be assembled.

"My Lord is desirous to remayne in Leinster, wherein he hath reason, for in Leix it self he is as much regarded as in this countrey [Kilkenny], and manie of those which were at his taking did wholly depend upon him; but not being acquainted with the treason durst not declare themselves.

"I sent for 600 foote from Waterford to this Towne, besides my horse; but my Lord of Ormond fearing lest it should provoke the rebels to deale more hardlie with him, desireth me to withdraw them, and to leave the countrey to his owne care.

"I wrote unto the Lord Montgarret, praying him (in respect he was my Lord's next cosen, and of great possessions in this countrey, and also for the especiall care I knew he had of the Queenes service) to come to Kilkenny; that I might advise with him what was best to be done in this tumultuous tyme. This daie he came within six miles of this Towne, sent his servant unto me to desire me that either I would speake with him where he was, or else that I would geve him my word for his safe returne;<sup>2</sup> both which I denied, not for anie intention I know of his detaining, but for that I thought it dishonorable for him to make any such demand. His messenger replied that without my word he knew he would not come into the Towne. I told him I would not do his Lordship so great an injurie as to send him a protection to his dishonour, and to draw his obedience into question; with which aunswere his messenger departed."

"ORMONDE to CAREW.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I hartely thanke you for the lovinge and kynde postscript sent in my Lord of Tomond's letter. I am in such case here as I cannot send or receive ought by letter or message but that they must bothe see and knowe the same. Wherefore I must reffer all your proceedings to your Lordships grave and considerate judgement wysshinge you should acquaynt my Lord Deputie how thinges fell out here, to whome I am not allowed to wryte as yet. Your Lordship maye be advysed by his Lordship seinge I cannot advyse you in partyculer, nor suffered to

<sup>1</sup> Bonnaghts were hired soldiers. Peter Lombard, a contemporary, says that Ormonde was committed to the custody of the soldiers O'Neill had left with O'More when marching

back to the north from Munster. "De Regno Hiberniæ Commentarius," pp. 436, &c.

<sup>2</sup> His sons were in rebellion at this time.

wryte what I would. I doubt nothinge of your Lordships good will towards me, and wyshe you should not of myne in any thinge I may possyble. I praye you to procure that no meanes be made to rescue me for that my lyff stands upon it, tyll I maye knowe of One M<sup>r</sup> Rory what pointe he will be at with me. And so wysHINGE you all prosperous successe I commyt you to God. Gortneclhe<sup>1</sup> the 14<sup>th</sup> of April, 1600.

“Your Lordship’s moste unfortunate  
and very assured to you

“THOMAS ORMOND & OSSORY.

[Indorsed in Carew’s hand] “The copie  
of the Earl of Ormonds letter to the  
president of Mounster.”

“THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND to THE ENGLISH COUNCIL.

(*Extract.*)

“May yt please your Lordships. Wee dowt not but yt wilbe greevous to your Lordships to understand the late unfortunate accident happened to the Earle of Ormond, who upone Thursday last the 9<sup>th</sup> of this moneth being at a parley with the traytor Owney M<sup>r</sup> Rorie O More in the borders of Leix was there taken in hand by the said traytour, and his companie, and presently ledd away prisoner into their fastnes, the manner and circumstance of which trecherous action, Wee humbly leave to the letters, lately sent thether by me the Deputy, and to such others, as now come in this packett, being written by the Lord President of Mounster, who was presente upon the place, together with thearle of Thomond, and they both escaped with great difficulty and hazard of their lives, thearle of Thomond being hurte 2 or 3 inches into his backe with a pyke. Upon this dessaster, wee entred into conference, what was meete to be don for the securinge of Kilkenny, and stayeng of the contrey, and borders there-abowts, least some further violence might breake owt, to the endaungeringe of Her Majesties affairs: For, as wee considered how farr this sodden trecherous action might alter some of the Butlers, and make them and their followers stagger, when they saw thearle, who was the head and staie of them all, fallen into imprisonment, so likewaies weighinge the great consequences and interests that depend upon the younge ladie his daughter, and how daungerous yt might be, yf in this broken tyme, she should be Imbeazoled or drawn into the hands of anie of the Irish, or, by anie contract of the father to redeem his liberty, to be promised in marriage to any of this contrey birth, such as the State should not like of, shee being a person, upon whose ground in the case might be wrought manie

<sup>1</sup> Gortnaclea, a castle still standing close to the road leading from Aghavoe church to Abbeyleix, in the valley close to the bridge over the River Gully. (See Queen’s Co. Townland Survey, sheet 23.) It is a tall square tower, with arched floors, and belonged to

the Fitzpatricka, but was close to the borders of Leix. Shane Oge M<sup>r</sup> Gilpatricke, “my Lord of Upperosserie’s nephew,” was, it will be remembered, one of the few persons to whom O’More’s intention to take the Earl prisoner was confided. See p. 393, *supra*.

Shane  
son

daungerous alterations, Wee thought best, as well for securinge of the whole contrey, as for the saffety of the afflicted Countess, and her said daughter, to send an encrease of forces to those partes, and particularly to garde the Castle of Kilkenny, under the chardge of Sir George Bouchier, as a person most acceptable to the Earle, and the Countess, by reason of his allyaunce, and Auncient frindshipp with them both, to whom wee have given instructions in writinge, to be specially carefull of the Castle of Kilkenny, havinge for the gard thereof, fifty English soldiours, with their officers, Besides commissions of authority, to assemble the contrey for some cours of defence, duringe the calamity of thearle, and privat letters to the nobility and cheeff gentlemen of the Butlers to feele them how they stand affected, and to deale with them aparte to be as carefull to preserve the contrey, and thearles lyvings now in his Restraint, as yf he were at liberty, to which end wee have also sent up Sir Christopher S<sup>t</sup>. Lawrance to assist Sir George in thymployment of the forces, and when he shalbe Revoked hether, to deliver thorderinge of the forces and contrey to Sir Christofer, but not to take chardge of the yonge Lady on whose behalff wee thought not meete to comytt that trust to him. But to Sir George Wee gave secrett instructions to be reserved to himself, that he shold have a speciall care over the yonge Lady to stopp all practises that might be made; either directly by the parents consent to procure the Earles liberty, or indirectly by anie of the Butlers or anie other of this contrey birth, to gett her into ther hands for any purposse whatsoever: This we thought best to be donu for the tyme, both for the state of the contrey, and saffety of the yonge lady, whom wee thought more convenient to secure for the present in this manner, then to draw her away from the afflicted lady her mother, who in this heavy case of hers, is her cheefest comforte; yet consideringe the importance of the yonge ladie and the consequences that may breake owt by her, either to the good or evil of Her Majesties affaires, as things may fall owt, Wee humbly desire your Lordships to moove Her Majesty, for the withdrawinge of her owt of hand into England to be kept about Her Majesty, whereby many daungerus sequells may be prevented, and all just cawss of discontentment in the parents taken away. The consideration whereof wee humbly leave to your Lordships, and to have Her Majesties speedy direction in this point, as also what cours we are to hold, yf thearle with the greiff and durance of his captivity shold chaunce to dye, or the traytors in whose hands he is, shold force him for the redemption of his liberty, to contract for his daughter any thinge that maie be prejudiciall to the state, A matter which in reason may be dowted, though the best is to be hoped for of his Lordship. Wee have heard nothinge asyet from the Earle since his desaster, onely he hath written to the Countess, chardginge her upon the love shee beareth him, not to procure any force to be used for his rescuinge, least yt shold encrease the daunger of his liff, wherein wee are of the same mynde, and therefore do humbly pray your Lordships advise and direction, what course we are to hold in so great a cawse, And yet in the mean while, wee have and will ymploy instruments, to discover in what sorte they entreat him, what intelligences pass between Tyrone and them towchinge him, and what purposse they have for his liberty. In which points wee dowt not but they will hold sondry pernicious counsell, and

will specially ayme at the gettinge of his daughter, either by practise, or by the Earles consent for his restitution to liberty, which, both waies, cannot but be hurtfull to Her Majesties affaires.

“ At Dublin 17 Aprilis 1600.

“ Your Lordships etc, most humbly

“ At commaundement

“ MOUNTIOTE

“ Ad. Dublin C.

“ THOS. MIDENSIS.

“ RO. GARDENER. GEORGE CARY. R. WINGFELDE.

“ ROBT. NAPPER. ANTH. SENTLEGER. GEFF. FENTON.

“ F. STAFFORDE.

[Superscribed] “ To the right honourable the Lords & others, of Her  
“ [Majesty's] most honorable Privy Counsell &c. At Courta.

[Indorsed] “ The L. Deputy and Counsell to the Lords. Orders  
“ taken for the preservation of Kilkenny, and the E. of Ormond's  
“ daughter. R. at Greenwich the 7<sup>th</sup> of May.”

“ CAREW AND THOMOND to THE ENGLISH COUNCIL.<sup>1</sup>

“ It maye please your Lordships,—Although I the Presydent have by letters advertysed the Lord Deputy the manner, in what sorte the Erle of Ormond was taken (which I thincke is by his Lordship sent unto you) yet we thincke it our duties to make relation thereof unto your Lordships, and to make knowne to your Honours how accydentally we were wyt-nesses of his mysfortune. On Monedaye the vij<sup>th</sup> of Aprill we departed from Dublyn, and upon Wednesdaye at night we came to Kyllkenny where we found the Erle of Ormond. In our company we had 100 horse, dispersed in the Countrie tenne or twelve myles dystant from us by the Erles Officers. Assone as we came unto him, he acquainted us that he had appoynted the next daye to parlye with Owney M<sup>c</sup>Rorye, we tolde his Lordship that we would attende him, and I the Presydent desyred his Lordship that my 100 horse might be sent for to goe with us for his Lordship's better garde, which he refused thanckinge me for my offer, sayenge that he had no neede of them. The next daye being the x<sup>th</sup> of this present, after dynner,<sup>3</sup> his Lordship, not having in his company above the number of 17 horsemen of his followers armed, and not a lytle above the lyke number of all sortes (wherof we were parte) and the rest Law-

<sup>1</sup> This joint letter, written by Sir George Carew and the Earl of Thomond to the English Privy Council, has been printed, but not very correctly, in the “*Pacata Hibernia*,” chap. iii. This Earl of Thomond was Donogh O'Brien, who combined a fendal earldom with his Celtic chieftainship of the O'Briens. He was grandson of Donogh, second Earl of Thomond, who married Helen, youngest daughter of Piers Earl of Ormond, and was therefore cousin to Earl Thomas,

whose captivity he so narrowly escaped sharing.

<sup>2</sup> The Irish Council say the 9th, but, as appears from the above, erroneously. See p. 395, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> They left Kilkenny probably about twelve or one o'clock, and it is likaly did not reach the place of parley before four or five in the afternoon. O'Sullivan says that Ormonde's party did not quit the place till next day.—“*Hist. Cath. Compend.*,” p. 206.

yers, marchants and others upon hackneyes, with no other weapons then our swordes, rode out to the place of meetinge, eyght longe myles from Kylkenny called Corraneduffe, upon the borders of Ydough,<sup>1</sup> leaving his Lordship's owne company of 200 footmen shorte of the assigned place about two English myles. The place where we mett with the Rebells was upon a heathy ground descendinge towards a narrowe straight, havinge on ether syde of us a lowe shrubbye boggye wood within three pyke length at the farthest from the place where we parlyed and the lyke distance from the straight aforesaide, the choice of which ground we much myslyked. Owney M'Rorye when he came into us brought with him a troope of choyse pykes, leavinge in a lytle playne beyond the straight within half Callyver shott of us in our sight all his grosse, being all to the nomber (as Redmond Ketinge one of the Rebells dyd sweare unto me the President) of 500 foote stronge and 20 horse wherof 300 were Bonaghes, the best furnished men for the warr, and the best appralled that we have seene in the kingedome. At our first meetinge, and so duringe the parlye (which was appoynted for some good causes best knowne to his Lordship) they stooode as close as they might, every one traylinge his pyke and holdinge the cheeke of the same in his lefte hande ready to pushe. The Erle himself was upon a lytle weake hackney unarmed (as all we were that were about him) standinge with the syde of his

<sup>1</sup> I have not succeeded in discovering any place called Currawn, or Corraneduff, answering in position to the locality of the Earl's capture, but have little doubt that it must be placed somewhere near or on the old road from Ballyragget to Ballinakill, where it descends from the hills towards the low-lying boundary of the Queen's County. When on the spot some years ago, I was struck by the features of the ground, just where the road leaves the heathy ground, as bearing a close resemblance to the graphic description above given. I am aware that Ledwich places the site of the Earl's capture near Castlecomer; and it would seem that the late Rev. Matthew Kelly, in his edition of O'Sullivan's "Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernici Compendium" (p. 205, note), was influenced by Ledwich's statement, when he says that the place is still pointed out (?) near Eskerty Wood, about two and a half miles south-west of Castlecomer. Now, it will be remembered that the meeting is said in the State Papers to have taken place on the borders of Leix (p. 895, *supra*), and also on the borders of Idough, as above. The borders of Leix answer to the present south-eastern boundaries of the Queen's County, and Ui Duach or Idough was, in 1600, conterminous to the north with the parish of Castlecomer. The place must, therefore, have been in the county of Kilkenny, on the borders of the Queen's County, and near the confines of the parish of Castlecomer. A

glance at the Ordnance Index map will place these considerations in a clear light. In addition, we have the direct statement of the "Four Masters" (vol. vi., page 2167), that the place appointed for the meeting was "in the neighbourhood of Belatha-Raghat [Ballyragget]." The only difficulty that remains is the distance from Kilkenny. It is fully twelve miles to the spot I am contending for. Now, the despatch of Carew and Thomond says "eight long miles;" but the addition of the epithet "long" shows that some latitude may fairly be allowed. Carew writes to Mountjoy (p. 898, *supra*), that the Earl was set on an hackney, and carried *that night* into Leix, six miles from the place where he was taken. Now, we learn from Peter Lombard's work, already quoted, that he was carried to a *fortified castle* the same night:—"Captus sic Ormonius, abducitur in munitionum quoddam Castrum." But the Irish of Leix had no castle in their hands within six miles of Castlecomer, or its neighbourhood, whilst Gortnaclea Castle, where we know the Earl was on the 14th, is not much more than six miles in a direct line from the neighbourhood of Ballinakill, where it is contended that the parley took place. The castle of Ballyragget was at this time garrisoned for the Queen, as will be seen lower down, which would be an additional reason for Ormonde to choose a place in its neighbourhood for the parley.

hackney so neere to the Rebels as they touched him. After an hower and more was ydely spent and nothings concluded, we and others dyd pray his Lordship to departe, but he, desyrours to see that infamous Jesuyte Archer, did cause him to be sent for. Assone as he came the Erle and he fell into an argument, wherein he called Archer, traytor, and reproved him for seducing (under pretext of Relligion) her Majesties subjects into Rebellion. In this mean tyme the Grosse of the Rebels had left ther standinge in the playne, and some crepte into the shrubbes aforesaid, and others dyd so myngle themselfs amonge us that we were invyroned, and stooede as if we had byn in a fayre, whereof dyvers dyd advertise his Lordship, and at laste, I the Erle of Tomond willed Owney to put backe his men, and I the Presydent desyred his Lordship to be gone, for that I did not lyke ther mingelinge with us, wherwith as his Lordship was turninge his horse, at an instant they seased upon him and us two.<sup>1</sup> His Lordship was in a moment drawne from his horse, we had more hanginge upon us then is credibly to be beleved, but our horses were stronge and by that meanes dyd breake from them, tumblinge downe on all sydes those that were afore and behynd us, and (thankes be to God) we escaped the pushe of their pykes which they freely bestowed, and the flinginge of their skeynes without any hurte, saving that, I the Erle of Tomond received with a pyke a wound in my backe. The Erles horsemen which were armed were farr from us, for every one was dyspersed and talkinge with particuler Rebels about their borderinge busynes, so as we do protest unto your Lordships, in all we were not above 10 unarmed men neere unto him, and assone as the allarm was rayseed, every man of his Lordships followers rane away without lookinge behynde them. After we had cleared our selfs within a butt length at the moste, we made hault and called for the Trumpett, and cryed upon the Erles men for a chardge, but none stood by us but Capten Harvy, Capten Browne, Mr. Comerford a lawyer, and three of our servants, which was all the Company we had there, and all of us without armour or other weapon then our swordes, so as for want of more company we were enforced by the Enemies shott to leave the grounde to them.<sup>2</sup> But we do assure

<sup>1</sup> There are extant two contemporary picture maps of the capture of the Earl. One, preserved in Lambeth Library amongst the Carew MSS., represents the meeting of the Earl with O'More at the commencement of the parley. The two parties are drawn up in line, facing each other. This map has been engraved in the "Pacata Hibernia," p. 24. The other is extant amongst a collection of ancient maps in the MS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and has been engraved by Ledwich ("Antiquities," 2nd ed., p. 276). The last-mentioned map shows the parties mixed together, and the Earl being pulled off his horse by two Irishmen. Melachlin O'More, "a gentleman of Owney's people," was the first that laid hands on him. Melachlin fell at the storming of Dunboy Castle, June 17, 1602, amongst its gallant defenders.—"Pacata Hib.," chap. viii.

<sup>2</sup> We have two accounts of the capture of the Earl written by authors favourable to the side of the Irish, which are given here for comparison with the English State Papers. Peter Lombard, who published his "Commentary" in 1632, and may therefore be looked on as a contemporary, writes as follows:—

"Post hæc, in Aprili mense accidit nt Comes Ormonius Capitaneus Generalis (ut dictum est) exercitus Reginae, colloquium (constituto ad id certo loco atque tempore) institueret cum Dom. Andoeno Moro, Familis hujus in Lysia Dynasta principali; ad quod cum utrimque conventum esset, Comes Dynastæ suisque improperare, adeoq' durius cepit eos increpare, quod ausi arma sumere contra naturalem suum, ut dicebat, Principem, Angliæ Reginam (quacumque id de causa factum) in incepta perduellione seu

your Lordships, the place wherin we parlyed was of such advantage to the enemy, that 500 foote would not have cared for 500 horse, and there-

rebellione, adeo se præberent pertinaces, ut oblatâ eis remissione omnium, in quibus offenderant, imò et satisfactione præteritarum querelarum, seu, si quas passi, injuriarum, nollent tamen adhuc pro debito suo officio ad obedientiam S. Majestatis redire. Cui responsioni ab aliis ita fuit responsum, ut dicerent intrepide, bellum quod ipsi gererât tantum abesse a crimine perduellionis seu rebellionis contra legitimam Principem, ut potius sit susceptum pro jure ejus atque principatu, imò ex ejus auctoritate & mandato, quem ut olim Hibernia tota, ita ipsi etiânum legitimum suum Principem & Dominum suscipere & agnoscere, id est Rom. Pontificem: cujus cum notoria esset sententia anathematis, pridem lata in Reginam istam, tamquam hæreticam & hæreticorum faulricem, omnesque illi, sive in perfidiâ suâ impietatis & favoribus adhærentes, sive aliâs obedientes; eaque interim perfidiâ & impietatis scelera, non in Angliâ tantum immani crudelitate plurimum auxerit, sed et in Hiberniam quoque præsumpserit extendere, id ita permittente justo Dei judicio, tametsi hoc ipse nesciente, ut peccata peccatis addendo, sententiæ ejusdem executionem huc usq' dilatum, tandem aliquando eam in se provocaret. Idcirco ipsos non amplius eam pro Principe sua agnoscere, sed tanquam hostem cœstimare, Dei in primis, cujus Sancta contempit, violavit, & profanavit; deinde Ecclesiæ, à qua ob perfidiam suam & impietatem abscissa, eadem adhuc persequitur & oppugnat; deinde Patriæ, quam contra formam administrandi præscriptam Anglorum Regibus in Privilegio, quo dominium hujus Insulæ eis concessum, supra omnes suos Prædecessores, in fortunis corporibus & animabus hominum affixit & oppressit. Quibus auditis, vicissim cepit Comes quedam irreverentiâ loqui in Pontificem, non tam ex proprio quidem sensu & affectu, quam ob præsentiam quorundam præcipui nominis Anglorum, quos in comitatu habuit, ne his videretur tam gravem, uti interpretabatur, contumeliam Regine factam, insultum tolerare. Ast alii, qui, quæcumq' in se ab eodem Comite durius dicta, vel adhuc fortè dicerentur, paratos se monstrantur patientissimè ferre, istâ ejus in Pontificem irreverentiâ adeo sunt commoti, ut illico injectis in eum manibus, captivum se coegerint dedere, quousq' quid de eo Princeps O'Neillus statui vellet, plenius resciretur; unde subitaneo exorto tumultu, ex sequentibus ejus aliqui sunt occisi; re-

liqui, ac nominatim Comes Tomoniæ, ac Dom. Edouardus Larevus [Carevus], novus Momoniæ Præses, relicto eo, aufugerunt.

“Captus sic Ormonius, abducitur in munitum quoddam Castrum, ubi pro custodia ejus constituto præsidio satis firmo, ex militibus Principis O'Neilli; cæteroquin, quanta fieri poterat, permessa ei libertas, tam ut se quocunq' vellet exercitii genere, recrearet, quàm ut domestici sui & illic in omnibus illi ministrarent, & quæcumque usibus ejus necessaria aut commoda adferrent ei ex Falato suo Canonicocollensi: quod inde unius dumtaxat diei itinere distat. Quis vero auditum est musitari a quibusdam, non licuisse eum in colloquio hujusmodi, in quod utrimque conventum erat, capere, nec proinde sic captum detinere. Idcirco qui ceperant, priusquam Principem O'Neillum de hoc certiorum redderent, viros quosdam doctos de equitate istius sui facti consulentes, exposuerunt illis, quod propter injuriam illam verborum quæ post colloquium initum a Comite irreverentiâ dicta in Romanum Pontificem moti sunt, quod alioqui, neque cogitarant neque attentarant ad manus in eum injiciendas. Ab initio etiam de colloquio ineundo, his & non aliis circumstantiâs propositum & conventum, vel certè non putarit necessarium. Quæ cum ita se habere intelligerent, qui in consilium adhibiti, etiam resolverunt nihil in eo captendo vel detinendo commissum contra æquitatem; et ideo qui ceperant, eum detinere statuerunt, quousque et quomodo videretur Principi O'Neilli, ad quem post captam istam resolutionem, de re tota perscriberent.

“Interim accessere ad Comitem Ecclesiastici quidam viri, qui et de his, quæ ad Catholicam spectant religionem, liberius eum & plenius, quàm antea unquam poterant, instruxerunt & insuper comonuerunt de officio quod Deo, Ecclesiæ & patriæ præstare posset & deberet, pro oblata occasione per bellum, quod nunc ibi geritur, ad religionis causam promovendam. Quos ille in omnibus benevolè audiens, de religione quidem se ab iis instrui gratanter accepit, & cum fructu: neque enim, ut præmissum, hæretica ei unquam doctrina probata; sed quominus tamen ipse aliis suæ patriæ Proceribus Catholicis,



fore (his Lordship having not foote with him) it was impossible to do the enemy any harm with horse. This treachery (for so we must terme it

etiãsi pro religionis causa fœderatis posset se adungere, has allegãs rationes : in primis, quoniam ultra perpetuam familiæ suæ observantiam in Coronam Angliæ, peculiãres quædam intervenerant ipsi cum Regina hac necessitudines, quibus tenebatur, ne, quàm diu ea viveret, partes ullas sequeretur aut foveret, quibus in Coronã istam hostilitas exerceri videretur. Deinde, quoniam ejusmodi ei domestica vincula, a quibus pericula certa expectanda forent, si quippiam tale moliretur. Cum & uxor ejus Anglica & quidem hæretica, & occasione ejus compelleretur complures alios ejusdem nationis & religionis habere familiares. Denique, quia non satis tutum videretur, præsertim ipsi, cujus ditiones expositæ omnino Regiæ copiis, contra tam potentem Principem hostilitatem suscipere, nisi recursus antea esset opis ferendæ a potentibus aliquibus externis Principibus. Nihilominus quibusdam, quibus magis confidebat inter eos, qui cum eo egerant, aperuit liberius, quod adeo sibi displiceret Anglorum in administratione Hiberniæ iniquitas & impietas, ut tametsi cogere in his dissimulare quã diu hæc Regina viveret; nihilominus, si post eam mortuam contingeret superesse, tunc apertè demonstraret quanta sibi cordi religio esset & justitia.

“Cum autem perlatum esset ad uxorem captum illum & abductum, ea, missis passim in ejus Castellã, Prædia & Palatia Anglorũ præsidia, supplices pro eo scripsit literas, cum ad Reginam Angliæ, tum ad Principem O Neill; ab illa petens, ut pro mariti sui in ejus Majestatem fidelitatis, & obsequiorum notissimis meritis, dignaretur ipsa nunc inire certam aliquam rationem ad illum e captivitate liberandum; apud istum instans, ut ipse quoque intuitu officiorum, quæ in suis aliquando angustiis & periculis ab eodè acceperat, faciliorem se præberet ad eum dimittendum. Quibus literis respondentes, Regina quidem illico promisit omnem se, quam, salvã suã Coronã, adhibituram operam ad eum in libertatem asserendum, Princeps vero O Neillus, cunctantibus paulo adhuc agens, agnovit officia à Comite dudum sibi præstita, professus est eorum apud se perpetuam manere memoriam, ideoque & se cupere ei gratificari in quibuscũque posset, absque communis Dei & Patriæ etiam præjudicio & detrimento. Quod, quomodo faceret, sic ut præsentis petitioni satisfaceret, quæ cum magno apparatu immineret, idcirco hæc se consulationem in aliud tempus dilaturum. Verumtamen post cuncta-

tionem istam citius & certius per Principem hunc, quàm per Reginam adhibita ratio ad Comitem liberandum. Siquidem, cum primum fugaret hostem, ut id postea declarabitur, inito consilio de eo quod in negotio Comitibus fieri expediret, sic ut & gratitudinem, quantum fieri posset, demonstrando pro præstitis sibi pridem officiis, beneficium jam rependeret, & tamen simul caveretur, ne quid inde mali communi accideret causæ, statuit tandem libertati illum restituere sub certis conditionibus, pro quibus adimplendis, obsides ab eo accepit 15. Illustriores ditiois ejus viros, ex quibus aliqui etiam sanguine ei conjuncti, atque ita dimissus Comes, interea sic se gessit, ut & à publicis abstineret negotiis, ac nominatim quidem bellicis, & ut appareat religionis causam esse magis illi conscientis, quam in reliqua sua anteacta vita. Unde cum paulò post quàm est dimissus, Prorex eum inviseret ac, inter alia, invitaret ad Concionem audiendam, quam hæreticus suus Minister habiturus, Comes accedere detraxit, religione motus, etsi pro ratione redderet, quominus accedere posset, quod indispositã etiam valetudine. Ac paulò post, cum Proregem abestum deduceret ad aliquod spatium, ab eodem vocatus, ut ad expeditionem quandam, in quam is tunc contra hostes ibat, etiam ipse congrediretur; excusavit id non sibi amplius integrum, quod obsides ejus in eorum essent manibus. Ac certè peroptandum valde foret, ut vir hic nobilis tandem superatis penitus humanarum cupiditatum impedimentis, sicut aliis egregiis, tum animi, tum corporis virtutibus, clarissimam suam familiam plurimum condecorat, sic & in religionis causa, illius imitaretur zelum atq' libertatem, à quo ejusdem familiæ præcipuè venit decus atque gloria, nempe D. Thoms Cantuariensis, qui libertate digna quovis Christiano Principe & Prælato, ausus fuit resistere Regi, ne dum hæretico, sed violatori solum Ecclesiæ dignitatis atque utilitatis.”—“De Regno Hiberniæ Commentarius, &c., Authore D. Petro Lombardo.”—Lovanii, 1682, pp. 486-45.

P. O'Sullivan Bear printed his “Catholic History” in 1681. He, also, notices the taking of the Earl, but evidently was not so well informed in some points as Lombard:—

“Rursus Comes Vrmonius regii exercitus imperator, et Huon O'Morra uterque in alterius conspectum copias perducit. Erat tunc apud Huonem pater Jacobus Archerus è Societate Jesu, Ibernus vir Catholicus re-

in respecte of his Lordships confidence in the valour of his owne men, and also in his owne opynion that the enemie durst not shewe him this fowle measure) was contrived by that villayne Archer, and none was made acquainted with it but Owney M<sup>r</sup>Rorye, two Leinster men, and fowre Bonaghes, for if more had been trusted, there is no doubt but his Lordship should have had knowledge of it. Owney M<sup>r</sup>Rorye layde his hands on me the Presydent (as they reporte) and next unto God I must thancke my Lord of Tomonde for my escape, who thrust his horse upon him, and at my backe a Rebelle newly protected at my sute, called Bryan M<sup>r</sup>Donagh Cavenaghe, beinge a foote dyd me good service, and wounded one of those Traytors that layde hand on the Erle of Ormond, for the rest I must thanke my horse, whose strength bare all down about him. On our syde there was but one man slayne, not above fyve hurte, whereof Pierce Butler a kynesman of the Erles was one, who behaved himself vallyantly, and about 14 taken prisoners. And of the enemie one was slayne, and a fewe hurte. The prysoners were taken by their owne negligence, who were a foote grasinge their horses. The takinge of this great Lorde, breedes unsettled humours in thes partes, for all the Gentlemen of the Country (wherof some of them were his true followers) for want of a defender are waveringe. Others which in ther owne dysposition were naught, and contayned themselves as subjectes but for feare of his power, are now at lybertie, and we feare will shortly declare themselves. To keepe them from present uproares I the Presydent dyd ymmediatly send for 600 foote of the Munster Companies which were at Waterforde, and the 100 horse which were in the Country, to the Towne of Kylkenny, which hath wrought good effecte and stayde ther unsettled humours. Besydes it dyd assure the Lady of Ormond and her daughter which otherwyse had bene subjecte to many daungers. So sorrowful a Lady in our lyffs we have not seene, and do beleve that if it had not

ligionis amplificandæ studiosissimus, perindeque hæresis hostis accerimus, et ob id ab Anglis odio inexpiabili habitus. . . . Hic religiosus motus spe reducendi Urmonium ad sanam mentem petit, ut liceat colloqui. Colloquendi facultatem Urmonius non negat. Itaque ex alterâ parte Urmonius, Dionysius O'Brien Tomonico Comes, Lomnachæque princeps, et Georgius Carus Anglus Momoniarum præfectus, equis vecti, est alterâ verò religiosus Ancherus pedes tribus Ibernis militibus comitatus in utriusque exercitus conspectu ad colloquium conveniunt, nullâ incolumitatis fide interposita. Ibi Ancherus, qui linguam Anglicam optimè callebat propter Carum Ibernicum idioma non intelligentem, Anglico sermone piè, sanctèque suo more incipit facere verba. Eum Urmonius interrumpit futile quoddam argumentum in Summi Pontificis sanctitatem obijciendo. Quâ re subirat Archerus cum pristinum oris habitum aliquantum mutasset, et simili baculum, seu stipitem, quo seniles artus sustinebat, dex-

tera fortè tolleret, tres Iberni pedites, qui eum comitabantur, Anglici sermonis ignari, velle religiosum stipite cum Urmonio congredi, existimarunt. Quamobrem periculum, quòd inermi religioso ab armato impendere putabant, antevertere cupientes duo Urmonium aggressi equo deturbant, tertius quoque ferrum stringit: in quorum auxilium pluribus accurrentibus ex Catholico exercitu, multitudinem variti Comes Tomonius, et Carus se fugæ mandant. In Archerum regis magnâ turba prouunt: quibus Cornelius O'Rellus ab Huone missus occurrit. Utrisque equestri pugna et bombardariorum velitatione dimicatur, donec nox prælium diremerit. Postero die pars utraque ab eo loco discessit. Urmonius ab Huone castodie mandatus ad fidem Catholicam ab Archero convertitur. Sed O'Neill jussu veterum amicitiarum memoris incolumis dimissus iterum ad pristinum hæresis vomitum rediit."—"Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium, &c.," edidit Mathæus Kelly. Dublini, 1850, pp. 205, 206.

pleased God we at that tyme had not bene there, she would hardely have undergone those griefes that dyd oppresse her. For besydes the losse of her husband (in beinge prysoner with those Rogues) she beheld the apparant ruyne of herself and her daughter and no lesse daunger of bothe their lyves, the guard wherof she comytted unto us, not beinge assured of those that serve her. For ther ar dyvers that pretende to be the Erles heires by sondry tytles. First Sir Edmond Butler his second brother, which Sir Walter Butler the Erles nephew (whose blood is not attaynted) will not yelde unto, because his unkle, Sir Edmond, is not restored in blood, and the Vicecount Mountgarret thinckes that he ought to be Erle of Ormond for many reasons which he pretendes. This controversie could not but breede greater daunger to the Countesse and her daughter, for that every of these would be glad to possesse themselves of the Erles houses, and the doubt who is to succede him, breeds unsetled humours in the gentlemen of the Country that be followers to the Erle, every one addictinge himself to the partie they affecte, wherby there is a generall destruction which would have broken out to a dangerous Rebellyon if the forces and we had not been there to keepe them in awe. Besydes we dyd not neglecte to send for all the Lords and gentlemen of the country that ar of the best qualytie and have temporysed with them, so as we hope the daungers that were lyke to insue will be for a tyme well appeased. Also understandinge that Ballyragget a house of the Lord of Mountgarrets, in the which there is a warde for the Queene, kepte as a pledge for his loyaltie, that the same was attempted to be wonne by the Vicecounts sonnes who are in rebellyon, and ymmediatly upon the Erles takinge, laye before it in hope to starve the soldyers (for ther laste dayes victualls was spent) I the Presydent upon my credyte dyd take in Kylkenny, victualls, and with a stronge Convaye of horse and foote have victualed it for sixe weekes, whereof the Lord Deputie is advertysed, prayenge him to be carefull for supplyenge of it before that victuall be spent. And because that all thinges might be contynued in good order, we thought good to remayne in Kilkenny untill the Lord Deputie should determyne of some course so to holde it for Her Majesties benefyte, the Countries good, and the Countesse and her daughters safety wherein we were enforced to make large dishursements of our own small stoares for dietinge in that Towne the horse and foote troopes, wherof I the Erle defrayed the charges of my owne Company of 200 foote, and I the Presydent of all the reste duringe our aboad there which was eyght dayes. In this meane tyme we understandinge that Mountgarrets sonnes which ar in rebellyon, dyd come to spoyle the country neere to Kylkenny, we set out some part of our troopes, who lighted upon some of their men,<sup>1</sup> and amongst them (which they slewe) ther was one of the Butlers, a neere kynesman to Mountgarret and a principall leader, slayne and the traytors dryven to the woodes, beinge enforced to leave thaire enterpryse.

"The 16 of this present Sir George Bourcher and Sir Christofer St. Lawrence (sent from the Lord Deputy) came to Kylkenny. Sir George for chiefe commander of Her Majesties forces there, and to take charge of

<sup>1</sup> A "wast towne six myles from Kilkenny."—*CAREW to MOUNTJOY*, April 19.

the Countesse, her daughter and the Erles houses, and Sir Christofer to be dyrected by him. The forces ther lefte is 200 foote of the Erles, other 200 of Sir Christofers 30 of my foote lefte in a warde in Mountgarrets house called Ballyragget, 85 horse (whereof 50 of the Erles, 25 of St. Lawrences, and 10 of Sir George Bouchers). Synce the Erles takinge we kepte the Rebells from doinge of any harme in the countrey, nether as yet is ther any in rebellyon in the same, but Mountgarrets sonnes, whose force is not such, but in our opynion (without they call straungers to assiste them) her Majesties forces ther ar mucche to stronge for them.

"The 17 we lefte Kylkenny and came to this cytie leavinge Sir George Boucher as aforesaide. Thys accydent hath withhelde me the Presydent from my peculiar chardge longer then I supposed, but therein I hope your Lordships will holde me excused beinge otherwyse so necessarily employed in these causes of so great importance, wherof I humbly besече your Lordships in your wisedomes to have due consideration. To morrowe we proceed on our journey towards Corke, from whense (with the rest of the counsell ther) we will advertyse your Lordships in what estate we fynde the Province, not beinge able here to certefye your Lordships so particularly as then we may. So humbly take our leaves from Waterforde this 18<sup>th</sup> of April, 1600.

"Your Lordships most humbly to serve you.

"GEORGE CAREWE. D. THOMOND.

[Superscribed.]—"To the right Honorable our very good Lords, the Lords of Her Majesties most honorable Pryvie Councell at the Courte these.

[Indorsed.]—"The Lord Presydent and the Earl of Thomond to the Lords. The manner of the treacherous taking of the Earl of Ormond. Received at Greenwich the 28<sup>th</sup>."

"CAREW to MOUNTJOY.

(*Extract.*)

"The judgement which your Lordship hathe geven of the losse of this Erle is in my opinion accordinge to the truthe for I could geve many reasons thatt the state cannott receve any great indemnitie by itt, yett notwithstandinge itt had beene more happye thatt he had nott fallen into there hands. In your Lordships letters you required me (yf I could convenientlye spare them) to leave 100 foote in Killkenny before which tyme as by former letters may appear, which I sent unto your Lordship, the Erle himsellfe by one of his servaunts did pray me to draw all my forces away and to hasten into Mounster. And as for the countrey, as farre as I can judge there is no great danger towards, for when I lefte the same, there was nott any more rebells then Montgarretts sonns, who are followed with 50 Roges att the most, and no more, nether do I thinke thatt any will start into rebellion while the Erle lyves, but afterwards the competitors of his land will disturbe those parts. Moreover I do assure your Lordship thatt you will find itt to be trew thatt the Moores will nott

spoyle any of the Erles owne lands and as for the rest of the borderers upon Lease [Leix] they pay there contrybutions and are secured; I write nott upon imagination but upon assured knowledge of thatt which hath passed since his Lordships takinge, and therefore, the forces which your Lordship hath sent thether is sufficyent,

Montgarrett is fearefull and so is his sonne James whome your Lorship saw in Dublin, when I marched towards his towne, they shewed themselves upon the toppe of a Hill havinge in there Companie about 140 foote and 20 horse, he sent his servaunt unto me sayinge thatt as he was cominge to meet me upon the way that his horse fell whereby he receved a great bruse in his side and had broken a ribbe and therefore prayed me to excuse him, but his sonne James desired to speake with me upon my word to retourne, and so came unto me accompanied with 12 horsemen, by him I found thatt his brethren were in rebellion, not with malicious harts agaynst the Queene, but to be revenged upon the Erle of Ormond, and thatt they now would become humble sutors for there pardons, which I thinke they will effect. William M<sup>e</sup> Hubbard was att the parlye when the Erle was taken and on the rebels part, the next day he sent to me for a protection, was with me at Killkenny, and followes me into Mounster with 12 horse and as many foote, whereby the passage between Laghlin (Leighlin) and Killkenny is cleered, this I do to ease thatt countrye of a notorious and dangerous traytor. Hereinclosed I do send your Lordship the copie of a letter from the Erle to me, he hath now reason to feare them beinge in there hands, but before he mistrusted them no more then I do your Lordship. James Butler tolld me thatt att the *parley Oney and the Erle off Ormonde had these speeches*, you know *saythe* the Erle thatt your *father and grandfalter* were evermore *my frends* and so *am I to you*, forbeare *you to spoyle me and my tenants and frends* and I will *do you no harme*: this he sayethe was *spoken*, a little before *he was taken*, and tolld unto him *by on* thatt was *theare*, which is like to be *true*, but hereof no proof can be made and therefore fitt to be suppressed. I besече your Lordship to take the paynes to discypher this your selfe. . . . .

Waterford this 19 of Aprill 1600.

“ Your Lordships most faythfullye devoted unto you

“ GEORGE CAREWE.

“ Burne this letter I besече your Lordship. [After this in Mountjoy's hand to Cecyll—] Sir I pray accordinge to my Lord Presidents desyre burne this letter but to send it unto you I know itt will nott offende him.”

[This letter was sent to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, but the direction is wanting. The words *underlined* are in Mountjoy's hand, and are written over words in cypher. The inclosed letter from Ormonde to the Lord President Carew has been given at p. 394, *supra*: it's date is 14 April, 1600: on the back of the inclosure is written in Carew's hand—]

“ Archer the Jeawiste was his Lordships Secretarye for he writes but as they geve him Leave, and they read all thatt is sent unto him.”

" CAREW to CECYLL.

(Extract.)

"SIR,—Since the writings of these letters which stayed for a wynde, I am advertised from Sir Richard Shee as by the copie of his letter hereinclosed may appeare, thatt my Lord of Ormond is dischargd out of the Rebell's hands,<sup>1</sup> but upon what conditions or pledges I know nott, nott havinge herd of any thinge more then whatt Sir Richards letter importa, his Lordship is happie to be quitt as he is howsoever, yf I had bene in his Roume I might have said Buenas noches to my frends for ever seeinge me agayne: I humblye besече you to take some occasion to write unto the Erle of Tomond, in whome (yf I be nott deceaved) besides his zealous faythe to the queene, he dothe particularlye honnour and respect you. I protest unto your honnour by the Majestie of God that I have nott knowne in my life any man of Ireland birthe to be equalled unto him. . . .

. . . . .  
 . . . . .

so humbly rest

" Your honnours most bounden

" GEORGE CAREWE

" Waterford : 20 : Aprill : 1600:

[Superscribed] " To the right honorable Sir Robert Cecill knight Her Majesties princypall Secretary att the Court.

[Indorsed] "The Lord Presydent of Munster to my master, The Earle of Ormonde delyvered. Received at Grenewich the 28<sup>th</sup>."

SHEE to CAREW.

" MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Knowenge you will be most glad of such newes as hath ben brought hether this night at eyght of the clocke by William M<sup>c</sup> Hugh Gaukegh Sir Patrick Hoen and and M<sup>r</sup>. Hoeth, of my deere Lord his discharge from the captyvitie of the Rebels, I have dyspatched this bearer my messenger with this my letter to acquaynt your Lordship therewith. My Lady expecteth his beinge here very shortely, Joyfull and merry she is God be thancked. So with the Remembrance of my duty restinge allwayes

" Your Lordships humbly to commaund

" R. SHEETHE.

" Kylkenny the 19<sup>th</sup> of Aprill at 8 of the clock at night.

[Indorsed in President Carew's own hand]

" The copie of Sir Richarde Shees letter to the president of Mounster."

<sup>1</sup> The information, contained in Sir Richard Shee's letter, was unfounded

## " FENTON to CECYLL.

*(Extract.)*

.....

" Therle of Ormond contynueth still in the Castle of Gortencleagh, upon the debatable ground betweene Osserie and Leax, where Owney himself is his keeper, who geveth him the favour to have his diett dressed by his owne cookes, and brought to the Iron grate of the Castle by his owne men, but there Owney himself receiveth the diett, and carrieth yt up to therle, not suffringe any of his Lordships owne servannts to come within the grate.

" The preests and Jesuits do lodge in one romth [room] with therle, of purposse to alter him in religion, and they tempt him with many ridiculous offers, as to make him prince of Leinster, so as he will become a Popish catholick and draw her Majesty to resigne the two countryes of Leax and Ophaly to the O'Mores and O'Connors, what therles answer is to theis propositions I know not asyet, but I thinke in the honour and dutie he oweth to God and his soveraigne prince, his annsweres are negative.

" It is geven owt, that Tyrone laboreth to have therle sent into Ulster into his possession, and to that end prepareth in person to draw up to the borders of Westmeath to receive him, but I am of mynd that the confederate rebells of Leinster will never consent to pass therle of Ormond owt of Leinster into Ulster, and I looke that ere yt be longe, some manner of contract for his libertie, will pass amongst them, upon pledges or slanties,<sup>1</sup> for I assure myself, that the kearne of Leinster will not suffer one dropp of his blood to be spilt, nor his person to be delivered over to forreine captivitie, but in the meane while, this is the iniquitie of his desaster that the state may not use force to reskew him, whilest he is in their hands, least thereby the daunger of his life might be encreased.

.....

" In haste at Dublin 26<sup>o</sup> Aprilis 1600.

" Your honors ever most humbly to be commaunded

" GEEFF. FENTON.

[Superscribed] " To the right honorable Sir Robert Cecyll Knight principall Secretary to Her Majesty, and Master of the Wards and Liveries &c.

" hast hast.

[Indorsed] " Sir Geff. Fenton to my master Rec<sup>d</sup> 7 Maij at Grenewich."

" DELVIN to MOUNTJOY.

" MY VERIE GOODE LORD.—The Intelligenser with whome I formerlie acquainted your Lordship is returned with a packet containyng 13 letters written in Irishe from Tyrowen, all directed to the Mounster and Leynster

<sup>1</sup> In Irish, p<sup>l</sup>dna, sureties.

Rebels saving one to the Earle of Ormond, the copie whereof and of Desmond and Oney m<sup>r</sup>Korye his letters translated verbatim I send your Lordship. The other ten contayning the generall newes, and perswasions to garde downe the Earle of Ormonde, I coulde not tranalate verbatim, by reason of the messengers hast, and feare to be discovered, but have sent youre Lordship a brieve of there differences, and to whom they were directed.

“The partye him selfe was present at a place in O’Donels contrey called the Callabegye [Killibeggs], when the two Spanishe ships arryved ther, and sawe them receaved with great tryumphe by Tyrowen and O’Donell. The armes and munytion they brought by reporte as he harde, are 2000 calyvera, 4 lb of powder with matche and leade proporyonable for every calyver, and 2000 pykes. They have a present purpose to sende upp forces to anoye the pale, which I beleve they will attempt the rather for the better conveieg downe of therle of Ormond, and that my brothers son Richard Nugent hathe undertaken to get them the spoile of this contrey. Upon his last protection he procured some yong fellowes here in the contrey to joyne with him, and doe labor by some wicked instruments to get out more, but I will prevent it the best I maie god willing. It wilbe verie necessarie in respect of the service, that your Lordships means in getting these intelligences be known but to verie fewe. I shall desire that in this and the like causes it will please your Lordship to use your servaunt Mr. Cooke, of whose goode caryadg and sufficiency I have bene verie well experyenced, when he served Sir William Russell being Lord Deputy. And so recomending my service unto your Lordship I humblie take leave. Kyltome the 26<sup>th</sup>. of Aprile 1600

“Your goode Lordships to doe you  
“service

“C. DELVIN<sup>1</sup>

[Superscribed]

“To the Right Honourable and my  
very good Lord the Lord Deputy.”

“CARY<sup>2</sup> to CECYLL

(Extract).

Sethens (*since*) the endinge of my letter I received the copies of these letters which my Lord of Delvin sent unto me, which his Lordship took from a messenger of that archetraytorly villayne Tyrone.

[Superscribed]

“To the Right Honorable Sir Robert  
Cecylle knight pryncypall Secre-  
tary to Her Majesty and Master of  
the Wardes and Lyveryes.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Christopher Nugent, ninth Baron of Delvin. He died in 1602, whilst confined in Dublin Castle, on a charge of correspondence with, and aid given to, Tyrone.

“Archdall’s Lodge’s Peerage,” vol. i., p. 235.

<sup>2</sup>This was Sir George Cary, the Treasurer. The letter is dated 26th of April, 1600.



[The following inclosures are dated from Dungannon "2<sup>de</sup>. May 1600" but that means 1600  $\frac{\text{Apr. } 22}{\text{May } 2}$ , or the 22<sup>d</sup>. of April, according to the style of Cary's letter, which incloses them and is dated 26 April. Tyrone and the Irish used the old style.]

*"The Copie of Tirowens letters.*

"Wee send our commendations to yow, the Earle of Ormond, we are tolde that you are apprehended by Owny M'Rory: You knowe there is none of the birth of Ireland, that we would greewe more to fall to trouble then yow: notwithstandinge, we thanke God, that you are in the handes of the servaunts that are true to God, and the Poope, and the Kings of Spaine, whence with the leave of God your soulvations shall come and the safetie of your conscience and cuntry, by mean of your trouble in the hands of men, that have lesse wordly creditte then you, and that you may geve creditte faythfully from hencefourth in the Catholique faith. At Dungenen the second of May 1600.

"O'NEILL.<sup>1</sup>

"Wee comend us unto you Earle of Desmond. Our newes unto you, thanks be to God, is, the goode of this northe parte and our helthe, strong and of power against every our contrey enemy neere us, and far, and provided for the enemyes drawing towards us. It is reported unto us, that the Earle of Ormond (by the help of God and power of the Irishry) is taken. Wee thanke God for it and wee are sure that the goode of Ireland will groe of it, we desire, you as becomethe you, to be of goode comfort, and to increase your fame, and put in many goode Bonyes [Bonaghts], and doe your uttermost against your enemyes, and advertise us of all newes. Knowe ye that some Spanishe shipping came into Ireland, whereine the Archebushopp of Dublin, and parte of the Kings Armes and Munyion are come, and a great Navye presentlie comyng for England. Wee wrote in your behalfe to the King and of your service and helpe: Wee sent our son Henry unto him and God willing the helpe at hand will shortlie appear unto you.

"Dongen 2<sup>d</sup>. May 1600.

"Wee comend us unto you Oney M'Rory, Thanks be to God that wee are in goode helthe, strong and of power against any enemye neere us, and provided for the enemyes comyng upon us. Wee understand that you throughe the grace of God (to whom wee yeld thanks,) aprehended the Earle of Ormond, wherof wee doubt not the goode of all Ireland will ensue: but his welthe and frindshipp is soe great as you shall hardlie finde men whom you maie trust to keepe him safe there. Wherfor wee desire you earnestlie to use him honorablie, but to keepe him verie sure untill he be sent hither by the helpe of yourselfe and suche as wee have appointed for that purpose. Therfor be not tempted to enlardg him upon any profer, for if you will desire Ransome you shall have money and goulde at my hands. And for peace I will never make without including you in the same with as goode termes as any man els in Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> The copy inclosed in the letter of April 26 is a more hasty translation from the ori-

ginal Irish than the above, which is also to be found amongst the State Papers.

Knowe yee that some Spanishe shipping came into Ireland, wherine the Archebushopp of Dublin and parte of the Kings Armes and munytion are come and a great navie presentlie comyng for England. Wee sent our son Henry unto the King whose helpe at hand will shortlie speare unto you. Therfor be of good Cowradg, and increase your valyant acts.

" Dongenen 2<sup>o</sup> May 1600

" Item A letter to Florence M<sup>a</sup>ackartymore verbatim according Desmond's letter

" Item. A letter to Richard Butler the Viscount of Mountgaret's son Importing the forsaid newes, and willing him to aide Oney M<sup>a</sup>Rory in garding therle of Ormonde to the Northe.

" Item a letter to Richard Terell verbatim to the former effect with addition that he should bring downe the horsmen and horses which were left with Teig M<sup>a</sup>Dermot in Muskrye.

" Item a letter of the same tenure to Redmond Bourke saving for the horses.

" Item a letter to Dermot M<sup>a</sup>Connor importing beside the conveiyng of therle of Ormond thanks for his goode service, in killing the Lord Bourke and his brother, for that he sawe him not, by reason of his<sup>1</sup> hasty returne.

" Item a letter to William Terrell, a letter to Fyaghe M<sup>a</sup>Hughe his sons, and a letter to Donell Spanaghe all importing the generall newes and direction of sending downe the Earle of Ormond to the Northe, saving that he dothe admire that Donell Spanaghe should come to Dublin, without his knowledg, perswading him to keepe his warde and contynue his enterprise.

" Item a second letter to Oney M<sup>a</sup>Rory perswading the sending downe of the Earle of Ormond of one effect with the former.

" Item a letter to the chiefest of the Conors importing the former newes, and perswading the sending downe of the Earle of Ormond and encowrading them to proceed in ther valyant enterprises, all bearing date at Dongenon the second of May 1600"

" FENTON to CECYLL.

" RIGHT HONORABLE,—This advertiments enclosed,<sup>2</sup> were brought to me a day after the shutting up of this packett. Your Honour may see what Tyrone giveth owt towching the preparations of Spaine against England and this realm, the truth or falsehoode whereof is better knowen to your honour then to me. But for my parte I esteem them all but Spannish driftes and subtelties, to carry on some contrary deseignes. And where yt seemeth Tyrone hath sent his second sonn into Spaine I thinke yt is more for education sake then that he shold be a tye upon the traitour his father. Your honour may see by theextracts, how Tyrone labourerth to gett thearle of Ormonde into his hands, but I am still of mynde, as I have bin from the beginninge, that the confederates of Lein-

<sup>1</sup> i. e. Tyrone's. His return to the North was almost a flight. See p. 388, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Alluding evidently to a copy of Tyrone's letters already given.

ster will not suffer him to be carryed owt of the Province, some probability whereof your Honour may see by this letter enclosed brought to me even now from the Glynnes in Fewgh M<sup>c</sup>Hughs contrey, where yt is expected that the Earle shalbe brought very shortely, and to that end Felim M<sup>c</sup>Fewgh remayneth still in Leix, workinge with Owny to have thearle brought to the Glynnes. Yf his Lordship do come thether, yt is a good stepp to his liberty, for that he is there amongst his frindes, who at the worst, will keepe him owt of the hands of Tyrone, yf they do not fully enlarde him. I see that this dessaster of thearle of Ormond will torne in thend to good service to Her Majesty, for that the differences that are and do daily encreas amongst them, towchinge his takinge and the conditions of his liberty, cannot but make breaches amongst them, to thendaungeringe of some of the best of them. And so in great hast I most humbly take leave. At Dublin 29<sup>o</sup> Aprilis 1600.

“ Your Honours most humbly to  
“ command

“ G<sup>EFF</sup>. FENTON

[Superscribed]

“ To the right honorable Sir Rob<sup>t</sup>.  
Cecyll knight, Principall Secretary  
to Her Majesty, and M<sup>r</sup>. of the  
Wards and Liveries &<sup>c</sup>.

“ At Courte hast hast

[Indorsed] “ Sir Jeff. Fenton to my  
Master with an extracte of some  
intelligences

“ Rec<sup>d</sup>. at Grenwich 7 Maij

[Post marks] “ Conway at 5 a clock yn the mornyng the 5 of May.

“ Ruthland half an howre past viij

“ Chester at ii after none the v<sup>th</sup>. Maie at Namptwoch at vj.

“ At Stone after x. at Lychfyld past ij

“ Colsil after vj at Coventry at viij

“ Daventry past 12 at noone

“ Tocester at 2 Brickhill past 5.”

“ BYRNE to FENTON (*enclosed in the foregoing letter*).

“ Right worshippfull my humble dutie remembred. Your worship’s man Morrogh M<sup>c</sup>Eaallough came in your name to learne what newes there was here of my Lorde of Ormond whereuppon I sent presently to Ranolagh<sup>1</sup> where I understand that Phelim M<sup>c</sup>Feagh<sup>2</sup> is not come from Leise as yet, but there is a house made redy within the Glines with gret provicion for my Lord is comynge, Phelim his wife expects my Lord of Ormonde is comenge very shortly to Ranolough: as sone as I here any further newes of the same your Worship shalbe first acquaynted withall,

<sup>1</sup> “ Fastnes in Feogh M<sup>c</sup>Hughs contrey.”  
In Sir Geoffrey Fenton’s hand.

<sup>2</sup> “ Feogh M<sup>c</sup>Hughs sonne,” written over  
by Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

not only this but all other newes that shalbe in these borders. So I humblie take leave from Kiltemon this 26 of Aprill 1600

"Your worships humblie to commaunde

| "G. BYRNE"

[Superscribed]

"To the right worshippfull my very good frend Sir Jeffray Fenton knight one of Hir Majesty's Privie Councell these give."

"MOUNTJOY to CRYLL—(extract).

"SIR,—To answeare your expectation concernyng the Earle off Ormonde thear is yett nothinge happened off any consequens; his owne mynde wee can nott know; for whatt so ever wee heere from him coms by the eares or eys off the rebels that keepe him; and therefore lykely to be thears more then his; for they suffer no man to speake with him in privat nor receive so muche as his meate unserched for letters; I have spoken with divers thatt say they have seen him, for I have imployed many underhande to that purpos; they concur in this, thatt he is continually tempted by preests, thatt he rejectethe thear perswasions, and protestethe a constant loyaltye to the Queen; in so muche, thatt to one off them thatt beinge discovered to be sent by mee they brought him to the Earle but suffred nott him to com any neerer then the lengthe off the chamber, he openly bid him tell mee thatt havinge served the Queen longe and growen so olde he was now able to shew his dewty and affection in nothings more then in suffringe for her, and iff the rebells desyred money for his ransom he doubted nott butt Her Majesty would assist his ability to redeem himselfe, butt wheare they desyred the contrarye [country] off Less and other demands he besought Her Majesty to yeelde to nothings for his sake thatt myght any ways touche her Honor, for he did not vallowe him sellfe nor all the Erlls off Englande and Irelande att so hygh a prise; he is yett in hellthe and kept in a castell on the borders off Upper Ossorye,<sup>1</sup> whear iff itt wear nott to hazarde his life ther wear soom possibility to recover him; they do generally say thatt they repent his takynge, and itt may be, for he is a dangerus comber to them now, and was helde no evell frende unto them before; with themselfes they know nott how to keepe him with saftye and certaynly they are lothe to deliver him to Tyrone; they speake off his delivery uppon pledges, but more then his present estate I can hardly deliver unto you off certaynty, I have sent you divers letters by which you may better gather all circymstances, then in any measure I can wryght them. But my owne oppinion is; first off himselfe, thatt in this accidente he was meerly overreached, and for the cause, thatt itt receaves by him no extraordinary danger; itt hatthe for a tyme hartned and kept out the rebells off theas parts thatt wear all comminge in, whom I was att this tyme more affrayde to receive then I now feare any hurte they can do; for iff the army prosper this summer they will com in uppon whatt con-

<sup>1</sup> This was Gregory, afterwards Sir Gregory Byrne, ancestor to Lord de Tabley.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl, it appears from this, was still at Gortnaclea Castle.

ditions wee will give them; iff itt should nott (which God defende) they would all have gone out agayne whatt pledges so ever wee had taken; and so Sir you may be assured thatt even all the rest off this kyngdom will doo, for allthough the Earle of Ormond be the last mann thatt I thinke would have cleane quitt the estate off Englande; yett I have great reason to be confidante, thatt dispayringe in the force off Englande to protecte him, he had allredy opened his harte to som other fowndation to make good his estate in this kyngdom;<sup>1</sup> and allthough he myght wische thatt the Queen myght prevayle yett he served Her with feare and respect to thatt government which he looked would happen to this estate and this was thatt which I ment to infer by the passadges and interviews I did wryght to you off, whearuppon followed his strange prosecution off the Traytor in his journey to Munster, and not thatt I had ever any beleefe thatt he was taken by any conspyracye of his owne. Sir, you must thinke off a course to be helld iff he should dye, for thearin wee have need off your advise many alterations dependinge thearuppon; and he beeing nott lykely longe to lyve in the estate of his owne boddy and yeares, besides his present danger, I fownde him muche altered in his boddey and mynde from the man you have seene him in England; weake in bothe, and aparently governed by certayne base followers of his; I have herde off strange absurditeys thatt he committed in this last journey off Munster and thatt he did manifestly overslipp the utter ruine off the traytor which was offen in his power, and I have bin certaynly informed thatt somtymes he would in his rage breake out into theas tearmes with his followers thatt he should never do the Queen a dayes servis while thos villaynes wear in his companie; att his beeing in Dubline, I gave him so littell reason to thinke thatt I tooke notice off any his errors thatt before his departure and att the same we weare in great tearmes off kyndness, and he seemed to be in extraordinary hope off the reducinge off thes kyngdom; and I was so carfull to give him all good satisfaction; thatt before his comminge to the towne I cawsed an Irische man to be whipt about the town with a paper on his hed written for slanderous speeches agaynst the Earle off Ormonde: who had reported openly thatt the Earle ment nott to fyght with Tyrone butt had entered into combination to spare eache other and muche to the lyke effecte; the reason as I gather by som other off his proceedinges why he never acquaynted me with any purposse to deale with Ony M<sup>c</sup>Rurye, was because he presumed to have drawen him in before I should have ever herde off itt, and to have gotten the more honor thereby to himselfe, and one my Cristianitye I never dremed off any souche matter as his parley, till I herde he was taken, and therefore they thatt ar so apt to lay this accident as an imputation to my government may as well tax the maior of London because Doringeton brake his own neck from the steeple

<sup>1</sup> The antagonism between Ormonde and Mountjoy easily accounts for this groundless insinuation against the Earl. Mountjoy was far more of a traitor in his heart, as it is well known that he had serious thoughts of backing Essex's mad revolt at the head of the Irish army, but prudently held back at

the last moment. Leland says that the Queen looked to the Earl of Ormonde to counteract any traitorous proceedings on the part of Mountjoy, and that the latter was jealous of the high position given to Ormonde as Lieutenant-General of the Irish army.

off S<sup>r</sup>. Pulchers; nether was itt wonder thatt the horsmen did quitt him for they wear all his owne and accounted the famus cowards off Irlande, and wear allways wont to leave him when he hathe charged in the hed off them; my Lord Presidents couldd do nothings having but one man off his owne with him: nether couldd he prevent his parley, for the Earle had concluded itt before he ever made him privy unto itt, and for some jelozeys he had off the Earles proceedinge was the more desyrus to be present to observe the matter and manner off thear meetynge.

"Sir I wouldd willingly relate unto you all owre particulartyes but I shall do it with to great difficultey to myselfe and to muche troble to you; but in generall the whole chayne off this rebellion was breakinge before itt was patched upp with this accident, the arivall off to shippes with munition out off Spayne and assured promiss of present supplyes hether and invadinge off Englande and off a confermation out off Englande, whearoff all Dublinge was full, off the lyke expected thear, and the preparinge off all the Queens navye; Tyrone received the shippes with great triumphe and hathe blazed over all Irelande great and present expectations out off Spayne; and although itt be by him verry cunningly handled, so thatt all even in thos parts beleeve itt, yett, I thinke (the shippes as I have herde were one Spanische and another Irische,) and they brought littell or no munition and only soom passengers and Jesuiticall fierbrands, butt itt is so generall thatt I beleve it thatt he hathe sent pledges into Spayne; which I thinke he hathe donn rather with some new demands off his owne then required thearunto by the kynge; Ower men have binn heere three weekes aboard and no industry thatt I could use can or couldd prevent theas strange winds so longe constant in one corner, but even now the winde begins to change . . . . .

"Yours Sir most assured

"MOUNTJOYE

"1<sup>st</sup>. May.

"Since the wrytinge off this letter I received theas I sende you from my Lady: You may see thearin the demands off the insolent rogue Onye, we will make the best provision wee can for the Earle as far as itt may stande with the Queens honor.

[Superscribed]

"To the right honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knighte, principall Secretary to Her Majesty.

[Indorsed] "Received at Greenwich the vij<sup>th</sup>."

"ORMONDE to MOUNTJOY and THE COUNCIL (*enclosed in the foregoing letter*).

"MY VERRY GOODE LORDS,—Since the days I was most infortunatly taken by Owne MacRory, I could find no means to make knownen to your Lordships the state I stand in, which is verry harde; nor had allowance to write, conferre or speake with anny without the consent and privytye of two or thre of my kepers: neither could I lerne before nowe, what their demand was, they expecting the resolution of others their confederates: but urging them daylye to knowe their ententes touching me, at lencche they presented unto me thes articles signed by Owne his owne

hand which I send your Lordships heare inclosed to be consydred accord-  
ing your wysdomes and mature Judgmentes desiring your Lordships to  
lett me understand your wylls as well in this, as in other your en-  
tententes in my behalfe.

"I have bene sollicityed to intreate your Lordships to send good se-  
curytie and sauconducte under your Lordships hands for James Archer  
and Robart Lalor preests with other thre or foure as shall accompaignye  
them in their jorney that they maye freely lay downe before your Lord-  
ships soche thinges as they in the name of their confederates demand for  
pacyfing (as they say) of thes garboyles and trobles; and that during  
that tyme they shall not onely saulfly passe and repasse; but also use  
their function without molestation or troble. All which I thought fitt  
to referre to your good Lordships and so I committ your Lordships to  
Gods blessed guyding, from the woodds the last of Aprile 1600

*"Your good Lordships to command in part, thoghe an  
unfortunats prisoner*

THOMAS ORMOND & OSSORY

*"This letter I signe was broght to me ready writen, nether ham I allowed  
anye of my owne men to wryte for me."*<sup>1</sup>

[Superscribed]

"To the right honorable my verry good  
Lord the Lord Deputy and Coun-  
sayle.

[Indorsed] "Letter of the Earl of  
Ormond to my Lord Deputy and  
Councell, with Ony M<sup>r</sup>Roryes  
demands.

"30 April 1600 received the first of May"



"A note of Owny M<sup>r</sup>Rory O Moore is demands for the enlardgement  
of therl of Ormonds honour the 30<sup>th</sup>. of April 1600.

"1. First to take away all Her Majesties forces from the garrisons of  
Leis, and to deliver them (I meane the garrisons) to Owny at his owne  
pleasure.

"2. Secondlie to deliver sufficient goode pledges to Owny to putt no  
garrison in any place within Leis from the time of removinge the garri-  
sons for ever againe.

"3. Thirdlie in case that the saide pledges be not had or enjoyed by  
Owny that all the garrisons both of Leis and Ophaly by [sic] removed  
out of both the countries and every man to shift for him thereafter.

"Post scripta. To send me and all my frends in Lenster a generall  
protection for the space of six wekes and after the receipt of the protec-  
tion I will send your Lordships worde whoe will desire the benefitt therof  
or noe.

"Also to send no more of Her Majesties forces to Ulster duringe the  
time of the protection.

"O M"

<sup>1</sup> The words in italics, and the signature,  
are written in Ormonde's own hand.

<sup>2</sup> This was Owny MacRory's "mark," as  
the O Mora.

“MOUNTJOY to O'DEMPSEY.”

“SIR TERENCE,—I would be glad to doe any thinge that might tend to thease or safetie of my very good Lord therle of Ormond and should take any thinge you should doe, if it weare in deede for his benefitt, in as good part as if it weare done to my selfe, and when to that end you shall either lend him your house or doe any thinge els his Lordship shall desire, you shall make as great testimony of your loyaltie, as in any one thinge else, which you can doe; I doe not denie but I have heard manie thinges which might give me occasion to be jealous of your sinceritie, but I shall ever be more glad of your justification, than to find in you or in any of the Quenes subjects any true argument of distrust, and although out of myne owne particular I could be content to use all perswasions to gentlemen of good birth borne under Her Majesties alleageance to exhort them from this impious rebellion and treacherous combination, norished by such false prophetes, as the Church of Rome ytsel is ashamed to avowe, yet I doubt not but God, by Her Majesty's sword which she hath delyvered me, will approve Her cause, right her distressed subjects and give her owne lawes to Her unnaturall revolted subjects; and for your self there is nothinge doth breed in me more distrust in you of the fidelitie and dutie of a subject, then your desire to have that safe conduct, which is free to all that are guiltless: Notwithstandinge if you have anie thinge to negotiate in the behalf of therle of Ormond, which you beleeve may tend to His Lordships good; you may to that purpose repaire unto me, and on my honour (which I will never breake) you shall both freely repaire unto me and as freely depart.

“From Drogheda this syxt of May 1600.

“C. MOUNTJOY.

“To Sir Terence O'Dempsey.

[Indorsed] “Copie of a letter from the Lord Deputy to Sir Terrence O Dempseie.”

“FENTON to CECYLL (*Extract*).

“My duty used . . . . .

“By th'other wrytinge, Your Honor hathe the truest discription that I can send you, of thearle of Ormonde, his owne feelinge of his owne estate, and how farr of he is as yet to have enlardgment: The gentlewoman<sup>2</sup> hath begonn to play her parte well, shee of whom in my last letter I gave you notice to be sent to therle and to lodge with him in the same Romthe. But now that he is taken owt of the Castle, and ledd from cabban to cabban in the woddess, I doubt her access to him will not be so privat and frequent, yet she remayneth there awaytinge to take her best commodity, And I have this day returned to her her frind, whom I employed with her

<sup>1</sup> Sir Terence O'Dempsey was the head of the sept of that name, and created Viscount Clanmalier, 22nd December, 1631. The title became extinct on the death of his great-grandson, without heirs male.

<sup>2</sup> This mysterious personage is elsewhere called “Honora.” Her name in cypher was “Imperia Romana.” See pp. 417, 421, *infra*, also Carte's “Life of Ormonde.” Vol. i., Introduction, p. lxx.



at the first: for the rest; I leave to the abstract. And towching any further succeedinge yssue by her labours, I will godwillinge advertise your Honnour of every thinge materiall, from tyme to tyme.

at Dublin X<sup>mo</sup>. Maij 1600.

“Your Honors most humbly to commaund

“GEFF. FENTON.

[Superscribed] “To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecyll Knight, principall Secretary to Her Majesty, and M<sup>r</sup>. of the Wards and Liveryes &c.

“At Courte  
“hast hast”

(*Extract of first Inclosure in the above.*)

“Jarkey<sup>1</sup> saith he saw a letter written from Tyrone to thearle of Ormond, which was to comfort him, and to advise him to be thankfull to God, who now in mercy sought to recover him to the Catholique church, to which church yf he wold joine himself he shold finde favour and releeff in his distress.”

(*Second Inclosure.*)

“IX<sup>mo</sup>. Maij 1600,—The declaration of the Irish messenger ymployed by Secretary Fenton in company with Honora, to speake with therle of Ormonde.

“He saith, that upon Sunday and Monday last Honora and he came in place, where thearle of Ormond was: But the Bonnoughts flocked so about them, that they cold not speake to him, but in their hearinge, untill at last Owney M<sup>r</sup> Rorye put the Bonnoughts owt, and himself stooode a good way of, suffringe Honora, and the messenger, to speake to thearle, himself lysteninge, but cold not well discerne what was said.

“Honora told thearle, that the Lord Deputy hath had goodwill to send to him before, but till now he cold nott gett a messenger, whom he might trust, and now by her his Lordship did assure him, that his unworthy imprisonment greeved him greatly, and that to reawke him out of their hands his Lordship wold ymploy Her Majesty's forces; and be ready to draw his owne sworde for him, as for one whom he loved with all his harte.

“And for that thearle might know, that Honora came from the state, shee told him a token from Secretary Fenton, which his Lordship knew well and dyd well remember yt: The token was, that his Lordship had a green silke bagg with bookes of the Secretaries, which he Hath often demaunded of his Lordship, and his steward Henry Shea, but cold not have yt, till at his last being in Dublyn: This token thearle dyd acknow-

<sup>1</sup> “The unknown Spy”—note in Sir G. to Captain Tyrrell, is a different person from Fenton's hand. Father Jarkey, the spy, sent “Thyrsh messenger sent with Honora.”

ledge, and this token the Secretary told to Honora, at her goinge up, least for want of such a help, her whole journey might be frustrated.

"The Earle being confident upon this token, commoned familiarly with Honora; to whom he said, he was greatly beholdinge to the state for sendinge to him, and comfortinge him in his misery, and that consideringe the greiff he had, there was nothinge that dyd more comfort him, then to hear from the state, and his particuler frinds there; naminge the Secretary by name, to whom he sent a thowsand blessings.

"It dyd exceedingly rejoyce him, when Honora told him the great care the Queens Majesty had of him, and the gracious direction she had given to the State to use all endeavours that might be for his preservation, and recovery.

"Honora questioninge with him what course they wold take for his enlargement, and in what forwardnes he was to have liberty, his Lordship answered, that Owny had proposed to him conditions, which he neither cold nor wold yeeld unto, namely that for his ransom they wold have Leix delivered to them, and Ophaly to the O'Connors: with other lesser demaunds, such as were in his owne power to satisfy, where the delivery of the two contreys was absolutely in Her Majesty, and that he wold rather die in their hands, then to straine Her Majesty to so great a dishonour and loss.

"That he saw little towardnes of his liberty, till God wold putt into their harts to make more moderate conditions.

"That Tyrone had now twice written to have him sent into Ulster, but whether Owny will consent to that or not, thearle knoweth not, he hopeth the best, but yet he cannot but fear the worst.

"The Earle is very full of greiff and melancholy, specially since they tooke him owt of the Castle,<sup>1</sup> where yt was some comfort to him, to lye in a howse covered.

"He is now in the wooddes of Leix, remooved every iij howres, from one fastness to another, which often toylinge of his body, doeth not a little greive his minde.

"Honora abideth there to watch tymes and seasons, for (as the messenger saieth) she hath but interrupted speeches with him, and by snatches.

"To morrow (God suffringe) I will retorne the messenger to her againe, to bringe backe her further doings, And I must give him twenty shillings, and a sworde, for that the Bonnoughts tooke all that he had from him.

"Thearle hath his owne Cooke, and Butler, and sitteth at a table by himself, and Owny at another: Thearle lyeth in his owne bedd, and hath sondry of Kilkenny to come to him, but none can speake with him privately, yet he is suffred to walke aboad certaine howres of the day, but under very streight garde, and under the woodside.

[Indorsed] "A reoport towchinge the Earle of Ormonde, made by Thyrsh messenger sent with Honora."

<sup>1</sup> I. e., The Castle of Gortnaclea. O'More evidently feared that his prisoner would be

rescued if left so near the borders of the county of Kilkenny.

## "STAFFORD to CECYLL.

*(Extract.)*

"RIGHT HONORABLE,— . . . . .

Itt is supposed that my Lord of Ormonde will worke his owne liberty by putting in fowre pledges for the assurance of the articles which shalbe agreed upon for his release. His Honour's apprehension was very unfortunate, (And to your Honour I speake it) the imbecility of his judgment, with his confidence and truste that the honour of his name was amongst the Irishe his securitye, was the cause of this memorable accident. This Her Majesty's army of Loghfoile doth amaze and stagger Tyrone and the wholle northe. . . . .

"Drogheda the 11<sup>th</sup> of May.

"Your Honour's most dutifull and vowed follower

"F. STAFFORDE.

[Superscribed] "To the right honorable Sir Robert Cecill knight Her Majesty's Principall Secretary and one of Her Highnes most honorable Privie Councill. xj May 1600.

[Indorsed] "Sir Francis Stafford to my Master from Drogheda.

[Post marks] "At Coventry past viij. in the morninge. At Deventrie .at eleven of the clocke in thaforenoone. Tocester paste 2 in the afternone. Brickhill past 5. Saint Albones past 8 at night. Barnit at 10 this night."

## "FENTON to CECYLL.

"RIGHT HONORABLE,—Where in one of my late letters of the 5<sup>th</sup> of this month I wroate that therle of Ormond had sent to Sir Tirense O Dempsie, to have the use of one of his castles for his Lordships more ease, till his traiterus taker might consider further of his enlardgmt. Now this morning I have receaved advice, that therle is come to Ballybrettas the said O Dempsies Castle,<sup>1</sup> and there guarded by xx<sup>40</sup> of Owny's men, whom he trusteth most. They brought him thether by night; not suffringe the Bonnoughs to know of yt, least they might attempt to reskew him, and the more to abuse them, Owny caused a trustie freind of his owne, of stature and resemblance lyke to therle, to put on therles night gowne, which he was wont to weare, and directed him in that fashion to walke by the wood side, where therle used to walke, whilist Owny and some xx others neerest him in trust, put therle on horsbacke, and brought

<sup>1</sup> Ballybrittas Castle lies in the barony of Portneinch, Queen's County.

him to O Dempsie Castle. This was the manner of their stealing of him thether, but what was their secrett purpose,<sup>1</sup> will not as yet be disclosed, and I see by O Dempsies behaviour, in leavinge his Castle to Owny to be warded by his kearne, that O Dempsie is apparantly revolted, and therefore small hope to therle, of good measure at his handa. The Jesuits are now growen to a faction touchinge therle, some of the best of them (namely Doctor M<sup>c</sup>Cragh, legatus a latere to the Pope) maintayninge owt of his divinitie, that as therle was trecherusly taken, so yt is not lawfull for them to keep him prisoner, and laboreth to have him sett at libertie upon easie conditions. Doctor M<sup>c</sup>Cragh is of great authoritie, and much reverenced amongst them for his learninge and age, onely Father Archer who was a conspirator in therles takinge, standeth straineably against him, usinge the same consciencie to keep him, which he did to betray him: It is harde to guess when this tragedy will have an end, but the divisions amongst the Jesuits, and the Jelousies Owny hath of the Bonnougha, which is not unknowne to them, will hast yt to an end. Besidea, some of the principall confederates in Leinster, do stomach his detayninge so long, beinge taken against publick faith; upon theis fractions wilbe wrought the first stepp to his libertie, and perhappes in th' end, bloode will ensue amongst them, which is the issue I looke for.

"The Lord Deputie passed saffely to the Newry upon Whitsonday, making his way thorow the Moyery without empeachment.

.....  
 "At Dublin, 14<sup>th</sup> Maij at night 1600.

"Your Honours ever most humbly to be commaunded

"Geff. FENTON.

[Superscribed.] "To the right honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knight, principall Secretary to Her Majestie and Master of the Wardes and Liveries &c. at Court      hast      hast :

[Indorsed.] "Therle of Ormond brought to Ballybrittas, a Castle of Sir Terence O Dempsies.

"A faction betwene the Jesuystes concerning the said Earle.

"Received at Grenwich the 25<sup>th</sup>."

"FENTON to CECYLL. (Extract.)

.....  
 "The Earle of Ormond is at O Dempsies howse, at more ease then before, for that he lodgeth in a Castle, but as streightly garded as ever he was. And yet I am of mynde, that owt of that howse wilbe wrought his libertj, either upon conditions, or by surprize, but of this I can wryte no certainty to your honour, till I heare more from my gentewoman, who (yf yt please you) from henceforth shall pass under the name of Imperia

<sup>1</sup> This stealing away of his prisoner looks as if the Bonnaghts, left by Tyrone with

O'More, wished to carry the Earl off to the North in spite of Owny Mac Rory.

Romana: I have not heard from her since my last, and I hope her lingering so longe to sende, is, that shée will take the more tyme to worke her feat: I understand this day by a Rebell come in, who saw thearle of Ormond ij dayes past, that his Lordship is much altered since his imprisonment, and I hope even that degree of his adversitj, will be a stepp to his enlardgment, for that yf thej see him growe sickly, and his health dowlfull, thej will the sooner Resolve for his libertj, knowinge that yf he dye in their handes, thej lose all the benefitt thej hope for by his takinge, and I wish thearle wold a little dissemble to be sicke to make tryall of his delivery that way. The French Kinge<sup>1</sup> cold never gett out of themperours hands at Madrill, till yt was thought that the melancholy of his imprisonment hadd drawn him into daunger of his liff. I most humbly take leave.

“At Dublyn xviiij<sup>o</sup> Maij 1600.

“Your honours most humbly to commaunde

“**GEFF. FENTON.**

[Superscribed.] “To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knight, principall Secretary to Her Majesty, and Mr. of the Wards and Liveryes, &c. at Court.

[Indorsed.] “The Erle of Ormond at Sir Terence O Dempseys<sup>2</sup> House.  
“Received at Grenewich. the 25<sup>th</sup>.”

“**CUFFE to CECYLL.**

(*Extract.*)

“Onely I may not forgett to signify a foyle of late given to John Fitz Thomas<sup>3</sup> by the Lord of Dunboy,<sup>4</sup> the manner whereof, as also the copies of two letters from the Earle of Tirone to the Earle of Ormond, may appear by the inclosed.

“Corke, this xix<sup>th</sup> of Maye 1600.

“Your Honours to be commaunded

“**HU: CUFFE.**

[Superscribed.] “To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knight, principall Secretary to Her Majesty.

[Indorsed.] “Mr. John Cuffe<sup>5</sup> to my Master from Corke.”

<sup>1</sup> Francis I., when in the hands of Charles V., after the battle of Pavia.

<sup>2</sup> “Sir Terence married Mary, the daughter of Margaret, the daughter of Edmund Butler the soone of Pierce Butler the brother to the Erl of Ormond.” The above note is in Sir Robert Cecyll’s hand.

<sup>3</sup> Note in original. “The Erle swgans brother,” i. e., the “sugan” Earl of Desmond’s brother.

<sup>4</sup> *Sic* for Dunboyne. This was James Butler, second Baron Dunboyne by patent.

<sup>5</sup> This was Hugh, not John Cuffe. Cecyll’s clerk has mistaken his writing.

"O'NEILL to ORMONDE. (*Inclosed in Cuffe's Letter.*)

"Albeit since I have bourne armes against the Queene, your Honour did not only disfavor me or myne, but used all meanes possible, for my overthrowe and the extirpatione of the Catholique faith and the Ruine of the whole kingdome, beings the cheifest and principallest instrument to put in execution the evill by Englishe intended against your naturall country: yet in respect of your good will and good turnes shewed to me long before the warres<sup>1</sup> I cannot be so ungratfull but that I would rejoyce at

<sup>1</sup> Lombard, "De Reg. Hib. Com.," pp. 365-6, asserts that O'Neill was "amicisimè in omnibus suis adjutus difficultatibus" by Ormonde on the occasion of the visit of the Irish chieftain to the court of Elizabeth; also (pp. 367-8), that the Irish Government being disposed to arrest O'Neill when he came to Dublin, in obedience to the Deputy's summons, Ormonde, who was consulted, indignantly objected to this intended breach of the royal faith pledged for Tyrone's safe conduct; and having given the latter private information of the plot against him, enabled him to make timely arrangements for his escape. Ormonde ever indignantly repelled the suggestions of the English Government, that he should make use of his intimacy with Tyrone to entrap him: we have ample evidence of this in the following letter, transcribed from a draft, in a contemporary hand, still preserved amongst the Ormonde MSS. at Kilkenny Castle. The original has suffered much from damp, whereby the date of the year has been obliterated; but it must have been written between 1587, when O'Neill was created Earl of Tyrone, and 1595, when Walter Reagh Fitzgerald was, as the Four Masters inform us, *sub anno*, taken prisoner, and executed in Dublin. Pheagh M'Hugh O'Byrne, with whom Walter Reagh was confederated, was slain in 1597. We know that Ormonde was opposed to the proposed detention of Tyrone, who came to Dublin on the arrival of Sir William Russell as Lord Deputy in 1594. (Leland's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 381; Lombard's "Reg. Hib. Commentarius," *ut supra.*) Hence it seems probable that the letter may be assigned to 1595, especially as we know that Ormonde was placed in command of the Leinster forces in August, 1594, with full powers for suppressing the rebels Pheagh Mac Hugh O'Byrne and Walter Reagh Fitzgerald.—(Carte, "Life of Ormonde," vol. i., Introduction, p. lviii.) It is likely that the "Mr. Chamberlen" was Sir Christopher Hatton, who was Vice-Chamberlain to Elizabeth, and was, with

Ormonde, security to the Queen for the performance of the agreement made by Tyrone when he paid his second visit to the court in England in 1587.—(Leland.) "Shelooly" is the famous wood of Shelala, in Wicklow. Ormonde's "brother" was probably Edmund, third Lord Sheffield, his brother-in-law, a distinguished soldier; it is not likely that his own brother, Sir Edmund Butler, should have been the channel of "her Majesties pleasure" being "signified" to the Earl, as is stated in the letter:—

"MOST DEARE BROTHER—I have thought fit to send you the copy of Mr. Chamberlens letter sent to me in a l<sup>r</sup> of S<sup>r</sup> Jeffrey ffentons [. . .] w<sup>th</sup> he wrote was S<sup>r</sup> Robert [Cecells], the contents of it is wonderful [. . .] neyther doe I know what promis I am charged w<sup>th</sup> [. . .] I am not ignorant that some heere have used devises [. . .] quemes Ma<sup>tie</sup> beleeve that my credit is such w<sup>th</sup> [theris] as I may dispose of him as I list, and see by treachery (as it seemeth), it should ly in me to deliver him to the governor. I have been Employed by her ma<sup>tie</sup> in many services, some agaynst as great as hee beside many others both forrene enemies and country rebells, all w<sup>ch</sup> (I thank God) I have performed to her honor and my owne credit, w<sup>th</sup> out using unonest or filthy practices. All men can witnes that know the same I never sought for any speciall interest in therie but loved him in respect of his ability to serve her ma<sup>tie</sup> as he alwayes protested he would, neyther howe I had to deale at all in his causes, but as I have been directed by my lo. treasurer and y<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>r</sup>, or by the deputy hear, and if for my service and dealing according her ma<sup>tie</sup> pleasure, signified from you, my thanks shalbe to be putt to execute treachery, my fortune is very bad, and the service much fitter for such as devised the same, then for me that never had, thank God, a thought of any such matter, but my life shalbe as readie to be ventured agaynst him as any mans. howsoever [. . .]ble true service I am not see well

your good fortune, to be in hand, when without any feare you may be converted to the Catholique Religion, detestinge that dampnable faith,

dealt with there [. . .] deserved of som̄ but such is the could friendship of the worlde. I [. . .] serve when I am called on by the lo: deputy at my owne chardges as now [. . .] of these trytors feogh M<sup>c</sup> Hugh & Walter Reogh [. . .] company of horsemen w<sup>th</sup> 200 footmen hear at my owne chardge w<sup>th</sup> out pay or any allowance from the Queene & this morning I sent some of my footmen and some souldiers towards Walter reogh where he was fortifying in Shileoly from w<sup>th</sup> place they forced him to fly & in pursuit of him my men slew his brother Gerald, w<sup>th</sup> some other of the most notorious treytors of his company, & himself escaped very narrowly. this was don in fayr play, and more shalbe yf I may. I protest before God the very persons that enformed that I might by treachery deliver thearle were but Machavile knaves, for that they knew the contrary, that therle will not com in w<sup>th</sup> out Pardon or Protection [. . .] or out of England. God I doubt not will deliver [him from] their wicked practices. I will stay my pen from troubling yō farther w<sup>th</sup> this my greife, & will wish as much happiness [to thearle] as any earle had.

“from Hackodstoune the 20<sup>th</sup> of February [. . .].”

“Y<sup>r</sup> lo: most loving

“brother, and fast assured [. . .],

“THOMAS ORMOND & OSS.

“Y<sup>r</sup> lo: letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> of December I received the 9th of this moneth heer, in the field from my lo: Deputy, and do find thereby yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>ble</sup> care of me w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>th</sup> all true love (or action if occasion serve) shalbe requited to you to my uttermost power.”

In the State Paper Office is preserved a letter from Ormonde, dated the 10th September, 1583, in which he represents to Lord Burghley the great disgrace which would accrue to the Queen's Government, if certain protections given to various persons during Desmond's rebellion, on the faith of which they had done good service to the Crown, should be violated, as was proposed to him by the English Government. The letter is too long to be given here. It was written by Ormonde's secretary; but when the indignant nobleman was signing his name to the despatch, he added the following postscript with his own hand:—

“The claws of the Queenes letter of the 3. of July, whear in she willetth the persons

protected to be kept in suer hold, semeth veray strange unto me, they having afore according her maiesties instructions, delivered pledges, don good sarvice, and put in assurance for their loyatie. *My L. I wol never use treachery to aney, for hit wol both toche her highness honor to moch, and myne owne credit, and who so ever gawe the Queene advise thus to wryte, is fitter to execute such base sarvice than I am. Saving my dustye to her maiestie, I wold I weare to have revenge by my sword of any man that thus perswadeth the Queene to wryte to me.*”

These noble sentiments do infinite credit to the Earl of Ormonde; and happy had it been for Ireland, if such honourable principles guided the conduct of the greater number of the Queen's advisers, and of her Irish Executive. Well might Ormonde exclaim, as he did in the body of the letter to which the above is a postscript—“If those men there that mislike of my protecting or seking pardons did consider how many chefe leaders among the rebels, of Desmonds blod, and others of good accompt were slayne, since I came to my chardg, and howe fewe are left alyve, they wold not think dishonour to the Quanes highness, after so moch blood shed, and so great execucōns, now to incline to mercy.” Burghley must have winced under the cutting sarcasm of the Queen's “black husband,” when he added, with fearless honesty:—“But as trothe may be blamed and cannot be shamed, so tymes will detect these bad devisers, and my dealings shalbe found true and iust, tending more to the advancement of Her Maiesties service, then the fantasticall devises of my smale friends.”

Subjoined is a specimen of the temptations to which the honour and honesty of the Earl of Ormonde were subjected by the Queen's “devisers.” It is preserved in the State Paper Office, and is portion of a letter dated March 18, 1583-4, from Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Walsingham. Ormonde was at this time Lord General of the Irish army, and engaged in prosecuting the war against the rebel Earl of Desmond:—

“FENTON to WALSINGHAM.

“1583, MARCH 18.—I was bold at my being with the Lord General to remember him that in a war of this nature, practice and subornacion is as necessary and Material as force, and therefore as I knew there were in

which hether unto, you have professed, or rather secte: Requesting you to accept of imprisonment as punishment due to your offences in times past committed, and to leave of your delays of conversion to him, whose shall infernally punishe the obstinacy of such as doe not accept of his proffered grace. As for any favor I can do your Honour, you shalbe most assured, though this longe time undeserved. I commit your Honour to Goddes protection, whom I pray God to convert you to the appostholique faith, and to keepe you safely in that place, Least libertie should worke our servitude, former liffe the death of many poore innocentes, as well, men as women and children and els &c.

“Dunganen 9<sup>o</sup> May<sup>1</sup>1600.

O NEILL.

[Indorsed.] “Tyrons letters to the E. of Ormond.”

“FENTON to CECYLL.

(*Postscript of Letter from Dublin, May 20, 1600.*)

“There is nothing to be advertised touching therle of Ormond, till Cantwells return from Tyrone, who beinge a follower of therles was lately sent thether by Owny M<sup>o</sup>Rory with therles consent to negotiate the conditions for his enlargement: but your Honour shall finde, that yf he be delivered, yt is the faction, and scisme amongst the preests that must do yt, or els therle must dissemble a profound sicknes.

[Indorsed.] “R. at Grenewich the 25<sup>th</sup>.”

“ARCHBISHOP MAGRATH to CECYLL.

(*Extract.*)

“RIGHT HONORABLE—Sence I wrote the laste letter unto you from Waterforde of which I received no answer asyet I had not such oportuntie or Causes to writ as now I have. And first in generall your

Sr George Carew. Monstar.

Honour shall understande that at the first Comynge of 2049 to 267 the whole province was so greatlie altered aswell by the sooden change hap-  
Lo: of Ormond Tyrone,  
 net to 1025 as by the relikes that 100 lefte there, that be maney it was

all places where Desmond had his haunt many poore and needy Gentlemen, who either by themselves or their instruments could and would for money draw some assured draught upon him either to the taking of his head or to deliver him prisoner to his Lordship, so if his Lordship could shorten the war by that means, without dwelling upon the changeable and uncertain end of arms, I told him I thought it would be holden for right good service. I think if this point were eftsoones remembered to his Lordship from thence, It would be to good purpose, not doubting but there will be found some who will undertake that service

for the hire of a thousand pounds, with some further small gratification of Desmond's lands, which in mine opinion were well and happily expended, if by that way the train of Her Majesty's further expenses in so languishing a war might be cut off.”

I have to thank my friend Mr. Daniel Mac Carthy for this transcript, as well as for the copy of the letter of the previous 10th of September, from which my space only allowed me to give two short extracts, and the postscript, of which latter a portion has already been printed by Carte, “Life of Ormonde,” vol. i., Introduction, p. lxxv.

<sup>1</sup> April 29, the English styla.



thought impossible for any to qualifie the distemper therof, without long tyme, greate cheange, trouble and danger, yet God be thanketh the matter was so well and weslie handled that as well the Enemyce and the dissembling subjects hath bene deceived in their hope, and frustrated asyet in their expectation, so the trew subjects were comforted and relived verie much in a shorte tyme, that after levinge good order for repressinge and banissinge the Enemyce frome anoinge the subjects, as they were wounte in the harte and borders adyonyng to civill places, a generall yorney

towards the acustomed places of Abidinge of the 2055 was taken and is nowe followed in 267 in such asorte after, that maney of the 2061 Chette-<sup>Monster</sup> tayns had frelly offered their submission the rest hade fleade to High montaynes tike woods and dipe boges, so that from the first day of this journey to the present, good successe was hade and so still with Gods assistance are we licke to have . . . . .  
And so humbly takinge leave.—Your Honours alwaies assured,

“ Kilmallock the 24 of May 1600.

1070  
“ GEORGE SMYTH.

[Superscribed.]—“ To the Right honorable Sir Robert Cissell knight.

[Indorsed.]—“ Archbishop of Cashill to my Master. received the 25 Juna.”

[The decipherers over the numerals are in the hand of Cecyll's clerk; the “ George Smyth” is in a different hand from all the rest. The number 1070 is in Myler Magrath's own hand, and is his ordinary cipher.]

“ O'NEILL to THE COUNTESS OF ORMONDE.

“ MADAM,—I have written to your Ladishippe before, for want of oportunitie, in myne owne natural language, which I thinke you did not so well understand, as you might conceive my full meaning; therefore I thought necessarie by his letter to give you to understand that I am not unmyndfull of such good turnes as I received at my Lords hands, especiallie his Honour beinge in extremitie, I cannot, for avoidinge ingratitude, but requite his honorable courtesies shewed me longe heretofore, albeit his severitie against such as held with me was so extraordinarie, as yt was sufficient to blott the memorie of eny favours whatsoever heretofore don: I have written to Owney M'Rorie requesting him to take sufficient pledges for my Lord and then to enlardg his Honor condicionallie that he hensforward upon his booke oath, and upon paine of executinge his pledges, and all to him belonging shall abstaine to do me, or anie one that is or shalbe in this action eny hinderance or hurte, and albeit it is comonlie reported that my Lord is onely pledge is my Lady mistres, yet in regard that men would thincke, that I should seeke her under colour of a pledge for my sonne, I will in noe sorte demand her, cheslie being a thinge which might tend to my Lords great prejudice, and howsoever the world wilbe, I hope to get such a matche for my sonne as shall seme to his state convenient, and assuredlie I had rather to matche him with one farre inferior to him, then to desire eny matche, that might be to my

Lord or to your Ladyship hurtfull, so I have written that in noe sorte the yonge Lady shold be demaunded, leaving in their owne election to choose other good pledges for my Lord's inlargment I end assuring you that I am ready to take the best course I can for his honorable libertie. Neere the Newry, the v<sup>th</sup> of June<sup>1</sup> requesting your Ladyship to do my hartie commendations to my Lady Mistres.

"P.S. I received by sondrie letters from Owney and others that my Lord was without any kind of trecherie or word given taken, and if the contrarie happened, your Ladyship may be assured that I will never favor Owney unless without any kind of thinge he will imediatlie inlarge his Honour, and although by his release all Ireland were destroyed, yet if treacherously he was taken, I will procure his inlargment according the uttermost of my power, for while ever I live, I will never maintaine an act soe dishonorable.

"O'NEILL."

"O'NEILL to ORMONDE.

"Pax Christi.

"MY LORD,—Noe alteration of your estate shalbe sufficient to alter my good will towards you, neither extremitie whatsoever shall cause me forget what favorable turnes you shewed me long heretofore, albeit your extraordinary severitie used against such as held with me might be sufficient to dischargde me from requitinge your courtesies, and thoe that course you held in the dischargde of your duetie, as you tearme it, and of the trust reposed in you, yet such excesse hath ben in execution used and rigor showed, as by duetie no man thereunto was bound. I have written to Owney requesting him to take pledges for your honor, such as shall seme sufficient, onelie my ladie Mistres excepted, for in noe sorte would I have that she should be demaunded, for by demaundinge her, men would saie that I shold have her for my sonne, which to avoyde and your Honours hinderance which thereby might ensue, I will write earnestlie to Owney to choose others. From my Campe neere the Nevery the vj<sup>th</sup> of June<sup>2</sup> 1600.

"P.S. I request your Honour in any case to procure the libertie of a boye who is prisoner in Knockfergus, he is but yonge, and no greate pledge, for he is sone to Shane M<sup>c</sup>Briene, this is all the Ransome that I seeke for your Honours libertie.

"O'NEILLE.

"To the right honorable the Earle of Ormond."

"THE IRISH COUNCIL to THE LORDS OF THE ENGLISH COUNCIL.

(Extract.)

"Therle of Ormond remayneth still at O'Dempseys howse, guarded by Owney M<sup>c</sup>Rory and his men, as he was, yet wee heare this day, of a flyinge rumour, that he shold be sett at libertie upon pledges, but wee dare not advertise it to your Lordships, otherwaies then a brute, which

<sup>1</sup> This date answers to the 26th of May, English style.

<sup>2</sup> Answering to the 27th of May, English style.

bath no certaine grounde, onely wee know assuredly, that O'Dempsie himself is apparantly declared against Her Majestie, and so are many other of the Irishry which seemed hetherto to stand firme: And so for this tyme wee most humbly take leave. At Dublin xxvij<sup>o</sup> May 1600.

“ Your Lordships’ &c. most humbly at  
comaundement,

“ Ad. Dublin C.

“ ROBT. NAPFER.

“ ANTH. SENTLEGER.

“ GEORGE CARY.

“ HENRY HARINGETON.

“ GEFF. FENTON.

“ RO. GARDENER.

[Superscribed.]—“To the Right honorable the Lords and others of Her Majesty’s most honorable Privie Counsell at Court.

[Indorsed.]—“ Counsaile of Ireland to the Lords.”

“ ORMONDE to QUEEN ELIZABETH.

“ MOSTE GRATIOUS AND DREAD SOVERAINE,—It may please your sacred Majestie to be advertised, that hit pleased God, of his goodnes, to deliver me, though weake and sick, from the most malicious, arrogant, and vile traitor of the world, Owney M<sup>r</sup> Rorye, forced to put into his handes certaine hostadgs for payment of £3000, yf at any tyme hereafter I shall seeke reveng against him, or his, which manner of agrement, although it be very hard, could not be obtayned, before he sawe me in that extremity, and weaknes, as I was like, very shortly, to have ended my life in his hands, the matter alsoe being much furthered by an universall report, procured by my self, my wife, and other my friends of your Highnes resolution without delay to send into this Province of Leinster exceding great forces of English, as well to Citties and borrough townes, as to every where els, which wrought such alteration, to my benefit, in the Irishry of Leinster as some of them offred, rather than I should still remayne prisoner, to draw such mischeif upon them, to deliver some hostadgs from themselves to that insolent base traitor, or hit being denied, to become his utter enemies.

“ Among other my miseries, Most gracious Sovereigne, I was often and earnestly moved by those damned wretches, through persuasion of their preistes and others, to joyne with the Archtraitor in his most unnaturall treasons, and for assurance therof to deliver my daughter into their handes, wherunto I wold never consent though I died a thousand deathes, albeit they have often with greate vehemency sworne, yf I had not so done, they would violently end my life or presently send me prisoner into Spaine. But for any motion of marriadg of my daughter to any of that base traitor Tyrons brood, upon my duty of allegiance to your Highnes, I never thought of any like matter, neither was it demanded of me.

“ During my remayne among the traitors, I found a meane to come by a letter, sent by a frere in Ulster lately come out of Spaine, with the supposed Archbushop of Dublin arrived in Ulster, which being, in my opinion, a letter of great consequens, importing an extent of Spanish forces, to be sent this next August to this realme, and other matters of moment, I do send herewith to your most Excellent Majestie together with the copy of a paper brought unto me the very instant I was to depart from

the traitors, to take an oath according the contents therof, and after to subscribe the same; otherwise my selfe and my hostadgs to be staid, all which by Gods providence I avoyded, the traitors purpose being, if I had signed the same, to show it to such as they thought woulde be the soner drawn to joyne with them in their traitorous actions. The want of a secretary of their owne and the absence of Archer the Jhesuith and such others of them as understood the English tonge enforced the traitors to committ the writing of that bill to one that wished better unto me, then unto them as by the stile therof may appere.

"Nowe I may not forgett upon the knees of my hart to yelde unto your most Excellent Majestie all humble thanks for your Hignes most gracious and comfortable letters sent to my wife in the tyme of my myserable captivity, and also on my behalf to your Majesties Lord Deputye here for which and all other your Hignes rare and princely favors, I can yelde no more then that your Majestie hath ever possessd, being your old servant Lucas' his faithfull hart and true service, which shall contynue untill the hast bowre of his life, praying Almighty God to bless your Majestie with a long and most prosperous raigne to the comfort of me and all other your faithfull subjects, and to the overthrow of all your forraine enemies and unnaturall traitors, From my House at Kylkeny this 16 of June 1600.

"Your Majesties most faithfull and obedient subject and servant, hasta la morte

"THOMAS ORMOND & OSSBORY.

[Superscribed] "To the Queenes most Excellent Majestye."\*

(*Inclosure.*)

"Be it knowne to all men by these presents that I Thomas Erle of Ormond, being Captive in the hands of Owne Mac Rory, and being not to be redeemed otherwise, am compellid to be sworne to take parte with the said Owne in his rebellious actions. Morgan Mac Bryene and Redmund Mac Fieghe to wyn my libertie hath pronesid to joyne with me to do the same. Witnes our hands the xij<sup>th</sup> of June 1900 [*sic.* for 1600.]"

"ORMONDE to THE LORDS OF THE ENGLISH COUNCIL.

"May it please your most honourable good Lordships to understand that (God be thanked) delivered I am nowe, (though with great difficultie) from the hands of that most wicked and barbarous traitor Owne

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Ormond frequently went by the name of "Lucas;" he was in childhood a companion and great favourite of "that holy young Solomon," her Majesty's brother, King Edward VI., and it is possible Lucas may have been a character in some sacred play acted by the royal children and their friends.

<sup>2</sup> Sealed with a seal, having round it the garter, and the words, "Honi soit qui mal y

pense." The seal bears on a shield quarterly, 1st, a chief indented; 2nd, three covered cups; 3rd, a lion rampant, in chief a swan between two annulets; 4th, ermine a cross engrailed.

On the draft of the answer to this the Queen wrote in her own hand, "Your lovinge Sovereaine who wished you bettar advised than to witsafe"—and crossed it out again.

M<sup>r</sup> Rory, forced (in thend) to deliver unto him certaine hostadges for paiement of £3000 if I shall hereafter seeke revendge for the trecherous injuries I receaved by him. So longe I was held in dures by perswasiaon of the most odious traitor Archer the Jhesuit, and others, as I was like to have ended my life in their wicked hands, the likelihode whereof was a chefe motive of my spedier enlardgment together with certaine reports procured by my self, my wife, and other my frends, of Her Majesty's resolution presently to send into this Province of Leinster as well to citties and boroughe Townes, as unto many other places veray great forces of Englishe soildiours, to remaine still, and serve there: And that rumour comynge out of many partes of the Realme, was taken amonge the traitors to be true, which brede such alteration in most of the Irishry, of that Province, as some of themselves became earnest dealers for my enlardment, without any demaund of myne, puttinge in hostadges of their owne for my libertie, and grewe to such termes with the insolent Traitour Owny, as they protested, and swore to be at open deffiance with him if I had not ben speedily, upon some agrement or other, delivered.

"Duringe my abode amonge those traitors I came by a letter sent to the traitor Richard Butler<sup>1</sup> sone in lawe to Tirone, importinge some matters of weight, the copie whereof I do send herewith to your good Lordships to gether with two letters from Tirone thune to my self and thother to my wife,<sup>2</sup> and in both mention made of a mariadge which, I avowe to God, I never herd nor thought of before,

"I doubt not but your Lordships are advertised of the dangerous stat of this Province of Leinster, a great parte of the Englishe pale, and the counties of Kilkeny, and Wexford beinge lately burned, and spoiled by the traitors Richard Butler and Edward Butler sonnes to my Lord of Mountgarret, Owny Mac Rory, Donell Spaynaghe, the Moores, Connors, Kavanaghes, and divers others, which put the traitors in such insolencye and pride, knowinge the weaknes of Her Majesty's forces heare, and their owne companies daily incresinge, and moche the more enriched and furnished by theis late spoiles as, in my opinion under your Lordships reformation, it is most necessarie to send some forces presentlie to suppress them. I understode, duringe my imprisonment, and likewise receaved the same in great secresye from Archer the Jhesuit, that Spanysh forces are expected to arive heare in Ireland this next August, and that Lymbricke, and other corporations in those parts are assured unto them. Howe true this is I cannot say, yett have I thought hit my dutie to acquainte your Lordships therewith.

"Beinge in pointe of my delivery from the traitor Owny, and ready to take horse the xij<sup>th</sup>. of this month, a paper was brought unto me from him to take an oathe accordinge the contents thereof and after to subscribe to the same, otherwise I, and my hostadges to be staid, all which, (throughe Gods Providence) I avoided, the copie of which paper I do send your Lordships herewith.

"The traitor wanted at that tyme Archer the Jhesuit, and such others of there company as understod thenglish tongue, which enforced them to

<sup>1</sup> Son to Mountgarret, and in rebellion.

<sup>2</sup> These letters have been already given.

commytt the writings of that bill to one that wished better to me then unto them, as by the stile thereof maie appeare. And soe for this tyme leavinge farther to trouble your good Lordships, wishinge to you all happynes I committ you to God's most blessed guidinge. From Kilkeny the xvj<sup>th</sup>. of June 1600.

“Your good Lordships most humbly to commande

“THOMAS ORMOND & OSSORY.

[Superscribed] “To the Right Honorable and my very good Lords the Lords of Her Majesty's most Honorable Pryvie Councell.  
“in all hast, hast, hast.

[Indorsed] “The E. of Ormond to the Lords. His delivery out of the Rebels hands. Letters from Tyrone to his Lordship and my Lady.

“A letter from Fryer Marob. Spanyshe forces lyke to arryve about August. Some corporations to be dystusted. Received at Grenewich the xxx<sup>th</sup>.”

“MAROB to BUTLER. (*Incloure in the above.*)

“My duetie remembred with commendations unto you verie good Lord, for our longe acquaintaince in Kilkeny beinge schole fellowes together with M<sup>r</sup>. Michell Sheeth, I crave pardon for my boldnes, and that your Honnour maie not be ignorant of me, I am called Nicholas Marob whom your Honour knew in the Irishe Towne of Kilkeny: a little after your Honour departed your studdy I went to Spayne and was there since, but as God would, here I was sent by the Archbushop of Dublin a frier of St. Fraunces is order, for whose companion I came in this Jorney. I am my self also a frier of the said order all theis foure yeres in a maner. The Kinge of Spaine sent in our company two shipps of munitions to my Lord O'Neile and O'Donell in the which shipps came a thousand gones with their flaskes and moules, a thousand quintals of lead, and a thowsand quintals of matche with so much more of powder, this was sent as a furtherance to these Catholicke Princes, and about August next the Kinge of Spaine gave his worde to send hither an army of eight thowsand men with a great store of mony and provision: in the meane, lett your Honour be of good comfort and feight for the Catholicke faithe manfully as you have don hetherto. The Kinge of Spaine sent also to my Lord O'Neile a chaine of Gould with his owne armes and a flagge, the generall of Spaine sent him a murrion and a targett, the Kinge also sent to my Lord O'Donell a chaine of Gould, and unto both these princes sent letters of commendations, yf I can possibly I will see your owne person shortlie. I am a priest all this year. M<sup>r</sup>. Mary O'Neile hath her commendations to your Honour, and to my Lady Margaret her sister your Honour's bedfellowe, and so have I thowsand commendations to your Honour whom God increase and prosper in His holy service. Your Honour shall do me a great pleasue in advertisinge me of your Honours good health by the next messenger,

to father Archer my commendations. From Dungannon in Ulster the xxviiij<sup>th</sup>. of May [18th May, English style] 1600.

“Your Honor’s Orator and Chaplyne to commaund during life

“FRIER NICHOLAS MAROB

“To my verie good Lord M<sup>r</sup>. Richard Butler sonne in lawe to the Prince of Ulster, my Lord O’Neile, this give with trust wheresoever he be.”

“MOUNTJOY to CECYLL. (*Extract.*)

“I made no great hast to wryght unto you about the Earle off Ormonds inlardgment because with the first letters I receaved theroff I understode they had the first nyght off his cominge to Kilkenny dispatched letters into Englande, he is weake butt desyrus to speake with me, and I muche more with him, att the first to sownde the bottom off the conditions off his deliverye, and sett som present course to unintankle him iff itt may bee; I am thearfore this day goinge towards him as far as Carlow whear I looke to meet him; and after I will sende you a shrewde guess off whatt you may looke for from him; uppon my retourne I will wryght unto you off all thinges. I thinke fitt you should understande from hence; and beeinge now reddye to take horse towards the Earle off Ormonde I desyre your pardon and wische you all happines. From Dublinge this 19 June 1600.—“Yours Sir most assuredlie

“MOUNTIOYE.

[Superscribed] “To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecyll, Knight.  
[Indorsed] “Lord Deputy to my master. Received the 28.”

“STAFFORD to CECYLL. (*Extract.*)

“Your Honor shall nowe understande thatt the 13<sup>th</sup> of June the Erle off Ormonde was sett att lybertye and cam unto Kylkennye. There ys xij. pledges lefts with Onye M<sup>r</sup> Rorye for the performaunce of all covenantes betweene them. The Erle sythens hys lybertye hathe wrytten unto my Lorde Deputye and beynge by hys ymprysonmente weake and nott able to ryde ys verye desyrus uppon secrett occasyons to confer with my Lorde, and my Lorde Deputye purposethe to satsysye hys desyer and determynethe to take hys yorneye towards my Lorde of Ormoode the 18<sup>th</sup> of June. I doe yudge thatt the place of meatyng shalbee att Caterlaghe or Leughelane. . . . Dublyn the 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1600.

“Your Honors vowed follower and most dutifull att commaunde

“FR. STAFFORDE.

[Superscribed] “To . . . S<sup>r</sup> Robert Cecyll knight.  
[Indorsed] “20 June 1600 Sir Francis Stafford to my master. Erle of Ormond delivered.”

“MOUNTJOY to CECYLL. (*Extract.*)

“SIR,—Att my beeinge att Killkenney, the Earle off Ormonde did acquaynte mee with his letters to Her Majestye and my Lords off the Counsell; above the effects whearoff I gathered by him thatt thear wear

few things lykely by thos villaynes to be urged upon him duringe his imprisonment, but unto them hee seemed to yeelde unto: and thearfore itt is nott now to bee conydered whatt he hathe promised, butt whatt he dothe meane, or willbe inforced to performe; iff I bee nott muche deceaved, as in this case I may bee, the Earle dothe continue with as great affection as ever to Her Majesty and with muche more spleen agaynst the rebell, butt the tye upon him to the contrarye are the pledges he hathe putt in; whom no doubt the traytors will retayne upon thear owne conditions whatsoever his weare; I do not thinke he will deliver his dawter although I beleeve he hathe promised to do itt; and iff by cominge off some force from Spayne thear do nott insue a generall revolthe, I am verry confidente thatt his pledges willbe delivered or gotten away without any great impediment to the servis ether growinge by the Erles takynge or thear delivinge [*sic*] for his redeeminge: the pledges wear sent for and delivered without my privitey, whearunto I have hetherto nether declared any mislyke or geven any approbation; and I thinke itt fitt by the continuance off the Queens gracious usadge ether to free him from all mannor off jelozye thatt hee should be helde in suspicion, or elles to take some course onn the suddayne to be assured off him; which when you shall thinke fitt to be doonn I presume may be easely performed; although the course must be souche as must be to his and his countreys ruine, which I hope you shall nott need to command because I hope he will make good demonstration off his loyalltye; and indeede Sir I can nott butt beare a kynde off reverence to so antient a servant to Her Majestye and a compassion to the miserable fortune he was in; he tollde me thatt duringe my beeing with him he had great hope brought him to have all his pledges delivered for money, the which iff itt might be, he sayde hee would speedely performe; iff they be nott delivered the sonner, itt shallbe harde butt I will putt the Earle and the fathers off the pledges in blood agaynst the rebels, and that will soone marr all contracts between them; I have many plotts upon Ony M<sup>r</sup> Rurye to take him; and I thinke itt is a thinge thatt the Earle dothe verry muche practize and will go verry neere to performe.

“Yours Sir to do you servis

“4<sup>th</sup> July 1600.”

“MOUNTJOYE

These tardy admissions amply refute Mountjoy's former unworthy insinuations, and afford a triumphant answer to the suspicions entertained by the generally impartial Leland (“History of Ireland,” vol. ii., p. 374). In the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, is preserved the Queen's pardon, passed to the Earl of Ormonde under the great seal, for treating with the Rebels in the matter of his release.



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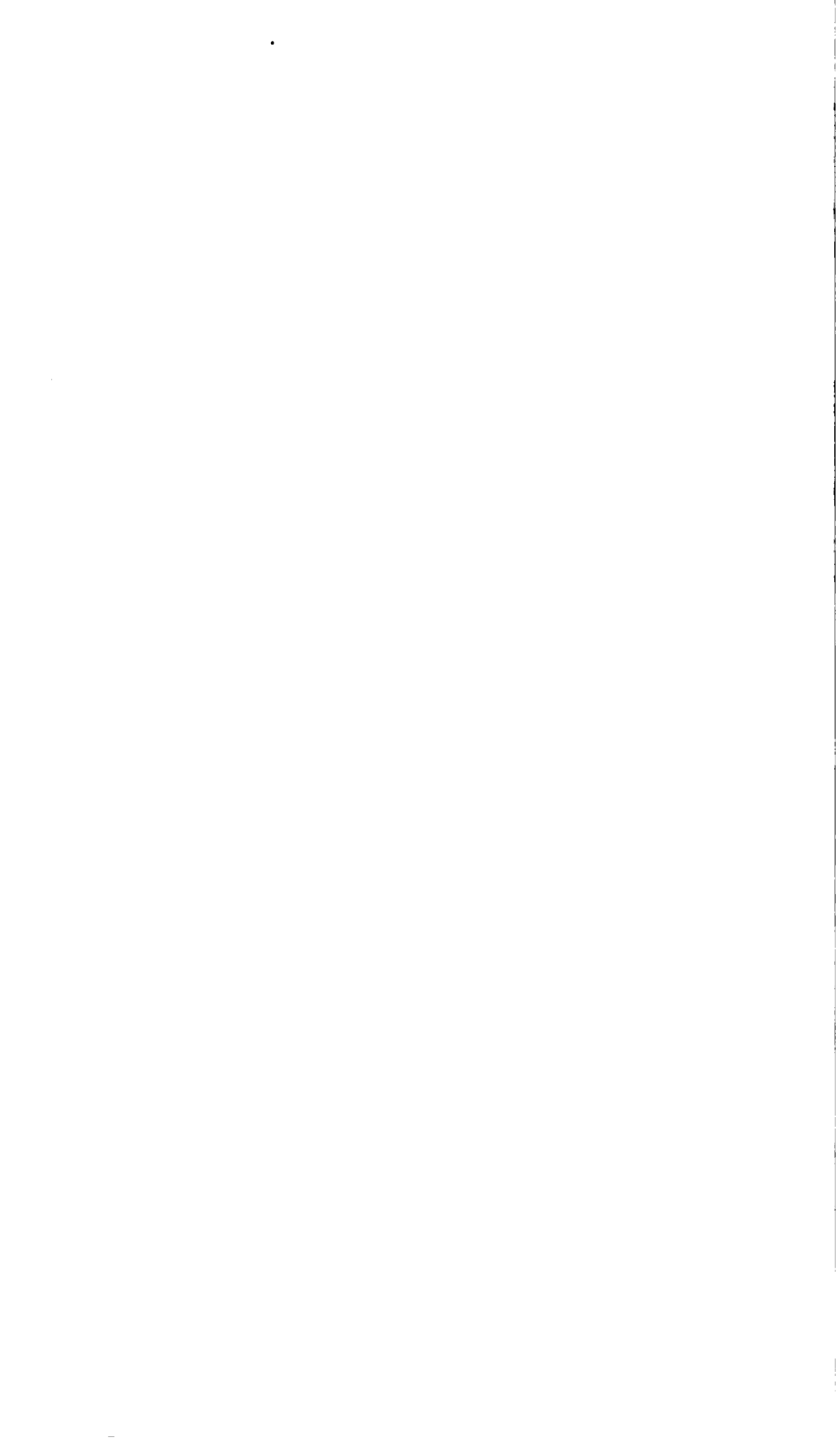
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